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***AUTHOR:***

**XENOPHON**

***TITLE:***

**THE ANABASIS OF XENO-  
PHON, WITH ENGLISH...**

***PLACE:***

**NEW YORK**

***DATE:***

**1858**



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Xenophon.

The Anabasis of Xenophon, with English notes,  
critical and explanatory...by Charles Anthon...  
New York, Harper, 1858.

xxii, 632 p. port. map, plan, illus. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  cm.

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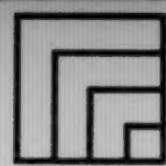
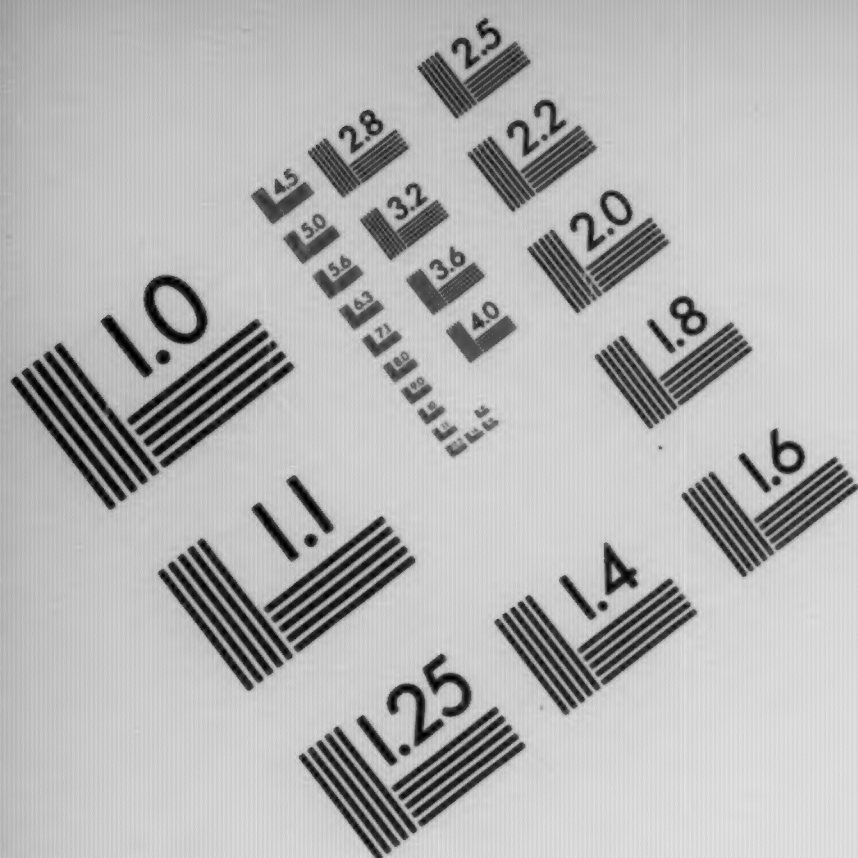
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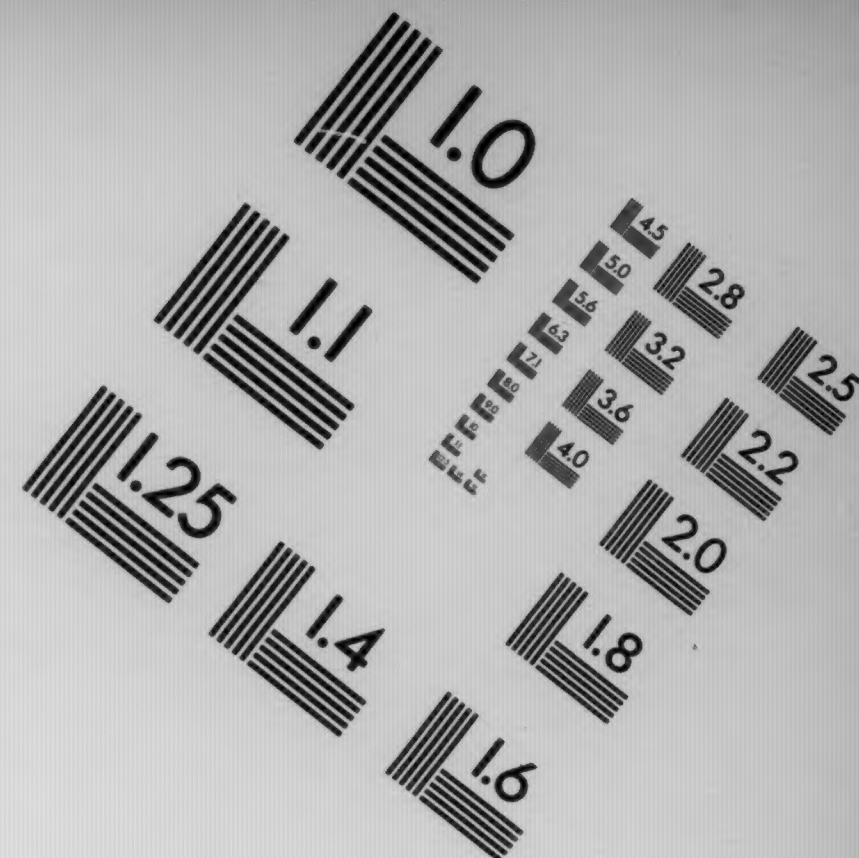


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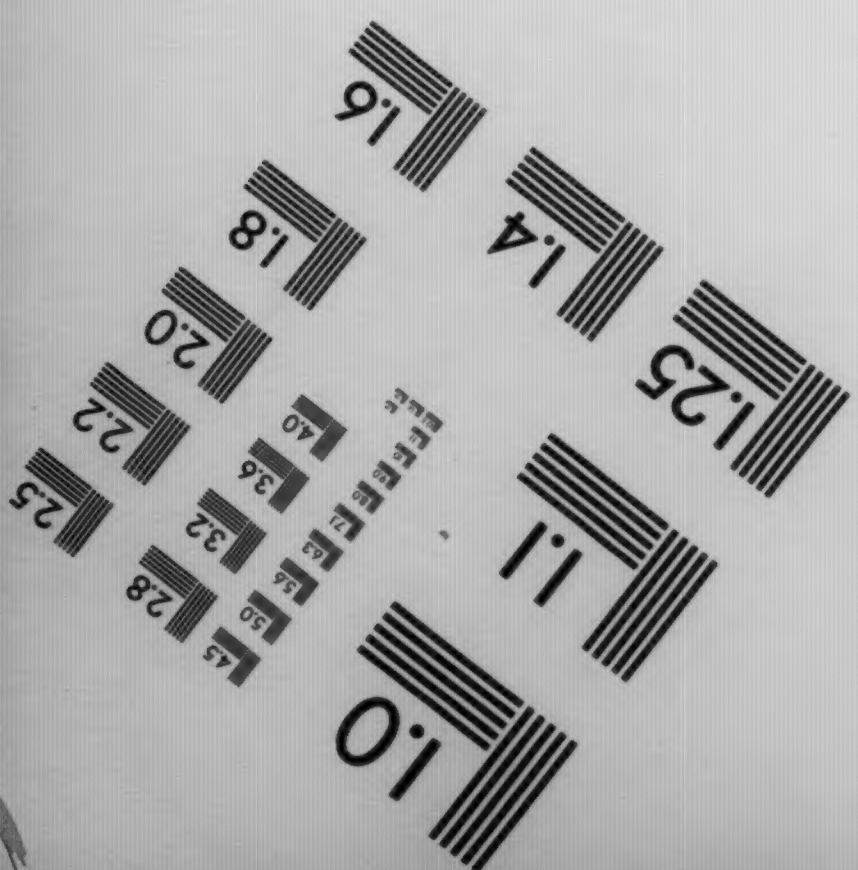
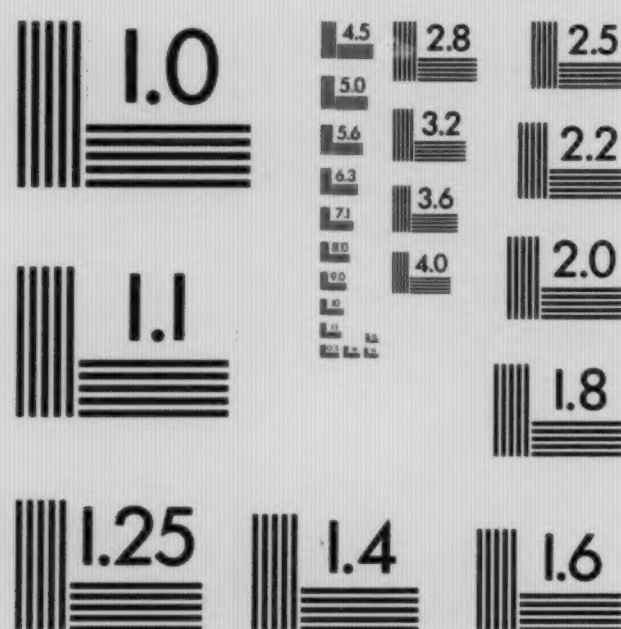
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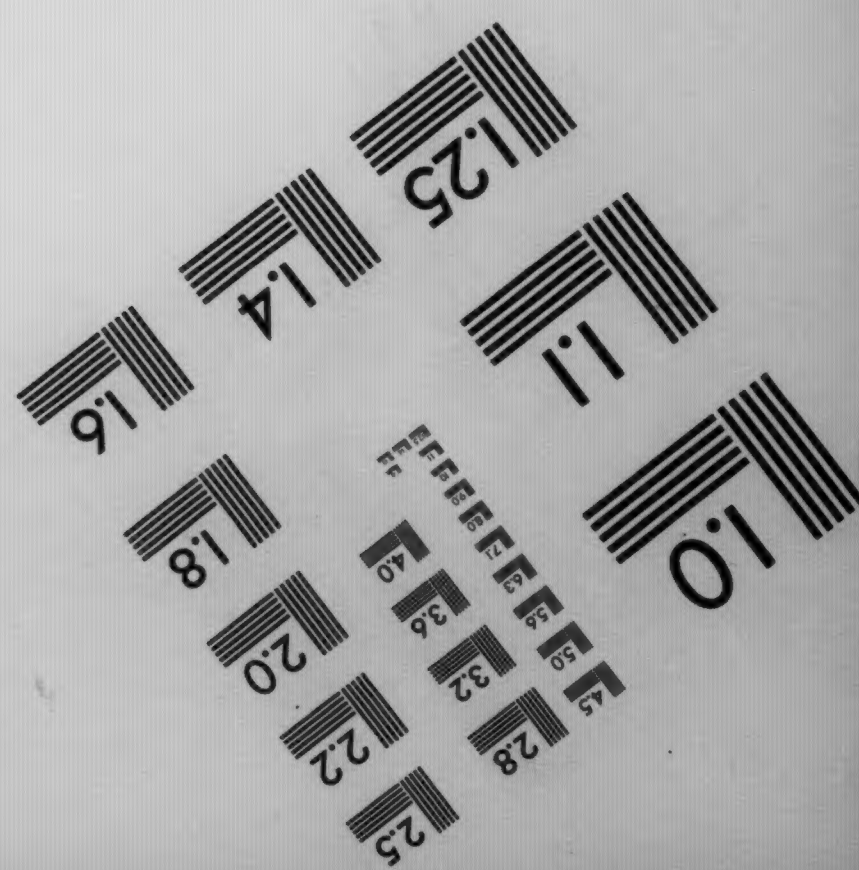
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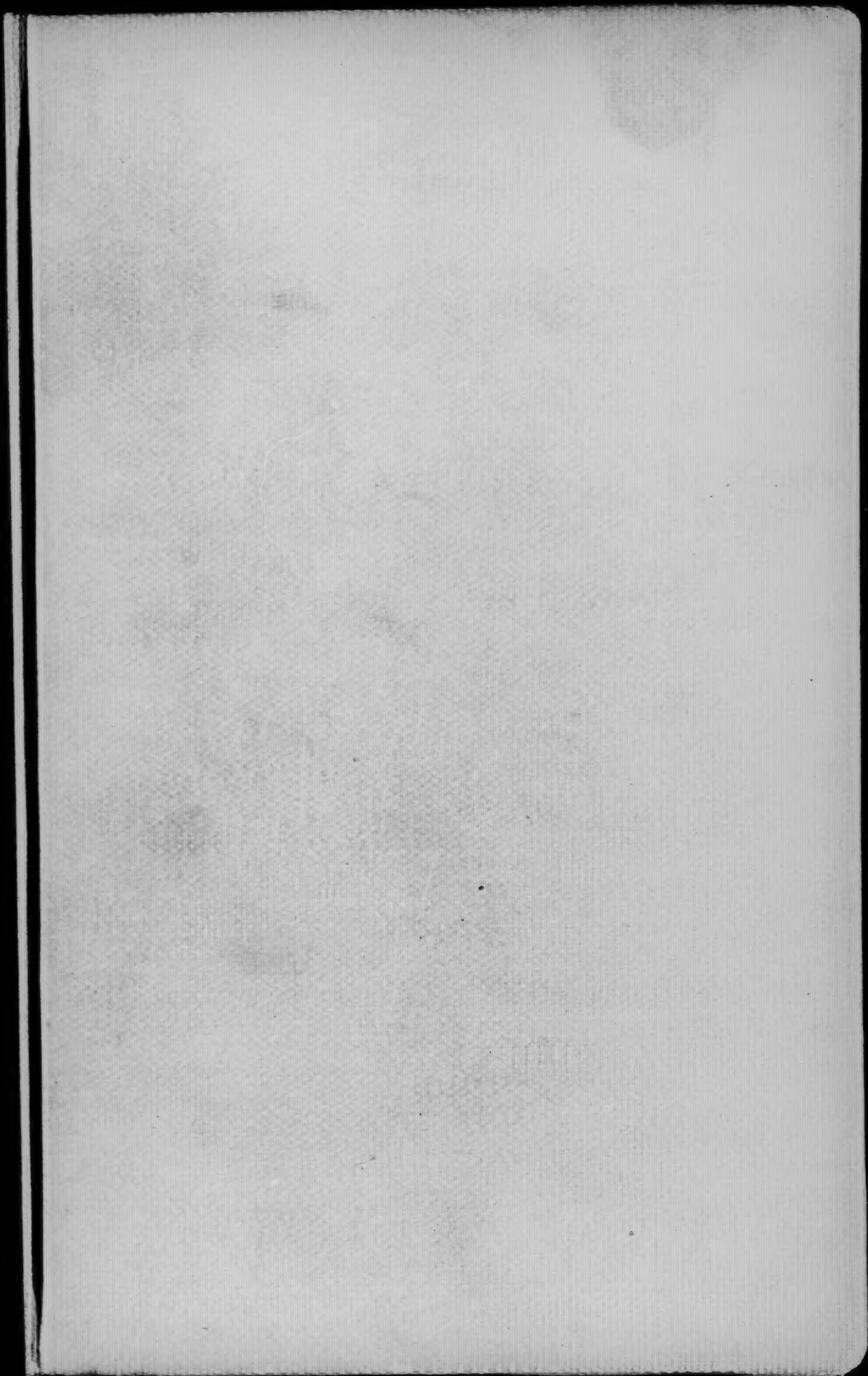
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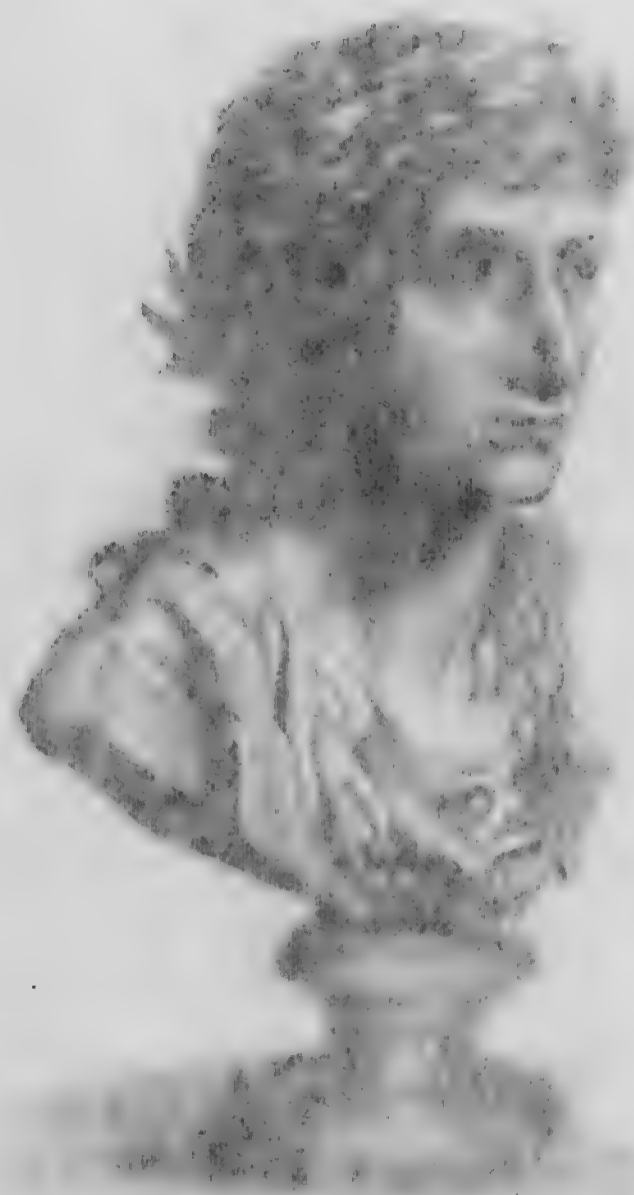
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Y. A MAP ARRANGED  
 THORITIES, AND  
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LL.D.,  
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BLISHERS  
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THE  
ANABASIS OF XENOPHON.

WITH  
ENGLISH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, A MAP ARRANGED  
ACCORDING TO THE LATEST AND BEST AUTHORITIES, AND  
A PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CUNAXA

CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE  
NEW YORK, AND RECTOR OF THE GRAMMAR-SCHOOL.

NEW YORK:  
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS  
329 & 331 PEARL STREET,  
FRANKLIN SQUARE.  
1858.



ALBANY, N.Y.  
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TO

THE REV. JOHN M'VICKAR, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY, OF POLITICAL  
ECONOMY, AND OF RHETORIC AND THE BELLES LETTRES, ETC.,  
IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

**This Work is Dedicated**

AS A TESTIMONIAL OF RESPECT FOR DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES  
LONG AND SUCCESSFULLY EXERTED IN THE CAUSE  
OF RELIGION AND LEARNING,

BY

HIS FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE OF MANY YEARS.

394129



## P R E F A C E.

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A VERY recent biographer of Xenophon remarks, that "there are numerous editions of the *Anabasis*, which have merit enough so far as concerns the critical handling of the text, but not one of them contains a sufficient commentary." This observation is here quoted, not with the hope, indeed, that the present edition will supply the deficiency alluded to, although no pains have been spared to effect this, but with the view rather of showing the error of those who regard the *Anabasis* as a very easy work, and hardly requiring any commentary at all. There is, perhaps, no book within the usual routine of school and college reading in our country, that presents more attractions to the young student than the present narrative, or that deserves more to form a basis for future and more extended reading; and yet, at the same time, there is no one which requires more copious and continued illustration. Clear and easy as the style of the author undoubtedly is, yet there is scarcely a page on which some difficulty does not occur, owing either to the carelessness of transcribers of manuscripts, or the arbitrary changes of editors; while, even after these obstacles have been removed, there remain questions to be solved of a geographical nature, in which the conflicting accounts of modern travelers have to be carefully weighed, and, if possible, reconciled with each other. All this demands, as will readily be perceived, a good body of notes.



and he who undertakes to edit the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, without such a commentary, is guilty of positive injustice toward his author, and will speedily find, also, that he has gained but little credit for himself. Besides, a taste for enlarged commentaries on classical authors is, we are happy to say, rapidly gaining ground among us, and the beneficial results of the change are already perceptible in the healthier tone that is now given to classical studies, and in the habits of investigation and inquiry that are beginning to develop themselves. There was a time when editions of classical authors in this country contained merely the text, printed for the most part on delicately white paper; and having a few notes appended, more because an edition of an ancient writer entirely without notes would have appeared too startling an anomaly, than from any very definite idea that notes, if properly prepared, might be made the vehicle of useful information to the student. The system of instruction pursued with such text-books was perfectly congenial. Few questions were asked, few explanations given, and the labors of the student were, for the most part, restricted to a mere translation from the ancient writer into his own tongue; a translation at best slovenly and erroneous, but which he himself, unaccustomed to habits of daily analysis, could neither improve nor rectify. No wonder that the cry of the utilitarian was eventually raised against such a mode of instruction, and, as a natural consequence, against classical learning itself. A more suicidal system of both editing and teaching, one more fatally destructive to the best interests of ancient literature, could scarcely have been devised; and we have great reason to be thankful that, amid the ticketing of plants

and minerals, the watching of retorts and crucibles, and all the other mind-developing expedients of so-called practical education, the claims of classical learning, put in jeopardy by those who ought to have been their most active defenders, have still continued to be heard. A better day, however, is now beginning to dawn upon us. The demand for editions of the classics with copious commentaries is becoming too general to be any longer neglected; the advocates of the old system are compelled one by one to abandon their former prejudices, and we may hope soon to see the time arrive, when the senseless cry, that has so long been raised against copious annotations on the ancient writers, will be confined to those who are content to ring the old changes on the letters and syllables of their classical horn-books, while they let their pupils grope in the dark, because too indolent themselves to grapple with the new order of things, or too narrow minded to point it out unto others.

In preparing, then, the present edition of the *Anabasis*, no pains have been spared to bring together, within a reasonable compass, whatever may tend to heighten the interest of the present work, or furnish the student with collateral stores of information. How far the editor may have succeeded in accomplishing such a result, it will be, of course, for candid and liberal criticism to determine. Of one thing, however, he himself is perfectly certain, that among the materials employed by him are some which have never as yet been made use of in preparing any American edition of the *Anabasis*, and others, again, which from their very nature have not hitherto appeared in any edition of the work either in this country or in Europe.



The text of the present edition is based upon that published by Professor Long, of the London University, and the headings of the chapters are taken from the same work. In numerous instances, however, the text has been conformed to the editions of Schneider, Bornemann, Poppo, Krüger, and others, as well as to various suggestions made by different critics in the *Neue Jahrbücher* of Jahn and Klotz; and the punctuation also has been completely remodeled, so as to form a medium between the exuberance of Poppo and the scantiness of Long. In preparing the notes, the chief difficulty has been to make a proper selection from the rich abundance of materials that were at hand, and, while striving to compress the commentary within proper limits, to omit nothing that might be valuable or new. The following list will be found to contain the principal works from which aid has been obtained for the annotations, or, as already remarked, for settling the text.

1. *Xenophontis de Cyri Expeditione Libri Septem.*  
Ed. Hutchinson. Oxon., 1735, 4to.
2. *Xenophontis de Expeditione Cyri Minoris, &c.*  
Ed. Morus. Lips., 1775, 8vo.
3. *Xenophontis Atheniensis Scripta, &c.*  
Ed. Weiske. Lips., 1799, 8vo.
4. *Xenophontis de Cyri Expeditione, &c.*  
Ed. Schneider. Oxon., 1821, 8vo.
5. *Xenophontis de Expeditione Cyri, &c.*  
Ed. Bornemann. Lips., 1825, 8vo.
6. *Xenophontis de Cyri Expeditione, &c.*  
Ed. Townsend. Lond., 1823, 8vo.
7. *Xenophontis Expositio Cyri.*  
Ed. Dindorf. Lips., 1825, 8vo.
8. *Ξενοφώντος Κύρου Ἀνάβασις.* (Latin notes.)  
Ed. Krüger. Hal., 1826, 8vo.
9. *Xenophontis Expositio Cyri.*  
Ed. Poppo. Lips., 1827, 8vo.

10. *Ξενοφώντος Κύρου Ἀνάβασις.*  
Ed. Long. Lond., 1837, 8vo.
11. *Ξενοφώντος Κύρου Ἀνάβασις.*  
Ed. Graff. Lips., 1842, 8vo.
12. *Ξενοφώντος Κύρου Ἀνάβασις.* (German notes.)  
Ed. Krüger. Berl., 1845, 8vo.
13. *Anabasis of Xenophon.* Ed. Balfour. Lond., 1834, 8vo.
14. *Xenophon's Anabasis (Books I. and II.).*  
Ed. Hickie. Lond., 1839, 12mo.
15. *Xenofons Feldzug des Cyrus, Uebersetzt von Becker.* Halle, 1802, 8vo.
16. *Xenophons Anabasis, Uebersetzt von Halbkart.* Breslau, 1822, 8vo.
17. *L'Expedition de Cyrus, &c., par M. le Comte de la Luzerne* Paris, 1786, 2 tomes, 12mo.
18. *Xenophon's Anabasis.* By Spelman. Lond., 1823, 8vo.
19. *Xenophon's Anabasis.* Translated by a Member of the University of Oxford. Oxf., 1822, 8vo.
20. *Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus (Books I., II., III.).* Translated by T. W. Allpress. Lond., 1845, 12mo.
21. *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, &c.* Leipzig.
22. *Krüger, De Authentia et Integritate Anabaseos Xenophontæ* Halle, 1824, 8vo.
23. *History of Greece.* By the Rev. Connop Thirlwall, vol. iv. Lond., 1837.
24. *Rennell's Illustrations of the History of the Expedition of Cyrus, &c.* Lond., 1816, 4to.
25. *Kinneir's Journey through Asia Minor, &c.* Lond., 1818, 8vo.
26. *Leake's Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor.* Lond., 1824, 8vo.
27. *Arundel's Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia.* Lond., 1828, 8vo.
28. *Williams's Two Essays on the Geography of Ancient Asia.* Lond., 1829, 8vo.
29. *Rennell's Geography of Western Asia.* (2 vols.) Lond., 1831, 8vo.
30. *Milner's History of the Seven Churches of Asia.* Lond., 1832, 8vo.
31. *Arundel's Discoveries in Asia Minor.* (2 vols.) Lond., 1834, 8vo.
32. *Ainsworth's Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, &c.* (2 vols.) Lond., 1842, 8vo.



33. Hamilton's Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, &c. (2 vols.)  
Lond., 1842, 8vo.
34. Fraser's Mesopotamia and Assyria. Edin., 1842, 12mo.
35. Ainsworth's Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks.  
Lond., 1844, 8vo.
36. Rich's Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon.  
Lond., 1839, 8vo.
37. Cramer's Asia Minor. (2 vols.) Oxford, 1832, 8vo.

The editor has been thus particular in enumerating the sources from which the notes have been drawn, as it is possible that other editions of this work may, in part at least, have been indebted to the same, and, in consequence, similarities in the language or substance of notes may occasionally occur, which, if not credited in those editions to the authorities consulted, may seem original, and may lead to the supposition that he has been appropriating to himself, without acknowledgment, the labors of others. It is to guard against any such imputation that the editor has thus fully detailed all his authorities; and he wishes to have it distinctly understood, that if any similarities between his own notes and those of other editions published in this country should by any possibility occur, it is owing to the simple fact that they are drawn from the same authorities, and may all be found in one or other of the works above mentioned.

In one very important particular, however, the present volume will be found to possess an entirely novel character; and this is its giving an abstract of the very valuable work of Ainsworth, entitled "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks." As this work settles many disputed points in the geography of the Anabasis, copious extracts are continually given from it, and the present edition, therefore, will be found to possess the singular advantage (one which no edition of the Anabasis either in

this country or in Europe has enjoyed) of presenting the student with the latest and best results respecting the movements of the Greeks, both in going and returning. It will no longer answer to take Rennell for our guide in these matters, although his work is still, in many respects, a very useful one; and it will be incumbent, therefore, on those editors of the Anabasis, who may have adopted Rennell's conclusions, to reconstruct no inconsiderable portion of their commentaries, if they wish to put the student into possession of the latest and most reliable information on this head, as deduced from the more accurate investigations of Ainsworth, Hamilton, and others. Lest any doubts may exist on this point, it will be as well to let Ainsworth speak here for himself:

"The present illustrator of the Anabasis," he remarks, "has by accident enjoyed advantages possessed by no other person, of following at intervals the whole line of this celebrated expedition, from the plain of Caÿstrus and the Cilician Gates, through Syria, down the Euphrates, to the field of Cunaxa; and of again traveling in the line of the still more memorable retreat across the plains of Babylonia and Media by Larissa and Mespila, and thence through the well-defended passes of the Tigris and Kurdistan to the cold, elevated uplands of Armenia, which were the scene of so many disasters, and so much suffering to the Greeks. Then, again, from Trebizond westward, he has visited, on various parts of the coast of Asia Minor, localities to which an interest is given by the notices of the Athenian historian, independent of their own importance as ancient sites or colonies; and where he has not been personally on that part of the route, as well as in the localities of the first assembling of the troops under Cyrus, the researches



of W. J. Hamilton, Pococke, Arundel, and others fully fill up the slight deficiencies which might otherwise occur. Indeed, out of a journey evaluated by the historian at three thousand four hundred and sixty-five miles altogether, there are not above six hundred miles that the illustrator has not personally explored."

In order to make the advantages here detailed come home more directly to the student, we have prefixed to the volume the valuable map of Ainsworth; taking care, however, at the same time, to retain the position originally assigned by him to the ancient Opis, rather than to adopt that advocated by Major Rawlinson, and which we think Ainsworth has been too hasty in preferring to his own. We have likewise given three Appendices from Ainsworth, and a plan of the battle of Cunaxa from M. de la Luzerne, which may serve to rectify the errors into which some commentators have fallen on this subject. And, as a fitting appendage to the researches of Ainsworth, we have incorporated into the notes the excellent sketch, given by Bishop Thirlwall, of the whole expedition, in the fourth volume of his admirable History of Greece.

The grammatical references are, it will be perceived, very numerous, and mostly made to the translation of Kühner's larger Grammar by Dr. Jelf, of Christ Church, Oxford.

It remains for the editor to express his sincere acknowledgments for the very valuable aid derived by him from his friend Professor Drisler, not merely in the correcting of the press, but in other and much more important matters, where the sound judgment and well-known accuracy of that indefatigable and excellent scholar proved of essential service to the present work.

Columbia College, New York. May 3d 1847

## LIFE OF XENOPHON.<sup>1</sup>

"XENOPHON (Ξενοφών), the son of Gryllus, an Athenian citizen, was a native of the Attic demus Ercheia. The only extant biography of him is by Diogenes Laertius, which, as usual, is carelessly written, but this biography and the scattered notices of ancient writers, combined with what may be collected from Xenophon's own works, are the only materials for his life."

"There is no direct authority either for the time of Xenophon's birth or death, but these dates may be approximated to with reasonable probability. Laertius and Strabo state that Socrates saved Xenophon's life at the battle of Delium, B.C. 424, a fact which there seems no reason for rejecting, and from which it may be inferred that Xenophon was born about B.C. 444. In his 'Hellenica,' or Greek History (vi., 4, 35), he mentions the assassination of Alexander of Pheræ, which took place B.C. 357, and Xenophon was, of course, alive in that year. This agrees well enough with Lucian's statement, that Xenophon attained the age of above ninety. (*Macrob.*, 21.) Much has been said as to Xenophon's age at the time of his joining the expedition of the younger Cyrus, B.C. 401, and the dispute turns on the point whether he was then a young man between twenty and thirty, or a man of forty and upward. Those who make him a young man rely on an expression in the 'Anabasis' (ii., 1, 12), where he is called νεανίσκος, but in this passage, in place of Ξενοφών, the best MSS. read Θεόπομπος, and besides this it may be remarked, that the term νεανίσκος was not confined to young men, but was sometimes applied to men of forty at least. Still further, they who contend that he was forty or upward in the year B.C. 401, rely on another passage in the 'Anabasis' (vii., 2, 8), where he is spoken of as a man who seemed old enough to have a marriageable daughter. On the whole, there is nothing in the 'Anabasis' inconsistent with a date about the year B.C. 444, which may be assigned as that of his birth. This subject, and other points in the Chronology of Xenophon, have been discussed by C. W. Krüger (*De Xenophontis Vita Quaestiones Criticae*, Halle, 1822)."

1. *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. xxvii., p. 621, *seqq.*

2. Compare Clinton, *Fest. Hellen.* vol. ii., p. 69.



"According to Laertius, Xenophon became the pupil of Socrates at an early age. There is also a notice in Philostratus of his receiving lessons from Prodicus of Ceos, while he was a prisoner in Bœotia, but there is no other evidence as to the fact of his having fallen into the hands of the Bœotians. In the fable of the Choice of Hercules (*Memorab.*, ii., 1), Xenophon does not give any indication of his personal acquaintance with Prodicus; but nothing can be concluded from such an omission. Photius states that he was also a pupil of Isocrates, who was, however, younger than Xenophon. If this is true, it is probable that he was a pupil of Isocrates before the year B.C. 401. Athenæus (x., 427, *ed. Casaub.*) also quotes a saying of Xenophon at the table of Dionysius the tyrant, but he does not say whether the older or younger tyrant is meant. The older tyrant reigned till B.C. 367, and it is more likely, if Xenophon ever went to Syracuse, that he went before B.C. 367 than after. It is not known if Xenophon wrote any thing before the year B.C. 401, though Letronne, with considerable plausibility, would assign the composition of the 'Banquet,' or 'Symposium,' and of the 'Hiero,' to a period before B.C. 401."

"In B.C. 401, Xenophon went to Sardes, to Cyrus the Persian, the brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia. He tells us himself (*Anab.*, iii., 1) the circumstances of this journey. Proxenus, Xenophon's friend, was then with Cyrus, and he invited Xenophon to come, and promised to introduce him to Cyrus. Xenophon asked the advice of Socrates, who, fearing that Xenophon might incur the displeasure of the Athenians if he attached himself to Cyrus, inasmuch as Cyrus had given the Lacedæmonians aid in their recent wars against Athens, advised him to consult the oracle of Delphi. Xenophon accordingly went to Delphi, and asked the god (Apollo) to what deities he should sacrifice and make his vows, in order to secure success in the enterprise which he meditated. The god gave him his answer; but Socrates blamed his friend for not asking whether he should undertake the voyage or not. However, as he had obtained an answer from the god, Socrates advised him to follow the god's commands, and accordingly Xenophon set out for Sardes, where he found Cyrus and Proxenus just ready to leave the city on an expedition. This story is characteristic both of Socrates and Xenophon."

"It was given out by Cyrus that his expedition was against the Pisidians, and all the Greeks in the army were deceived, except Clearchus, who was in the secret. The object of Cyrus was to dethrone his brother, and, after advancing a short distance, it became

apparent to all the Greeks, who, however, with the exception of a few, determined to follow him. After a long march through Asia Minor, Syria, and the sandy tract east of the Euphrates, the two brothers met at Cunaxa, not far from Babylon. Cyrus fell in the almost bloodless battle that ensued, his barbarian troops were discouraged and dispersed, and the Greeks were left alone in the centre of the Persian empire. Clearchus was by common consent invited to take the command, but he and many of the Greek commanders were shortly after massacred by the treachery of Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, who was acting for the king. It was now that Xenophon came forward. He had hitherto merely followed the army of Cyrus, and had neither held a command nor even been considered as a soldier. He introduces himself to our notice, at the beginning of the third book of the 'Anabasis,' in that simple manner which characterizes the best writers of antiquity. From this time Xenophon became one of the most active leaders, and, under his judicious guidance, the Greeks effected their retreat northward across the high lands of Armenia, and arrived at Trapezus (Trebisond), a Greek colony on the southeast coast of the Black Sea. From Trapezus the Greeks proceeded to Chrysopolis, opposite to Byzantium. Both Xenophon, however, and the army were in great distress, for they had lost every thing in that retreat, and they were, therefore, ready enough to accept the proposals of Seuthes, a Thracian prince, who wished to have their aid in recovering the kingly power. The Greeks performed the stipulated services, but the Thracian would not pay the amount agreed upon, and it was not till after some negotiations that Xenophon obtained a part of what was due to the army. At this time the Lacedæmonian general Thibron was carrying on a war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, and he invited the Greeks under Xenophon to join him. At the request of his soldiers, Xenophon conducted them back into Asia, and they joined the army of Thibron (B.C. 399). Immediately before giving up the troops, Xenophon, with a part of them, made an expedition into the plain of the Cæcus, for the purpose of plundering a wealthy Persian named Asidates. The Persian was taken, with his wife, and children, and horses, and all that he had. Xenophon received a good share of the plunder."

"The narrative of Xenophon contains a statement of the army's marches, with some few omissions, expressed in Persian parasangs at the rate of 30 stadia to a parasang. The following are the distances given by him in round numbers:



From Ephesus to the battle-field . . . 16,050 stadia.  
 From the battle-field to Cotyora (eight months) 18,600 "  
 34,650 "

Xenophon adds the march of the Greek auxiliaries from Ephesus to Sardes (about 50 miles) to the distance from Sardes to the battle-field. The march may be considered as having terminated at Cotyora, as the army sailed from this place to Sinope. Their troubles, however, continued till they reached Byzantium, now Constantinople, and even beyond that point. If we take the stadia of Xenophon at the rate of ten to a mile, an estimate which is above the truth, we find the whole distance marched to be 3465 English miles, which was accomplished in 15 months, and a large part of it through an unknown, mountainous, and hostile country, and in an inclement season."

"It is uncertain what Xenophon did after giving up the troops to Thibron. He remarks (*Anab.*, vii., 7, 57), just before he speaks of the leading the troops back into Asia, that he had not yet been banished; but as it is stated by various authorities that he was banished by the Athenians because he joined the expedition of Cyrus against the Persian king, who was then on friendly terms with the Athenians, it is most probable that the sentence of banishment was passed against him in the year B.C. 399, in which Socrates was executed. Letronne assumes, in the absence of evidence, that he returned to Athens in B.C. 399. But it is much more likely that he stayed with Thibron, and with Dercyllidas, the successor of Thibron; and there are various passages in the 'Hellenica' which favor the conjecture."

"Agesilaus, king of Sparta, was sent with an army into Asia, B.C. 396, and Xenophon was with him during the whole, or a part at least, of this Asiatic expedition. Agesilaus was recalled to Greece B.C. 394, and Xenophon accompanied him on his return, and he was with Agesilaus in the battle against his own countrymen at Coronea, B.C. 394. According to Plutarch, he accompanied Agesilaus to Sparta after the battle of Coronea, and shortly after settled himself at Scillus in Elis, on a spot which the Lacedæmonians gave him, and here, it is said, he was joined by his wife Philesia and her children. Philesia was apparently the second wife of Xenophon, and he had probably married her in Asia. On the advice of Agesilaus, he sent his sons to Sparta to be educated."

"From this time Xenophon took no part in public affairs. He resided at Scillus, where he spent his time in hunting, entertaining his friends, and in writing some of his later works. Diogenes

Laertius states, that he wrote here his histories, by which he must mean the 'Anabasis' and the 'Hellenica,' and probably the 'Cyropædia.' During his residence at this place, also, he probably wrote the treatise on 'Hunting,' and that on 'Riding.' The history of the remainder of his life is somewhat doubtful. Diogenes says that the Eleans sent a force against Scillus, and as the Lacedæmonians did not come to the aid of Xenophon, they seized the place. Xenophon's sons, with some slaves, made their escape to Lepreum; Xenophon himself went first to Elis, for what purpose it is not said, and then to Lepreum to meet his children. At last he withdrew to Corinth, and probably died there. The time of his expulsion from Scillus is uncertain; but it is a probable conjecture of Krüger, that the Eleans took Scillus not earlier than B.C. 371, in which year the Lacedæmonians were defeated in the battle of Leuctra. Letronne fixes the date at the year B.C. 368, though there is no authority for that precise year; but he considers it most probable that the Eleans invaded Scillus at the time when the Lacedæmonians were most engaged with the Theban war, which would be during the invasion of Laconia by Epaminondas. Xenophon must have lived above twenty years at Scillus, if the date of his expulsion from that place is not before the year B.C. 371. The sentence of banishment against Xenophon was revoked by a decree proposed by Eubulus, but the date of this decree is uncertain. Before the battle of Mantinea, B.C. 362, the Athenians had joined the Spartans against the Thebans. Upon this, Xenophon sent his two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, to Athens, to fight on the Spartan side against the Thebans. Gryllus fell in the battle of Mantinea, in which the Theban general Epaminondas also lost his life. Letronne assumes that the decree for repealing the sentence of banishment against Xenophon must have passed before B.C. 362, because his two sons served in the Athenian army at the battle of Mantinea. But this is not conclusive. Krüger, for other reasons, thinks that the sentence was repealed not later than Ol. 103, which would be before the battle of Mantinea. No reason is assigned by any ancient writer for Xenophon's not returning to Athens; for, in the absence of direct evidence as to his return, we must conclude that he did not."

"Several of his works were written or completed after the revocation of his sentence: the 'Hipparchicus;' the Epilogus to the 'Cyropædia,' if we assume that his sentence was revoked before B.C. 362; and the treatise on the 'Revenues of Athens.' Stesicloides, quoted by Diogenes, places the death of Xenophon in B.C. 359; but there is much uncertainty on this subject. (Compare



Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.*, B.C. 359, and his remarks on the death of Alexander of Phœæ.) Probably he died a few years after B.C. 359.

"The extant works of Xenophon may be distributed into four classes: 1. *Historical*, consisting of the 'Anabasis,' the 'Hellenica,' and the 'Cyropædia,' which is not, however, strictly historical; and also the 'Life of Agesilaus.'—2. *Didactic*: the 'Hipparchicus,' 'On Horsemanship,' and 'On Hunting.'—3. *Political*: the 'Republics of Sparta and Athens,' and the 'Revenues of Attica.'—4. *Philosophical*: the 'Memorabilia of Socrates,' the 'Economic,' the 'Symposium,' or Banquet, the 'Hiero,' and the 'Apology of Socrates.' There are also extant certain letters attributed to Xenophon, but, like many other ancient productions of the same class, they are not genuine."

"The 'Anabasis' (*Ἀνάβασις*), in seven books, is the work by which Xenophon is best known, and will be found more particularly alluded to on page 219 of the present volume. The authorship of the work is not quite free from doubt, owing to a passage in the third book of the 'Hellenica' (iii., 1), where the author refers to a work of Themistogenes of Syracuse for the history of the expedition of Cyrus, and the retreat of the Greek army to the Euxine. This, however, is not a complete description of the contents of the 'Anabasis' of Xenophon, whose narrative also conducts the army from Trapezus on the Euxine to Byzantium. Still the retreat may fairly be considered as having terminated when the army reached a Greek colony on the Euxine, and so, indeed, it is viewed in the 'Anabasis' (v., 1, 1). There is then, perhaps, no doubt that Xenophon does refer to the 'Anabasis' which we have; and if this be admitted, the difficulty is not easy of solution. Plutarch (*De Glor. Athen.*) supposes that Xenophon attributed the work to Themistogenes, in order that people might have more confidence in what was said of himself. But this is not satisfactory. Others suppose that there was a work by Themistogenes, which gave the history of the retreat as far as Trapezus, and that Xenophon published his 'Hellenica' in two parts, and that he first continued the History of the Peloponnesian war to the capture of Athens, which would complete the history of Thucydides, and also carried it to the year B.C. 399. This is the conjecture of Letronne, who connects it with the assumption of Xenophon's returning to Athens in B.C. 399, as to which there is no evidence. The history up to the year B.C. 399 comprehends the first two books of the 'Hellenica,' and the first paragraph of the third book, in which Themistogenes is mentioned

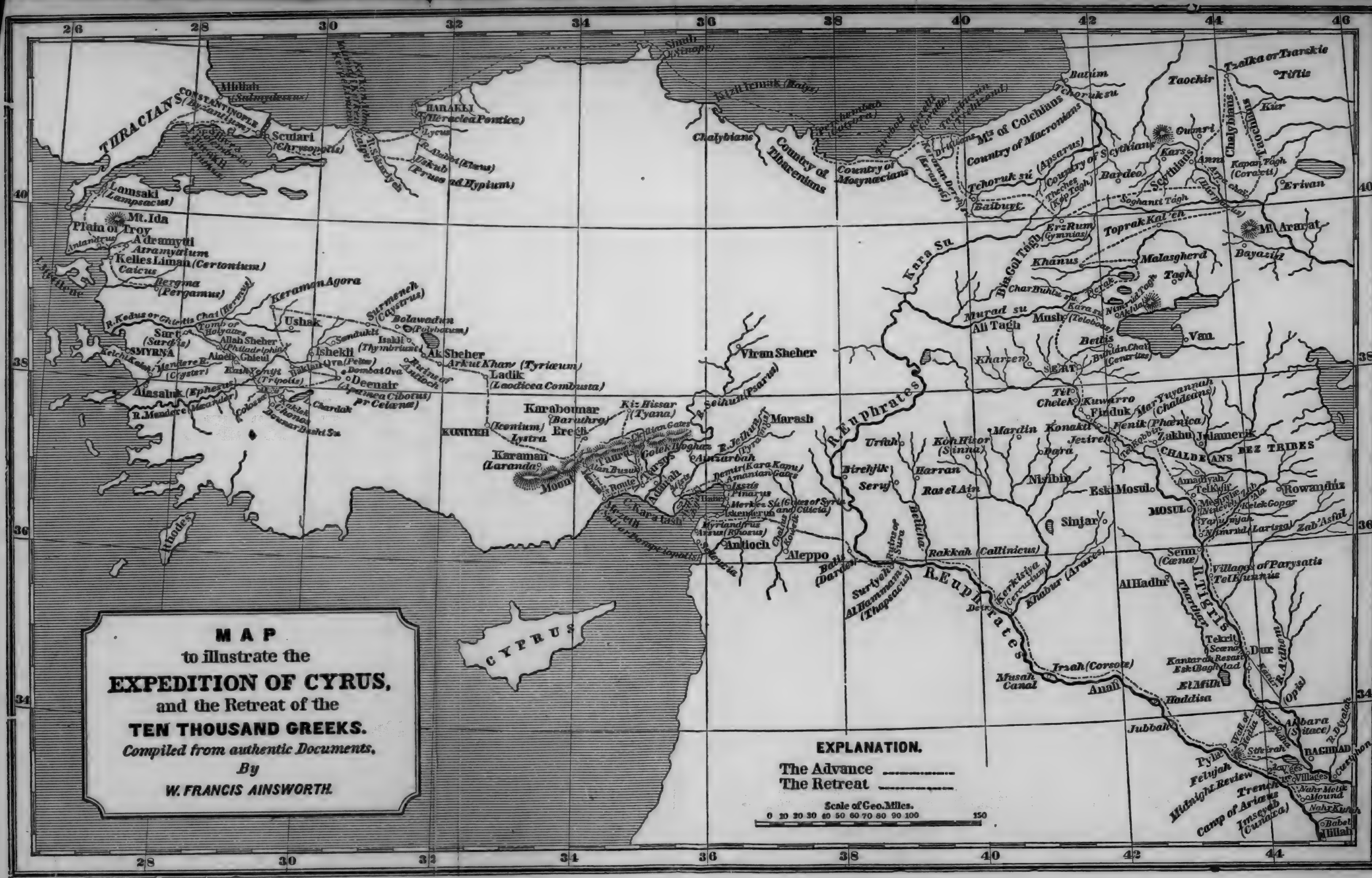
Letronne assumes that this first part was begun before Xenophon joined the expedition of Cyrus, and was finished either in the interval of his assumed return from Asia and his departure to join the army of Agesilaus, or in the early part of his retreat at Scillus, at which time it is further assumed that he had not yet written the 'Anabasis,' and was obliged to refer to the 'Anabasis' of Themistogenes, which, it is still further assumed, was already published and known. The rest of the 'Hellenica,' it is assumed, was written later, and perhaps not published till after the death of Xenophon, by his son Diodorus, or his grandson Gryllus. If all this assumption is necessary to explain the fact of Xenophon's referring to the work of Themistogenes on the Anabasis, we may as well assume that there was no such work of Themistogenes, for we know nothing of it from any other quarter, and that Xenophon, for some unknown reason, spoke of his own work as if it were written by another person. In reading the 'Anabasis,' it is difficult to resist the conviction that it is by Xenophon, especially when we turn to such passages as that in the fifth book, where he speaks of his residence at Scillus, and other passages in which he speaks of his thoughts, his dreams, and other matters which could only be known to himself."

"Xenophon appears to have been humane and gentle in character. He evidently liked quiet. He was fond of farming, hunting, and rural occupations generally. His talents would have suited him for administration in a well-ordered community; but he was not fitted for the turbulence of Athenian democracy. He was a religious man, or, as we are now pleased to term it, a superstitious man. He believed in the religion of his country, and was scrupulous in performing and enforcing the observance of the usual ceremonies. He had faith in dreams, and looked upon them as manifestations of the deity. His philosophy was the practical: it had reference to actual life, and in all practical matters and every thing that concerns the ordinary conduct of human life he shows good sense and honorable feeling. He was in understanding a plain, sensible man, who could express with propriety and in an agreeable manner whatever he had to say. As a writer he deserves the praise of perspicuity and ease, and for these qualities he has in all ages been justly admired. As an historical writer he is infinitely below Thucydides: he has no depth of reflection, no great insight into the fundamental principles of society. His 'Hellenica,' his only historical effort, would not have preserved his name, except for the importance of the facts which the work contains, and the



deficiency of other historical records. His 'Anabasis' derives its interest from the circumstances of that memorable retreat, and the name of Xenophon is thus connected with an event which exposed to the Greeks the weakness of the Persian empire, and prepared the way for the future campaigns of Agesilaus and the triumphs of Alexander. The 'Anabasis' is a work of the kind which few men have had the opportunity of writing, and there is no work in any language in which personal adventure and the conduct of a great undertaking are more harmoniously and agreeably combined." His style, it is true, is often marked with poetical expressions, and not a few of his terms savor more of the Spartan than the Athenian dialect; but this latter circumstance may easily be explained by our bearing in mind how long standing and close was the familiarity of Xenophon with the language and manners of the people of Laconia. (Haase, *Xen. Resp. Lac.*, p. 338.)





**MAP**  
to illustrate the  
**EXPEDITION OF CYRUS,**  
and the Retreat of the  
**TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.**  
Compiled from authentic Documents,  
By  
**W. FRANCIS AINSWORTH.**

**EXPLANATION.**  
The Advance —————  
The Retreat —————

Scale of Geo. Miles.  
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 150



XENOPHON'S ANABASIS.









The subsequent manoeuvres of the army of Artaxerxes, and the second charge of the

• SOUTH.

## A



μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο, ὥς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. 6. Τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζεν ὥς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως δὲ ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. Ὡς οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. Ὅπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομένα, τότε δ' ἀφεστήκεσαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου. 7. Ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστήναι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. Καὶ αὕτη αὐτῷ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. 8. Πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων ἡξίου, ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ, δοθῆναι αὐτῷ τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρνην ἀρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα. Ὡς βασιλεὺς τῆς μὲν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκ ἠσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν. Ὡς οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμοῦντων. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ὧν Τισσαφέρνης ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων.

9. Ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρόνῃσιν, τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀδύδου, τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἡγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεϊκοῦς. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει, ἐκ Χερρόνῃσου ὁρμώμενος, τοῖς Θραξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλησποντου οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ὡς καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκού.

σαι. Τοῦτο δ' αὐτῷ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. 10. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς διςχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ὥς οὕτω περιγεγόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἑξ μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευσῇται. Οὕτω δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. 11. Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον, ξένον ὄντα αὐτῷ, ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὥς εἰς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὥς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιοόν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὥς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. Καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὗτοι.

## CHAPTER II.

CYRUS marches through Lydia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia into Cappadocia, whence he enters Cilicia, which he finds deserted by the King Syennesis, who at last, by the persuasion of the queen his wife, has an interview with Cyrus.

1. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὥς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὥς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐνταῦθα στράτευμα, καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἡκεῖν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίπῳ, συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι, ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἡκεῖν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας, πλὴν ὅπόσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. 2. Ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ



τοὺς Μίλητον παλιορκούντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγει οὐκάδε. Οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· (ἐπίστευον γὰρ αὐτῷ·) καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. 3. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις, ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· Πρόξενος δὲ παρὴν ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακοσίους· Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους· Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους· Πασίω δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ἄνδρας παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. 4. Οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ, κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μίζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλεῖα, ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. 5. Καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρασκευάζετο.

Κῦρος δὲ, ἔχων ἤδη εἰρηκα, ὥρματο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. Τούτου τὸ εὐρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὶν ἐξευγμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά. 6. Τοῦτον διαβάς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλός, ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. 7. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας, ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρηνεν ἀπὸ ἱπποῦ, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ

τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. 8. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλον βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνά, ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ, ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. 9. Ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγάς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης παρὴν ὁ Συρακόσιος, ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκάς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, ὀπλῖται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους.

10. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δώδεκα, εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγοράν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρα. 11. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς Καύστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς πλέον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήτουν. Ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιῶμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπον ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι.

12. Ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα, ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνή, τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέως, παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. Τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε



Κῦρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. Εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενδίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κῦρον τῇ Κιλίσσῃ. 13. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη, τοῦ Φριγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι, οἷνῳ κεράσας αὐτήν. 14. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Τυραῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κῦρου ἐπιδειῖναι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ. Βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδειῖναι, ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. 15. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὥς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξαι δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. Ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. 16. Ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους (οἱ δὲ παρήλαντον τεταγμένοι κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις), εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης. Εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ, καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοῦς, καὶ κνημίδας, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας. 17. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, ἐπήεσαν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου θάσσουν προΐόντων σὺν κραυγῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. 18. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια, ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες σὺν γέλῳ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον. Ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα, ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐθαύμασε. Κῦρος δὲ ἦσθη, τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον δῶν

19. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. Ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὥς πολεμίαν εὔσαν. 20. Ἐντεῦθεν Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχιστὴν ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας, οὓς Μένων εἶχε, καὶ αὐτόν. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, πρὸς Δάναν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Περσὴν, Μεγαφέρην, φοινικιστὴν βασιλείου, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. 21. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτός, ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἰ τις ἐκώλυνεν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συνέννεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· δι' ἣ ἔμεινεν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων, ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἴη Συνέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν, εἰσω τῶν ὁρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριῆρεις ἦκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν, Ταυρῶν ἔχοντα, τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κῦρου. 22. Κῦρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνάς, οὓς οἱ Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαιναν εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν ἔμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. Ὅρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρόν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντη ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

23. Καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου ἦλασε σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ταρσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συνέννεσιος βασιλεία, τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμός, Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθ



ρων. 24. Ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες μετὰ Συνένεσιος εἰς χωρίον ὀχυρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχοντες· ἐμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς. 25. Ἐπύαξα δέ, ἡ Συνένεσιος γυνή, προτέρα Κύρου πέντε ἡμέρας εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὁρῶν, τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο. Οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλικίων· οἱ δέ, ὑπολειφθέντας, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς, εἴτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπλίται. 26. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἤκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν δλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κῦρος δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετα τὰν Συνέννεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὁ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἔφη, οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἰέναι ἠθελε, πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστει ἔλαβε. 27. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συνέννεσις μὲν ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κῦρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα, ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον, καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν, καὶ ψέλλια, καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν, καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀφαρπάξεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἠρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἦν πον ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

### CHAPTER III.

THE Greek soldiers suspect the real object of the expedition, and Clearchus, one of the Greek commanders, narrowly escapes being stoned by his troops. Cyrus quiets the disturbance, but still does not acknowledge his design against the king.

1. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω. Ἰππῶπτενον γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἰέναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ

τεύτῳ ἔφασαν. Πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας ἐδιάζετο ἰέναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προΐέναι. 2. Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε τὸ μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι· ὕστερον δέ, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολλὸν χρόνον ἑστῶς· (οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώπων·) εἴτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοιαύδε.

3. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ θαυμάζετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κῦρος ξένος ἐγένετο, καὶ με, φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε, καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς· οὐδ' ἐγὼ λαβὼν, οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἑμοί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθηδυνάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων. 4. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θράκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρόνησου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων, βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἑλλήνας τὴν γῆν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορεύομην, ἵνα, εἴ τι δέοιτο, ὠφελοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. 5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι, ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φίλῃ χρησθαι, ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευδόμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι. Εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα, αἰρήσομαι δ' σὺν ὑμᾶς, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ὃ τι ἂν δέη πείσομαι. Καὶ οὔποτε ἔρει οὐδεὶς, ὥς ἐγὼ Ἑλλήνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλόμην. 6. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἑμοὶ οὐ θέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἔπεισθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔψομαι, καὶ ὃ τι ἂν δεῇ πείσομαι. Νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἑμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἂν ᾖ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος ὧν, οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι οὔτ' ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι, οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. Ὡς ἑμοῦ σὺν ἰόντος, ὅπη ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε. 7. Ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, οἱ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ Πασί



ωνος πλείους ἢ διςχίλιοι, λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ. 8. Κῦρος δέ, τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Κλέαρχον· ὁ δὲ λέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λάθρα δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον, ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν, ὥς καταστησόντων τούτων εἰς τὸ θέον· μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη λέναι. 9. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, συναγαγὼν τοὺς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλούμενον, ἔλεξε τοιαύδε.

Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κῦρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνους· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου ἔτι στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκείνος ἔτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης. 10. Ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, αἰσχυνόμενος, ὅτι σύνοιδα ἑμυατῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δεδιώς, μή, λαβὼν με, δίκην ἐπιθῇ, ὣν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡδικῆσθαι. 11. Ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν, οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθαι ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων. Καὶ ἕως γε μένομεν αὐτοῦ, σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μενοῦμεν, εἰ τε ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἀπιμεν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν· ἀνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγού οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. 12. Ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος, ὃν ἂν φίλος ἦ, χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρός, ὃν ἂν πολέμιος ἦ· ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὁρῶμέν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι· ὥστε ὥρα λεγεῖν, ὃ τι τις γινώσκει ἀριστον εἶναι. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

13. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέγοντες ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες οἷα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἀνευ τῆς Κῦρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. 14. Εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὥς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγὰς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὥς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέ-

αρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζεσθαι (ἢ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι), καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι ἐλθόντας δὲ Κῦρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὥς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῷ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κῦρον, ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῷ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληφόμενους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κῦρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρηπακότες. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον.

15. Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσονται ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑμεῖς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ, δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὥς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί, ὃν ἂν ἔλησθε, πείσομαι ἢ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. 16. Μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κῦρου μὴ ποιούμενου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὥς εὐθες εἴη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου, ὃν λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν, ὃν ἂν Κῦρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κῦρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; 17. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοῖην μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν, ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ· φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ὃν δοίη, ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὅθεν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν· βουλοίμην δ' ἂν, ἄκοντος ἀπιῶν Κῦρου, λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν. 18. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυναρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἀνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κῦρον, οἵτινες ἐπιτήδευοι, σὺν Κλεάρχῳ, ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνους· τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ἢ παραπλησία οἱαπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων. 19. Ἐὰν δὲ μείζων ἢ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνεται, καὶ ἐπιπονωτέρα, καὶ ἐπικινδυνωτέρα, ἀξιοῦν ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἀγειν, ἢ πεισθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποιεμεθα



καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίοιμεν· ὃ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ ἀναγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι. 20. Ἐδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν, οἱ ἡρώτων Κύρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ἀκούει Ἀδροκόμαν, ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· κἂν μὲν ἢ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρῆζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ φεύγει, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα. 21. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἵρετοὶ ἀγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἔπεισθαι. Προσαιοῦσι δὲ μισθὸν ὁ Κύρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαιρικά τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι, οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἐν γε τῷ φανερῷ.

## CHAPTER IV.

CYRUS advances to Issi, where he is joined by his fleet; he enters Syria, and encamps at Myriandrus. At this place two of the Greek commanders desert with some vessels, but are not pursued by Cyrus. At the Euphrates Cyrus makes known his real object to the Greek troops, who mutiny again, and refuse to cross the river till Menon, one of their commanders, sets the example.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, εἰς Ἰσσοῦς, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. 2. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρήσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. Ἦγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ταμῶς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ ἑκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολ

ιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. 3. Παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετάπεμπος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὤρμουν κατὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀδροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κύρον, τετρακόσιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα. 4. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας Ἦσαν δ' ἐνταῦθα δύο τεῖχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συνέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακή· τὸ δὲ ἔξω, τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας, βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. Διὰ μέσον δὲ ῥεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρον. Ἄπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίβ· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεῖν δὲ ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι. 5. Ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποδιβάσειεν εἰσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις, ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσειν ὁ Κύρος τὸν Ἀδροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀδροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κύρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλαυνεν, ἔχων, ὥς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς.

6. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, εἰς Μυριάνδρον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ· Ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὤρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλαί. 7. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ Ξενίας, ὁ Ἀρκᾶς στρατηγός, καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεύς, ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ τὰ πλείστοι ἀξία ἐνθέμενοι, ἀπέπλευσαν, ὥς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν φιλοτιμηθέντες, ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν, τοὺς παρὰ Κλεάρχου ἀπελθόντας, ὥς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ



πρὸς βασιλεία, εἰα Κῦρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διήλθε λόγος ὅτι διώκοι αὐτοὺς Κῦρος τριή-  
 ρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐχοντο ὥς δολίους ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆ-  
 ναι, οἱ δ' ὤκτειρον εἰ ἀλώσονται. 8. Κῦρος δέ, συγκαλέ-  
 σας τοὺς στρατηγούς, εἶπεν· Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας  
 καὶ Πασίων· ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν, ὅτι οὔτε  
 ἀποδεδράκασιν, (οἶδα γὰρ ὅπη οἰχονται,) οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγα-  
 σιν, ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἐλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον.  
 Ἀλλὰ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω· οὐδ' ἐρεῖ  
 οὐδεὶς, ὥς ἐγώ, ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις, χρῶμαι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ  
 ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ  
 τὰ χρήματα ἀποσουλῶ. Ἀλλὰ λόντων, εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους  
 εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. Καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐ-  
 τῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται, ἀλλ' ἀπολήψονται τῆς  
 πρόσθεν ἔνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. 9. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶ-  
 πεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἰ τις καὶ ἀθυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν, ἥδιον καὶ προθυ-  
 μότερον συνεπορεύοντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρα-  
 σάγγας εἴκοσιν, ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος  
 πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πρᾶέων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι  
 θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον, καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἰδόν, οὐδὲ τὰς περιστερὰς.  
 Αἱ δὲ κῶμαι, ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν, Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζώ-  
 νην δεδομέναι. 10. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς πέντε,  
 παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δάρδητος ποτα-  
 μοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρον. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσσοι  
 βασιλεία, τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας  
 καὶ καλός, ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὦραι φύουσι. Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατέκαυσεν.

11. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας  
 πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος  
 τεττάρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ὤκειτο μεγάλη καὶ  
 εὐδαίμων, Θάψακος ὀνόματι. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας  
 πέντε· καὶ Κῦρος, μεταπειψάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν

Ἑλλήνων, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλεῖα μέγαν  
 εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις, καὶ ἀναπεῖθαι ἐπεσθαι. 12. Οἱ δὲ ποιήσαν-  
 τες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχαλ-  
 ἐπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἔφασαν αὐτούς, πάλαι ταῦτ'  
 εἰδότες, κρύπτειν· καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν λέναι, ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐ-  
 τοῖς χρήματα διδῶ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου  
 ἀναβᾶσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 μάχην λόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κύρου. 13.  
 Ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο  
 ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, ἐὰν εἰς Βαβυ-  
 λῶνα ἤκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῇ, μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ  
 Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπείσθη.

Μένων δέ, πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρα-  
 τῶται, πότερον ἔψονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 στράτευμα χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. 14. Ἄνδρες,  
 ἐὰν μοι πεισθῇτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες, οὔτε πονήσαντες,  
 τῶν ἄλλων πλεον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου.  
 Τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; Νῦν δεῖται Κῦρος ἐπεσθαι τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ὑμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆ-  
 ναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, ὅ τι οἱ ἄλλοι  
 Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινούνται Κύρῳ. 15. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψηφί-  
 σονται ἐπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι, ἄρξαντες τοῦ  
 διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὥς προθυμοτάτοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν χάριν εἴσεται  
 Κῦρος, καὶ ἀποδώσει· (ἐπίσταται δ' εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος·) ἦν  
 δ' ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἄπιμεν μὲν ἅπαντες εἰς τοῦμ-  
 παλιν· ὑμῖν δέ, ὥς μόνοις πειθομένοις, πιστοτάτοις χρήσ-  
 εται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ ἄλλον οὔτινος  
 ἂν δέησθε, οἶδα ὅτι ὥς φίλοι τεύξεσθε Κύρου. 16. Ἀκούσ-  
 αντες ταῦτα, ἐπείθοντο, καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἦσθη  
 τε, καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν, εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ  
 ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσ-  
 ητε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κῦρον νομίζετε. 17. Οἱ μὲν



δὴ στρατιῶται, ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες, εὐχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι. Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν. Καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 18. Οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐ πώποθ' οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο περὶ, εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις· ἃ τότε Ἀδροκόμας προΐων κατέκλυσε, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος διαβῇ. Ἐδόκει δὲ θεῖον εἶναι, καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύσουσι. 19. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα, παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαί, μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἴνου. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

## CHAPTER V.

Is traversing the desert of Arabia, along the banks of the river, the army suffers from want of provisions; but procures a supply from Charmande, a town on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. A quarrel arises between the Greek troops of Clearchus and Menon, which is with difficulty settled by Cyrus.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον, ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀφινθίου δὲ πλήρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνὶ ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνὶ. 2. Θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλείστοι μὲν ὄνοι ἀγριοί, πολλοὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ οἱ μεγάλοι· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἵπποις ἐνίοτε ἐδίωκον. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἕστασαν· (πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρεχον θάτταν) καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἵπποι, ταῦτόν ἐποίουν· καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἵπποις θηρῶεν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις. Τὰ δὲ

κρέα τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἀπαλώτερα δέ. 3. Στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἵππων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπεσπᾶτο φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν αἴρουσα, ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ χρωμένη. Τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ, ὥσπερ πέρδικες, καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. Τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἡδίστα ἦν.

4. Πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιεβρεῖτο δ' αὐτῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύκλῳ. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. 5. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, παρασάγγας ἐνενήκοντα, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικοῦντες, ὄνους ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες, εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ ἀνταγοράζοντες σίτον ἔζων. 6. Τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σῖτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδία ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρικῷ, τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σίγλων. Ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμισθόλιον Ἀττικόν· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει. Κρέα οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. 7. Ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν, οὗς πάννυ μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὅποτε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιο διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. Καὶ δὴ ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις, καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα, λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ, συνεκβιβάζειν τὰς ἀμάξας. 8. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας. Ἐνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι Ρίψα· τες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροὺς κύνους, ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος



τος ἐστηκώς, ἵεντο, ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης, καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοὺς γηλόφον, ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας, καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας, ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν, θᾶπτον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ᾤετο μετεώρους ἐξεκόμεσαν τὰς ἀμάξας. 9. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ οὐ διατρίβων, (ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο,) νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν θᾶπτον ἔλθοι, τοσοῦτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαιότερον, τοσοῦτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στρατεύμα. Καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἢ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενής, εἰ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο.

10. Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ, κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμούς, ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη. Ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαίς διαβαίνοντες ὧδε· διφθέρας, ἃς εἶχον στεγᾶσματα, ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφον, εἶτα συνῆγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὥς μὴ ᾄπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον, καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνον τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον, τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος, καὶ σίτον μελίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλεῖστον.

\* 11. Ἀμφιλεξάντων δὲ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεάρχου, ὁ Κλέαρχος, κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος, πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον, καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. 12. Τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκευάμενος τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος, σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· (Κῦρος δὲ οὐπὼ ἦκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ προῆλανε·) τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα

σχίζων τις, ὥς εἶδε τὸν Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἴησι τῇ ἀξίνῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ, καὶ ἄλλος, εἶτα πολλοί, κραυγῆς γενομένης. 13. Ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μεῖναι, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας· αὐτὸς δέ, λαβὼν τοὺς θρᾶκας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἳ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, (τούτων δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι θρᾶκες,) ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπληῆχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. 14. Ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος, (ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος προσιῶν, καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὀπλιτῶν,) εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων, ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. Ὁ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινε, ὅτι, αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι, πρῶως λέγει τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. 15. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπῆει καὶ Κῦρος, καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν, ἤκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε. 16. Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε ὃ τι ποιεῖτε. Εἰ γὰρ τινα ἀλλήλοισι μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι, καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων, πάντες οὗτοι, οὓς ὁρᾶτε, βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ δυντων. 17. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.



## CHAPTER VI.

TRACES of the King's troops are now visible. Orontes, a noble Persian, offers to hasten forward with some horsemen, and lay an ambush for the King's force. Before he leaves the camp, however, he is found to be in correspondence with the King, and is put to death.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων, ἐφαίνετο ἰχνια ἵππων καὶ κόπος· εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς διςχιλίων ἵππων. Οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὀρόντης δέ, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν, ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας, καταλλαγεὶς δέ. 2. Οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίη ἱππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακάνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας, ἢ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι, καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν, ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτούς, ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου στρατεύμα, βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. Τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων. 3. Ὁ δ' Ὀρόντης, νομίσας ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱππέας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅτι ἤξοι ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ππεῦσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. Ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς ᾤετο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδωσιν. 4. Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κύρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόντην, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Περσῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτά· καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγούς ἐκέλευσεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τριςχιλίους ὀπλίτας. 5. Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἰσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς

φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸρ ὦπτον ἦν. Ἐφη δὲ Κύρον ἀρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε·

6. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος, ὃ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τουτουί. Τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοί, ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα, ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα. 7. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὃ τι σε ἠδίκησα; Ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ. Πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἠρώτα· Οὐκοῦν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσούς, κακῶς ἐποίηεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν, ὃ τι ἐδύνω; Ἐφη ὁ Ὀρόντης· Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὁπότ' αὐ ἐγὼ τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν ἥς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμόν, μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα, καί, πείσας ἐμέ, πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι, καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ; Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμολόγει ὁ Ὀρόντης. 8. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερός γέγονας; Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτόν· Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἀδικος γεγενῆσθαι; Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος· Ἐπὶ οὖν ἂν γένοιτο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός; Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κύρε, σοί γ' ἂν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. Πρὸς ταῦτα Κύρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν· 9. Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην, ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε· Συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέη τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολῇ ἢ ἡμῖν, τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθελοντάς φίλους τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν. 10. Ταύτην δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. Μετὰ ταῦτα, κελεύοντος Κύρου, ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόντην



ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἴτα δὲ ἐξήγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἷπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. 11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσπνέχθη, τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόντην οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε, οὐδέ, ὅπως ἀπέθανεν, οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἰκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

## CHAPTER VII.

CYRUS enters Babylonia, and reviews his troops. He promises them great rewards in case of victory. His army advances in order of battle; but, supposing the king will not hazard an engagement, soon begins to proceed with less caution.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμούς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας δώδεκα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κύρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· (ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω ἤξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχομένον·) καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετταλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύμου· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. 2. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν, ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἤκοντες αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς. Κύρος δὲ, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, συνεβουλεύετό τε, πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιῶτο, καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύνων τοιάδε. 3. Ὁ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. Ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἣς κέκτησθε, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἣς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. Εὐ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίων. 4. Ὅπως δὲ καὶ

εἰδῆτε, εἰς οἷον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς διαῶ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ, καὶ κραυγὴ πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τὰ ἄλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι μοι δοκῶ, οἷους ἡμῖν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. Ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων, καὶ εὐτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἶκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν· πολλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι.

5. Ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρῶν, φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπε· Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγουσί τινες, ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνῇ νῦν, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος· ἂν δὲ εὐ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνησθαι σέ φασιν· ἐνιοὶ δέ, οὐδ' εἰ μέμνοιό τε καὶ βούλοιο, δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα ὑπισχνῇ. 6. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος· Ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ πατρώα, πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν, μέχρι οὐ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἀνθρώποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον, μέχρι οὐ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. 7. Ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. Ὡστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω, ὃ τι δῶ ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὐ γένηται, ἀλλά, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανούς, οἷς δῶ. Ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέφανον ἐκάστω χρυσοῦν δώσω. 8. Οἱ δέ, ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, αὐτοὶ τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελλον. Εἰσῆσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινές, ἀξιούντες εἰδέναι τί σφισιν ἔσται, ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. Ὁ δέ, ἐμπιπλὰς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην, ἀπέπεμπε. 9. Παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες, ὅσοιπερ διέλεγοντο, μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὥδέ πως ἤρετο Κύρον· Οἶει γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κύρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς, ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεῖ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι.

10. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ, ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἄσπις μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ



δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. 11. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἤρχεν· οὗτοι δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. 12. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀδροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωδρύας, Ἀρδάκης. Τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Ἀδροκόμας γὰρ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. 13. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελλον πρὸς Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης· καὶ, μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οἱ ὑστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων, ταῦτα ἡγγελλον.

14. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας τρεῖς, συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ᾧτο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτή, βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυιαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυιαὶ τρεῖς. 15. Παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἀνω καὶ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας, μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τοίχους. (Ἐνθα δὴ εἰσιν αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ρέουσαι· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγὰ· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἑκάστη παρασάγγην, γέφυραι δ' ἐπείουσιν.) Ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ, μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου, ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος. 16. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς μέγας ποιεῖ ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεται Κύρον προσελαύνοντα. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πάροδον Κύρος τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρήλθε, καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰσὼ τῆς τάφρου. 17. Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούντων φανερὰ ἦσαν καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ

ἰσχυρῶν ἰχνη πολλά. 18. Ἐνταῦθα Κύρος, Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην, μάντιν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικούς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας πρότερον θνύμενος, εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν· Κύρος δ' εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης, ὑπισχνούμαι σοι δέκα τάλαντα. Τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρήλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. 19. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κύρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένως μαῖλλον. 20. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τῶν ὀπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν ἦγοντο καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

## CHAPTER VIII.

ALL at once they see the enemy advancing in order of battle, and hastily prepare for action. The Greeks, who form the right wing, on the bank of the Euphrates, put to flight the troops opposed to them, and pursue them some distance. Cyrus, who is in the center, attacks the King, but is killed.

1. Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν, καὶ πλησίον ἦν ὁ σταθμός, ἐνθα ἐμελλε καταλύειν, ἡνίκα Παταγύας, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, τῶν ἀμφὶ Κύρον πιστῶν, προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἰδροῦντι τῷ ἱππῷ· καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν, ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται, ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. 2. Ἐνθα δὲ πολὺς τάραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ πάντες δέ, ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. 3. Κύρος τε, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος, τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδν, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγ



γελλεν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι, καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον. 4. Ἐνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τοῦτον. Μένων δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. 5. Τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰ, χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν. ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε, ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν. 6. Κῦρος δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἑξακόσιοι κατὰ τὸ μέσον, ὥπλισμένοι θώραξι μεγάλοις καὶ παραμηριδίοις, καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου. Κῦρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. (Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν.) 7. Οἱ δ' ἱπποὶ πάντες, οἱ μετὰ Κῦρον, εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια. εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἱππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς.

8. Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι. ἡνίκα δὲ δεῖλῃ ἐγίγνετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτός, ὥσπερ νεφέλῃ λευκῇ, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ. Ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε, καὶ αἱ λόγχοι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. 9. Καὶ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων. (Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν.) ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γερόφοροι. ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται σὺν ποδῆρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν. (Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι.) ἄλλοι δ' ἱππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. Πάντες οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη, ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. 10. Πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα. εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίσκοις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὥς διακόπτειν, ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν. Ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὥς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλόντων καὶ διακοπόντων. 11. Ὁ μὲντοι Κῦρος εἶπεν.

ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τούτο. οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ, ὥς ἀνυστόν, καὶ ἡσυχῇ, ἐν ἰσῷ καὶ βραδέως προσήεσαν. 12. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κῦρος, παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι, τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ, καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι, τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἴη. κὰν τοῦτο, ἔφη, νικῶμεν πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποίηται. 13. Ὅρῳ δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ μέσον στίφος, καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλέα, (τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς, ὥστε μέσον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἦν,) ἀλλ' ὁμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἠθέλεν ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβούμενος μὴ κυκλωθεῖν ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔξει.

14. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στρατευμα ὁμαλῶς προΐει, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικόν, ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον, συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, παρελαύνων οὐ πάνν πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι, κατεθεᾶτο ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων, εἰς τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους. 15. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπελάσας ὥς συναντῆσαι, ἤρετο, εἰ τι παραγγέλλοι. ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλά. 16. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων, θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἴη. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἡδὴ. Καὶ δὲ ἐθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει, καὶ ἤρετο ὁ τι εἴη τὸ σύνθημα. Ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ΖΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗ. 17. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας, Ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλαυνε. καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέταρα στάδια διειχέτην τῷ φάλαγγι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἵεναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. 18. Ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν. καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες, οἷον περ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ



πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. Λέγουσι δὲ τινες, ὥς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιούντες τοῖς ἵπποις 19. Πρὶν δὲ τόξενμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ φεύγουσι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι. 20. Τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κενὰ ἡμιόχων. Οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν, δίσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη, ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ, ἐκπλαγεῖς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν· οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξενθῆναί τις ἐλέγετο.

21. Κῦρος δέ, ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὥς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἑξακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν, ἐπεμελεῖτο ὃ τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ ᾔδει αὐτόν, ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. 22. Καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦντο, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἣν ἢ ἡ ἰσχυρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, καί, εἰ τι παραγγεῖλαι χρήζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα. 23. Καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε, μέσον ἔχων τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς, ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπεν ὥς εἰς κύκλωσιν. 24. Ἐνθα δὴ Κῦρος, δείσας μὴ ὀπισθεν γενόμενος κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις, νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτείνει λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν. 25. Ὡς δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἑξακόσιοι, εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὀρμήσαντες· πλὴν πάνν ὀλίγοι ἀμφ' αὐτόν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. 26. Σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὢν, καθορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ

τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφο, καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἦ ἔσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, Τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶ, ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον, καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἱατρός, καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι. 27. Παίοντα δ' αὐτόν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κῦρος, καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου, ὅποσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον Κτησίας λέγει· (παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν·) Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτόν ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 28. Ἀρταπάτης δέ, ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων, λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἶδε Κῦρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. 29. Καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ βασιλέα κελεῦσαι τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτόν Κύρῳ, οἱ δέ, ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι, σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτόν δὲ ἐφόρει, καὶ ψέλλια, καὶ τάλλα, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE character of Cyrus is drawn by the writer, and the narrative is then resumed. On the death of the young Prince most of the Persians flee. The friends of Cyrus all perish with him, except Ariæus, who is the first to run away.

1. Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν, τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων, βασιλικώτατος τε καὶ ἀρχεὶν ἀξιώτατος, ὥς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. 2. Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἔτι παῖς ὢν, ὅτε ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. 3. Πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύοντο· ἐνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις, αἰσχροὺς δ' οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἀκοῦσαι οὐτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. 4. Θεωνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τοὺς τιμωμένους ὑπὸ



Βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. 5. Ἐνθα Κῦρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι· ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος, καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρήσθαι· Ἐκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. 6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. Καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς φανερὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε, καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτόν, ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἰ τῷ σπείσαιοτο καὶ εἰ τῷ σύνθοιτο καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. 8. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἰ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισαμένον Κῦρον ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν. 9. Τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσαι Κῦρον εἶλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους, πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. 10. Καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε πρόοιτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιοντο, ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν. 11. Φανερός δ' ἦν, καὶ εἰ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δὲ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὥς εὐχαιοτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν, ἔστε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦντας ἀλεξόμενος. 12. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι δὴ αὐτῷ, ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι.

13. Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἰποι, ὥς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. Πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν, παρὰ τὰς στειβόμενας ὁδοὺς, καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστε ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ, μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι, ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι, ὅποι τις ἠθέλεν, ἔχοντι δ' τι προχωροῖη. 14. Τοὺς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὠμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας, οὓς ἐώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἥς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλη δώροις ἐτίμα. 15. Ὡς τε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦν εἶναι. Τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν θελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἶοιτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι.

16. Εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην, εἰ τις αὐτῷ φανερός γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. 17. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο, καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. Καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. 18. Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τίς γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσκειν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. Τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ ὑπηρεταὶ παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι. 19. Εἰ δέ τινα ὀρώη δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε, ἥς ἄοχοι χώρας, καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν, καὶ θαρράλέως ἐκτῶντο, καὶ ὃ ἐπέπατο αὐτὸς τις ἥκιστα Κῦρον ἐκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρήσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι. 20. Φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιοτο, καὶ



εὖνους γνοίη ὄντας, καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὅτι τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. 21. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐπὲρ αὐτὸς ἔνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου, ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμῶντα.

22. Δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἰς γε ὧν ἀνὴρ, ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἑκάστου σκοπῶν, καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὁρῶν ἕκαστον δεόμενον. 23. Καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις, ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον, ἢ ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι. 24. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. 25. Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἶνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις, ὁπότε πάνν ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων, ὅτι οὐπὼ δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίονι οἶνῳ ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε, καὶ δεῖται σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. 26. Πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε, καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα· Τούτοις ἦσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι. 27. Ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνν εἴη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλόν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν. 28. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο, καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὀψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοίη, οὐς τιμᾶ. Ὡς τε ἔγωγε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλησθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρ

βάρων. 29. Τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε. Παρὰ μὲν Κύρου, δούλου ὄντος, οὐδεὶς ἀπῆει πρὸς βασιλέα· πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· (καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὦν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὔρε Κῦρῳ φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κῦρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κῦρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιοτέρως ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. 30. Μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθός, καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὖνους καὶ βεβαίους. 31. Ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ, πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὡς δ' ἦσθετο Κῦρον πεπτωκότα ἔφυνγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οὐ ἡγεῖτο.

## CHAPTER X.

THE King, in the pursuit, reaches the camp of Cyrus, and, after plundering it, advances against the Greeks, by whom he is repulsed.

1. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κῦρον ἀποτέμνεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεῖς ἡ δεξιὰ. Βασιλεὺς δέ, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κυρεῖον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἐνθεν ὤρμηντο· (τέτταρες δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ.) 2. Βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι, καὶ τὴν Φωκαίδα, τὴν Κῦρον παλλακίδα, τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι, λαμβάνει. 3. Ἡ δὲ Μιλησία, ἡ νεωτέρα ἦν, ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες· καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἁρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἐφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ



ταύτην ἔσωσαν, καὶ ἄλλα, ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν. 4. Ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὥς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτούς, ὥς πάντας νικῶντες, οἱ δὲ ἀρπάζοντες, ὥς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. 5. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους, ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶεν τὸ καθ' αὐτούς, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἰχονται διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ συντάττεται· ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο, Πρόξενον καλέσας, (πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν,) εἰ πέμποιεν τινας, ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντες.

6. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος ἦν προσίων πάλιν, ὥς ἐδόκει, ὁπισθεν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο, ὥς ταύτῃ προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἦγεν, ἣ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐώνυμου κέρατος, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας, καὶ Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. 7. Ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν, καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. 8. Ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης, ὥς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. 9. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας, καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας, καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὁπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. 10. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥς περ τὸ πρῶτον μαχοῦμενος σιγήει. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγὺς τε

ῥοντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπήεσαν πολὺν ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. 11. Οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλέονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κώμης τινός· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 12. Ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥς τε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν. Καὶ τὸ βασίλειον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν, αἰτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτης ἀνατεταμένον. 13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουνσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς, οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἀθρόοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν, ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. 14. Ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. 15. Καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. Σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. 16. Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἀνεπαύοντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρείη. Οὐ γὰρ ἤδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἰχεσθαι ἢ καταληφόμενον τι προεληλακέναι. 17. Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο, εἰ αὐτοῦ μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιντο, ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον· ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δόρπηστον ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. 18. Ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα, καὶ εἰ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν· καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας υεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ὥς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος, ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἐνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, (ἦσαν δ' αὐταὶ τετρακόσiai ὥς ἐλέγοντο ἅμαξαι,) καὶ αὐτάς τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. 19. Ὡς τε ἄδειπνοὶ ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο



# XENOPHON'S ANABASIS

## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER I.

On their return to the camp, the Greeks are surprised to hear of the death of Cyrus. Arius declines the throne, which the Greeks advise him to claim, and resolves to return to Ionia. The King sends to demand the submission of the Greeks, with threats if they attempt to leave their camp.

1. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὥς Κύρος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν, οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν, καὶ Κύρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι Κύρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι σηματοῦντα ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. Ἐδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, συσκευασαμένοις ὃ εἶχον, καὶ ἐξοπλισαμένοις, προΐεναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἕως Κύρῳ συμμίξειαν. 3. Ἦδη δὴ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων, ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς, ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγωνὼς ἀπὸ Δημαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμῳ. Οὗτοι ἔλεγον, ὅτι Κύρος τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφηνγῶς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὤρμωντο, καὶ λέγοι, ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμείνειεν ἂν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἦκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε. 4. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε εἶπεν. Ἀλλ' ὥφελε μὲν Κύρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ, ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα, καί, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς

ἦλθετε, ἐπορενόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. Ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, εἰ ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείου καθίσειν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχῃ νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί. 5. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. Οἱ μὲν ὤχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. 6. Τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο οἷτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο, ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ζύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντες μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς, πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις, καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι, κρέα ἔψοντες ἥσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

7. Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγοράν, καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, Βάρβαροι, ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἰς Ἕλληνα, ὃς ἐτύγγανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὦν, καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. 8. Οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες, καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας, λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει, καὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὅπλα, λόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας, εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. 9. Ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὁμῶς δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἶη τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὃ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἀριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω. (Ἐκάλεσε γὰρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θνύμενος.) 10. Ἐνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέανωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκάς, πρεσβύτατος ὢν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοίησαν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη,



ὦ Φαλίνε, θαυμάζω, πότερα ὥς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ ὥς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὥς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω, τί ἐστὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται. 11. Πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε· Βασιλεὺς νικᾶν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε· (τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστίν, ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται;) νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων, καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύναιοιθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι.

12. Μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, ὦ Φαλίνε, νῦν, ὥς σὺ ὁρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. Ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες, οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. Μὴ οὖν οἶον τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν· ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχοῦμεθα. 13. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνότητος ὢν, εἰ οἶε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλείας δυνάμεως. 14. Ἄλλους δὲ τινας ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακισμένους, ὥς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοὺ ἀξιοὶ γένοιοντο, εἰ βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι, εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ. 15. Ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἡρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Οὗτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπέ, τί λέγεις. 16. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐγώ σε, ὦ Φαλίνε, ἄσμενος ἑώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· σὺ τε γὰρ Ἑλλήν ἐῖ, καὶ ἡμεῖς, τοσοῦτοι ὄντες, ὅσους σὺ ὁρᾷς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι, συμβουλευόμεθά σοι, τί χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. 17. Σὺ οὖν, πρὸς θεῶν, συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὁ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀριστον εἶναι καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον,

ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως, κελεύσων τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι, συμβουλευομένοις ξυνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. Οἶσθα δέ, ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὃ ἂν συμβουλευῇς. 18. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο, βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτόν, τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα, συμβουλευῆσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἑλληνες. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν. 19. Ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα· εἰ δὲ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος βασιλέως, συμβουλεύω σώζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπη δυνατόν. 20. Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἀξιοὶ εἶναι φίλοι, ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῳ· εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν, ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. 21. Ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προῖοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. Εἰπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου, πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν, ἢ ὥς πολέμον ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. 22. Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεξεν· Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου, ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτα ἐστίν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος· Ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Κλέαρχος· Ἦν μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαί, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος. 23. Ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἡρώτησε· Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἢ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος. Ὁ τι δὲ ποιήσοι σὺ διεσήμηνε.



## CHAPTER II.

THE Greeks refuse to surrender, and march to the camp of Arimus to consult about their return. During the night the army is seized with a panic.

1. Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ὤχετο, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦγον, Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος· (Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ·) οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας αὐτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἡκεῖν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς πρῶτ' ἀπιέναι φησίν. 2. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν ἡκωμεν, ὥς περ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πράττετε ὁποῖον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. Ὁ τι δὲ ποιήσοι, οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε. 3. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἤδη ἡλίου δύνοντος, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ ἵεναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι νανσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. Οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἵεναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάννυ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερά ἦν. 4. Ὡς οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὃ τι τις ἔχει. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ σημήνη τῷ κέρατι ὥς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω. 5. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτω. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἤρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὁρῶντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα ἔδει τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν. 6. Ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἣν ἤλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης, σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακίς-

χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἔλεγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θράξ, ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τετταράκοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὥς τριακοσίους, ἠϋτομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. 8. Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμόν, παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιάν, ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, ξυνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὤμοσαν οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀριαῖος, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι, μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. 9. Ταῦτα δ' ὤμοσαν, σφάζαντες ταῦρον, καὶ λύκον, καὶ κάπρον, καὶ κριόν, εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. 10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος· Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεὶ περ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπέ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας· πότερον ἀπιμεν, ἢν περ ἤλθομεν, ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννενοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω; 11. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἦν μὲν ἤλθομεν ἀπιόντες, παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὲρ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἐπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτῳ οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἴοντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἰχομεν λαμβάνειν. Ἐνθα δ' εἴτι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπάνησαμεν. Νῦν δ' ἐπιννοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. 12. Πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρῶτους σταθμοὺς ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὥς πλεῖστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. Ὀλίγῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι. Πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. Ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἐγωγε.

13. Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στοατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη, ἢ



ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον· Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν. 14. Ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλῃν ἔδοξαν πολεμίους δρᾶν ἱππέας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες, εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος, (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος, διότι ἐτέτρωτο,) καταβάς ἐθωρακίζετο, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. 15. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο, ἤκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποί, ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμονται. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες, ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμας οὐ πρόσω. 16. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· (ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότες τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὀψὲ ἦν·) οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος μὴ δοκοῖη φεύγειν, ἀλλ', εὐθύωρον ἄγων, ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς πρῶτους ἄγων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. 17. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι, σκοταῖοι προσιόντες, ὡς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι ἠϋλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποίουν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. 18. Δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτι οὐδὲν ἐφάνη, οὔτε στρατόπεδον, οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. Ἐξεπλάγη δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε. 19. Προϊούσης μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι φόβος ἐμπέπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἦν οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίνεσθαι. 20. Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἡλείον, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ, κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνείπειν ἐκέλευσε, σιγὴν κατακηρύξαντα, ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὅπλα μὴνύσῃ, ὅτι λήψεται μισθὸν

ταλαντὸν ἀργυρίου. 21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται, ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἴη, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶοι. Ἄμα δὲ ὁρθρῶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

### CHAPTER III.

NEXT morning the King sends to propose terms of peace, and supplies them with provisions during the negotiation. On hearing the artifice by which they have been drawn into the war, he consents, as Tissaphernes reports to the Greeks, to allow them to return home through his dominions, and to have Tissaphernes as their guide.

1. Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ, τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. Τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων, τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἐπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. 2. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος, τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν, εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στράτευμα ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντῃ φάλαγγα πυκνήν, τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε, τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν. 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνθρώπα τί βούλονται. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες, οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ. 5. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοίνυν αὐτῷ, ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον, ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον. 6. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀγγελοι ἀπήλαυνον, καὶ ἤκον ταχύ· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγὺς που βασιλεὺς ἦν, ἢ ἄλλος τις, ᾧ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἤκοιεν



ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, οἱ αὐτούς, εἰς σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξουσιν ἐνθεν ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 7. Ὁ δὲ ἡρώτα, εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἰούσι καὶ ἀπιούσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. Οἱ δὲ Ἀπασιν ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελῇ. 8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μετασπασάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο. Καὶ ἐδόκει τὰς σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι ταχύ, καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. 9. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μὲν κἄμοι ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἕστ' ἂν ὁκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

10. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο· Κλέαρχος μὲντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὠπισθοφυλάκει. Καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεσιν ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἱ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. 11. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὥς ἐπεστάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἰ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἂν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνῃν εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάσειν. 12. Καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἐώρων σπουδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. 13. Πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτέων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδῖον ἄρδεν·) ἀλλ', ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προφαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτειν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι.

14. Παρενόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κόμας, ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἐνῆν δὲ σίτος πολὺς,

καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων, καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. 15. Αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων, οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θανμάσαι τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ἢ δὲ ὕψις ἡλέκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερε. Τὰς δὲ τινὰς ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. Καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. 16. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. Ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγὲς. Ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ὅθεν ἐξαιρεθείη ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος ἀναίνετο.

17. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιάδε. 18. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα ἐμπεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποίησάμην, εἰ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι, δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔξειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν, οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος. 19. Ταῦτα δὲ γνούς, ἡτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ, ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κύρον τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα, καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα, καὶ συνέμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς ξὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖςδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. 20. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευσασθαι, ἔρεσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα, τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. Καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ἢ εἰάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι.

21. Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο·



καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντας, οὔτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος εὗρισκεν, ὡς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶσθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκευάστους λάβοι, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀναγάγοι. 22. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμαι ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα, ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. 23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιοῦμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὔτ' ἐστὶν ὅτου ἐνεκα βουλοίμεθ' ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχῃ, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν.

24. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἔφη· Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἤκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέχομεν. 25. Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥςθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡκων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσάμενους. 26. Τέλος δὲ εἶπε· Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ᾗ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 27. Ὑμᾶς δ' αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι, ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς, σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας, ὅπότε μὴ ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν· ἦν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν, ὠνούμενους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 28. Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς, καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. 29. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε· Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασ-

ιλεᾶ· ἐπειδὴν δὲ διαπράξωμαι, ἃ δέομαι, ἤξω συσκευασάμενος, ὡς ἀπάζων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμαντοῦ ἀρχήν.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE Greeks distrust both Ariæus and Tissaphernes, and determine to march apart from the Persian forces. They commence the march, following Tissaphernes, pass the Median wall, and afterward cross the Tigris.

1. Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. Ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρσυνόν τε, καὶ δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον, μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλεῖα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κῦρῳ ἐπιστρατείας, μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδεὸς τῶν παρωχημένων. 2. Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐνδηλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον ἦττον προσέχοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν νοῦν· ὥς τε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἥρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς. 3. Τί μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι φόβος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν, διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὶ δὲ πάλιν ἀλίσθη αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. 4. Ἴσως δέ που ἢ ἀποσκάπτει τι, ἢ ἀποτεριχίζει, ὡς ἄπορος ἢ ἡ ὁδός. Οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὡς ἡμεῖς, τοσοῦδε ὄντες, ἐνικῶμεν τὸν βασιλεῖα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν.

5. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν· Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δέ, ὅτι, εἰ νῦν ἄπειμι, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι, καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. Ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν.



οὐδὲ ὄθεν ἐπισιτισύμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφесτήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελείψεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. 6. Ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστὶ διαβατέος, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι, κωλύοντων πολέμιων. Οὐ μὲν δὴ, ἂν μάχεσθαι γε δέη, ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν ξύμμαχοι· τῶν δὲ πολέμιων ἱππεῖς εἰσιν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἷόν τε σωθῆναι. 7. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ὃ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐστὶ τὰ σύμμαχα, εἶπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι, καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάροις. Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης, ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιῶν, καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. 9. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦδη, Τισσαφέρνους ἡγούμενου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχοντος, ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος, τὸ Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα, ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντα, καὶ ξυνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις. 10. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὑφορῶντες τούτους, αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. Ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων παρασάγγην καὶ μείον. Ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφότεροι ὥσπερ πολέμιους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρεῖχεν. 11. Ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ξυλλέγοντες, πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐχθραν παρεῖχε. 12. Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμούς, ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον εἰσὼ αὐτοῦ. Ἦν δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς, ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κεμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μήκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγῶν· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. 13. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο, παρὰσάγγας

ὀκτώ, καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ' ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτὰ· (αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέτμηντο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάττους, τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὄχετοὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας·) καὶ ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἣ ὄνομα Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους πεντεκαίδεκα. 14. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν, ἐγγὺς παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα· οὐ μέντοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν.

15. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἄνθρωπος τις ἠρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας, ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀριαίου ὦν, τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. 16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν, ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι, ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε. Ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάοχος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ, καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι, μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ. 17. Καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακὴν, ὥς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λῦσαι Τισσαφέρνης τῆς νυκτός, ἔὰν δύνηται, ὥς μὴ διαβῇτε, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. 18. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον, καὶ φράζουσιν, ἃ λέγει. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα, καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο. 19. Νεανίσκος δὲ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν, ὥς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἴη τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ τὸ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γάρ, ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὦσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθεῖμεν. 20. Ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν



ἐκεῖνοι ἵποι φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθῆσαι, πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν, οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας.

21. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι πολλή, καὶ κῶμαι ἐνεῖσι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. 22. Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν, ὀκνοῦντες, μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες, διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἐνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα, ἐνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας, πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὐσης, καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνόντων· εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφή γένοιτο, εἰ τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν. 23. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὁμῶς φυλακὴν ἐπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. 24. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γέφυραν, ἐξενυγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ, ὥς οἶόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων, ὥς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῇ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων, σκοπῶν εἰ διαβαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ᾤχετο ἀπελαύνων.

25. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν, ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου· ἐπὶ δὲ γέφυρα. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ᾤκειτο πόλις μεγάλη, ἣ ὄνομα Ὠπὶς· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφός, ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων, ὥς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, παρερχομένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐθεώρει. 26. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἠγγεῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος. Ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δεῖ ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς

τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξαι πάμπαν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐκπεπληχθαι θεωροῦντα. 27. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ἕξ, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας, τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. Ταύτας Τισσαφέρνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. Ἐνῆν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς, καὶ πρόβατα, καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. 28. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ, πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πόλις ᾤκειτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, ὄνομα Καίναί, ἐξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διήγον· ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυρούς, οἶνον

## CHAPTER V.

*DURING a halt at the River Zapatas, Clearchus endeavors to put an end to all mutual suspicion by an interview with Tissaphernes. The latter receives him in a very friendly manner, so that Clearchus, moved by his discourse, returns to him with four other generals and twenty captains, in order to be apprised of the persons who, by calumnies, endeavored to excite animosity between the two armies. The generals are invited into the tent of Tissaphernes, while the captains remain without. On a given signal the generals are made prisoners, and the captains, and others who had accompanied them, are cut to pieces. Ariæus then comes with some other Persians to the Grecian camp, and in the name of the King demands a surrender of their arms. Clearchus returns a spirited answer.*

1. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζάπαταν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαι μὲν ἦσαν, φανερά δὲ οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλὴ. 2. Ἐδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ξυγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, καί, εἰ πως δύναίτο, παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας, πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἐπεμψέ τινα ἐροῦντα, ὅτι ξυγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζει. Ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἤκειν. 3. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνῆλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὄρκους γεγεννημένους, καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας, μὴ ἀδικήσῃν ἀλλήλους



φυλαττόμενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὁρῶντες ταῦτα, ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσθεσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἰδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως, εἰ δυναίμεθα, ἐξέλκοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. 5. Καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους, φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν, ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ' αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. 6. Τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα ἀν παύεσθαι, ἤκω, καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι, ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. 7. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον, οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὅρκοι κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὐποτ' ἀν εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. Τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποῖου ἀν τάχους οὔτε ὅποι ἀν τις φεύγων ἀποφύγοι, οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἀν σκότος ἀποδραίη, οὔθ' ὅπως ἀν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίη. Πάντη γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα, καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. 8. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὀρκῶν οὕτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' οἷς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. 9. Σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατός, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἀνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἢ ὁδός, (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα,) πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερός, φοβερώτατον δ' ἐρημία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. 10. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἀν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἐφεδρὸν ἀγωνιζοίμεθα; ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἷων ἀν ἐλπίδων ἐμavτὸν στερήσαιμι, εἰ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. 11. Ἐγὼ γὰρ Κῦρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοίτο· σὲ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τὴν Κίρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ

τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἢ Κῦρος πολεμία ἐχρήτο, σοὶ ταύτην ξύμμαχον οὔσαν. 12. Τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, τίς οὕτω μαίνεται, ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοι φίλος εἶναι; Ἀλλὰ μὴν (ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι.) 13. Οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἀν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἀν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποῖα δύναμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἀν κολάσεσθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. 14. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκοῦσι σύ, εἰ μὲν βούλοιό τω φίλος εἶναι, ὡς μέγιστος ἀν εἴης· εἰ δὲ τίς σε λυποίῃ, ὡς δεσπότης ἀναστρέφοιο, ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἱ σοι οὐκ ἀν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἔνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῖμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος, ἥς, σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ, σοὶ ἀν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. 15. Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν, ὥστε καὶ ἡδιστ' ἀν ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα, τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν, ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων, ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὥδε ἀπημείφθη.

16. Ἀλλ' ἡδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων, εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βουλευοίς, ἅμα ἀν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαντῷ κακόνους εἶναι. Ὡς δ' ἀν μάθης, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. 17. Εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν, ἢ πεζῶν, ἢ ὀπλίσεως, ἐν ἧ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἀν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; 18. Ἀλλὰ χωρίων, ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἀπορεῖν ἀν σοι δοκοῦμεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὑμῖν ὁρᾶτε ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἀπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοί, ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι, ὅπῃ



σοις ἂν ὑμῶν βουλόμεθα μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύομεν. 19. Εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρεῖττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστίν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ᾧ ὑμεῖς, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε, μάχεσθαι ἂν δύνασθε. 20. Πῶς ἂν οὖν, ἔχοντες τοσούτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα, ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβής, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρός; 21. Παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἀνάγκη ἔχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι δι' ἐπιτοκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς, καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, πράττειν τι. Οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὦ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἡλίθιοι ἐσμεν. 22. Ἀλλὰ τί δή, ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦλθομεν; εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἵτιος, τὸ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ᾧ Κῦρος ἀνέβη ξενικῶ δια μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων, τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἰσχυρόν. 23. Ὅσα δέ μοι ὑμεῖς χρήσιμοι ἔστε, τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

24. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῇ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐκ οὖν, ἔφη, οἵτινες, τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων, πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες ποιῆσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς, ἄξιοι εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; 25. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι οἷ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ, λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας, ὥς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. 26. Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὐτὸ δηλώσω, ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω. 27. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, δῆλός τ' ἦν πάνυ

φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακεῖσθαι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν· ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἰέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην, οὓς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. 28. Ὑπώπτευσεν δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγεννημένον Τισσαφέρνει μετ' Ἀριαίου, καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν φίλος ἢ Τισσαφέρνει. 29. Ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδῶν εἶναι. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ, μὴ ἰέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγούς, μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνει. 30. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστε διεπράξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγούς ἰέναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δέ, ὥς εἰς ἀγοράν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὥς διακόσιοι.

31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἰσω, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, Μένων Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιοός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔμενον. 32. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου, οἱ τ' ἔνδον ξυνελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἱππέων, διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες, ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἑλλήνι, ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ, πάντας ἔκτεινον. 33. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες τὴν τε ἱππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον, ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρῶντες, καὶ ὃ τι ἐποιοῦν ἡμφιγυνοῦν, πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκὰς ἦκε φεύγων, τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγεννημένα. 34. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἑλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι, καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἥξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 35. Οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοχος καὶ Μιθραδάτης, οἱ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄρᾱν καὶ γινώσκειν· ξυνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν



τεθωρακισμένοι, εἰς τριακοσίους. 36. Οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον, εἰ τις εἴη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγός, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλῃ τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως. 37. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ περὶ Προξένου· (Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐτύγχανεν ἀπὼν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ ξὺν ἄλλοις, ἐπισιτιζόμενος.) 38. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τάδε. Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιorkῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθηκε· Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. Ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναί φησιν, ἐπεὶ περ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου.

39. Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, (ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος·) Ὡ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων, Ἀριαῖε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες, ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει, τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ, τοὺς τε ἄνδρας αὐτούς, οἷς ὤμνυτε, ἀπολωλέκατε, καί, τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προδεδωκότες, ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε; 40. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος εἶπε· Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ξὺν τούτοις. 41. Ἐπὶ τούτοις Ξενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε. Κλέαρχος μὲν τοίνυν, εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλνε τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει· (δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιorkοῦντας·) Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπεὶ περ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ στρατηγοί, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι, φίλοι γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις, πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν. 42. Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπῆλθον, οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE character of each of the five generals is drawn: that of Clearchus more at length, as of a man not less skillful in war than devoted to its pursuits. Proxenus is next described as a commander too gentle and mild; Menon as a perfidious and wicked man, who, for the sake of gain, would perpetrate and suffer the most shameful acts. The other two, Agias and Socrates, are of less note.

1. Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοί, οὕτω ληφθέντες, ἀνήχθησαν ὡς βασιλέα, καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπείρω αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων, δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. 2. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρέμενεν· Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θράκες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν Ἐφόρων, ἐξέπλει, ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρόνησου καὶ Περίνθου Θραξίν. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγνόντες πως οἱ Ἐφοροί, ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὥχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. 4. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἡδὴ δὲ φygὰς ὢν, ἔρχεται πρὸς Κύρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἐπεισε Κύρον ἄλλῃ γέγραπται· δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρος μυρίους δαρεικοὺς. 5. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στράτευμα, ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξί, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τούτους, καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέχρι Κυρὸς ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς ξὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐ πολεμήσων.

6. Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἀνευ αἰσχύνῃς καὶ βλάβῃς, αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Ἐκεῖνος δέ, ὥς περ εἰς παιδικὰ



ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονήν, ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. 7. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτὸς ταύτῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὥς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὠμολόγουν. 8. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι, ὥς δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπον, οἶον κάκεινος εἶχεν. Ἰκανὸς μὲν γάρ, ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος, φροντίζειν ἦν, ὅπως ἔξει ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα· Ἰκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὥς πειστέον εἶη Κλεάρχῳ. 9. Τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν στυνγνὸς ἦν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς· ἐκόλαζέ τε αἰὲς ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὥς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. Καὶ γνώμη δὲ ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι. 10. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὥς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακᾶς φυλάξειν, ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπροφασίστως λέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. 11. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοι ἡροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυνγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρώμενον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι· ὥστε σωτήριον, καὶ οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν, ἐφαίνετο. 12. Ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιντο, καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰὲς χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὠμός· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. 13. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλία μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι, παρεῖησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἐχρήτο. 14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν ξὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρράλῃς ἔχειν παρῆν, καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει.

15. Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. Ἦν δέ, ὅτε ἐτελεύτα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

16. Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιωτὸς εὐθὺς μὲν, μεῖράκιον ὦν, ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἰκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργία ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ. 17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἰκανὸς ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ φίλος ὦν τοῖς πρώτοις, μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, καὶ χρήματα πολλά. 18. Τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν, σφόδρα ἐνδηλον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. 19. Ἀρχεῖν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἰκανὸς ἐμποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνῳ· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερός τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. 20. Ὡς δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν, τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀδικοὶ ἐπεβούλευον ὥς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν ἦν ἑτῶν ὥς τριάκοντα.

21. Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι ἵνα πλείω κερδαῖνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην. 22. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι, ὦν ἐπιθυμοίη, συντομωτάτην ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιорκεῖν τε, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν· τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐνόμιζε τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. 23. Στέργων δὲ φανερός μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἐνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. Καὶ πολεμίον μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν



δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. 24. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν) τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἶδεναι ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. 25. Καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εὖ ὠπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. 26. Ὡς περ δὲ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτω Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῇ, τῷ φίλους διαγελᾶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν αἰεὶ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. Καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχειρεῖ πρωτεύειν φιλία, διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους, τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. 27. Τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμχανᾶτο. Τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἡξίον, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν. Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. 28. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι τὰδ' ἐστί. Παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν, ἔτι ὠραῖος ὢν, στρατηγοῦν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων· Ἀριαίῳ δέ, βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἤδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὠραῖος ὢν ἐγένετο· αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε θαρύπαν, ἀγένειος ὢν γενειῶντα. 29. Ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ξὺν Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποιηκῶς οὐκ ἀπέθανε· μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥς περ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, (ὥς περ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι,) ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτόν, ὡς πονηρός, λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

30. Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκάς, καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιοῦς, καὶ τούτῳ ἀπεθανέτην. Τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα, οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. Ἦστην δὲ ἀμφὶ ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

## XENOPHON'S ANABASIS.

### BOOK III.

#### CHAPTER I.

THE dejected state of the Greeks. Xenophon, an Athenian, attempts to rouse them to some efforts, and at last succeeds in assembling the surviving generals and captains, whom he persuades to elect new commanders in place of those who have been cut off. This is accordingly done, and Xenophon himself is elected with others.

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ, ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐγένετο, ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνῃ, ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπόμενοι ἀπολώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοούμενοι μὲν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντη πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἐμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διεῖργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδὲ ὁδοῦ, προὔδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἵππεα οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες· ὥστε εὐδὴλον ἦν, ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη. 3. Ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι, καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκανσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἤλθον· αὐτὴν τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεῖν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν,



παίδων, οὓς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὑφεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

4. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγός, οὔτε λοχαγός, οὔτε στρατιώτης ὦν, συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοθεν, ξένος ὦν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. 5. Ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφῶν, ἀναγνούς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὑποπτεύσας μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως οἱ ἐπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κῦρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. 6. Ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπῆρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθεῖν. Καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. 7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. Ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἡτιᾶτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡρώτα, πότερον λῶον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ', αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι, τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖν. Ἐπεὶ μὲντοι οὕτως ἦρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. 8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω, θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός, ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κῦρον, μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. 9. Προθυμονόμενον δὲ τοῦ Πρόξενου, καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συμπροϋθυμεῖτο μέναι αὐτόν. Εἶπε δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας.

10. Ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεὶς· οὐχ ὑπὸ Πρόξενον, (οὐ γὰρ ἦδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν, οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου·) ἐπεὶ μὲντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἦδη ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. Φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἄκοντες

ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὦν εἰς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. 11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ. Ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ, βροντῆς γενομένης, σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρώαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. 12. Περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, (ὅτι, ἐν πόνοις ὦν καὶ κινδύνοις, φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε·) πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, (ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ,) μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' εἰργοίτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν.

13. Ὅποιόν τι μὲντοι ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, ἐξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. Γίγνεται γὰρ τάδε. Εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· τί κατὰκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἥξειν. Εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας, ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; 14. Ὅπως δ' ἀμυνόμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. Ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἑμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἂν τήμερον προδῶ ἑμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις. 15. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Πρόξενου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν, Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, (ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς,) οὔτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν ἐν οἷσις ἐσμέν. 16. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρασκευάσασθαι· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖται, ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 17. Καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψησόμεθα, καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἴομεθα πείσεσθαι; ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη, ἀποτεμῶν τὴν



κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδε-  
μῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὡς  
δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλείως ποιήσοντες, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ  
δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἴομεθα παθεῖν; 18. Ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ  
πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὡς, ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-  
ποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ στρατεῦσαί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν;  
'Ἄλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον  
19. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, οὐποτε ἐπαν-  
όμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτεῖρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ  
μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὄσπην μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν  
ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας,  
ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθῆτα δέ. 20. Τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν  
στρατιωτῶν ὅποτε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων  
οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα  
ἦδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δὲ πῶς πορίζεσθαι τὰ  
ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους ὄρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς·  
ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος, ἐνίστε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβού-  
μην ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. 21. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν  
τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ  
ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. Ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγ-  
αθὰ, ἀθλα, ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ὦσιν· ἀγω-  
νοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἔσονται.  
22. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δέ, πολλὰ  
ὀρῶντες ἀγαθὰ, στερβῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα, διὰ τοὺς τῶν  
θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ λέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα  
πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις. 23. Ἐτι δ' ἔχομεν  
σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχῃ, καὶ θάλπῃ, καὶ πόνονος  
φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ  
δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἢν οἱ θεοί,  
ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν. 24. Ἄλλ', ἴσως  
γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτ' ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀνα-  
μένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔλθεῖν, παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ  
κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς  
ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἀριστοὶ καὶ  
τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστοατηγότεροι. 25. Κάγῳ δέ, εἰ μὲν

ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι·  
εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν  
ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ  
τὰ κακά.

26. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοί, ἀκούσαντες  
ταῦτα, ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες· πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις  
ἦν, Βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν, ὅτι φλυαροίη  
ὅστις λέγει ἄλλως πῶς σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν, ἢ βασιλέα  
πείσας, εἰ δύναίτο· καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας.  
27. Ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν, μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν, ἔλεξεν ὥδε. Ὡ  
θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σὺ δὲ γε οὐδὲ ὀρῶν γιγνώσκεις,  
οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. Ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τού-  
τοις, ὅτε βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ  
τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὄπλα. 28. Ἐπεὶ  
δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ' ἐξοπλισάμενοι, ἐλθόντες  
παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε, πρέσβεις πέμπων,  
καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν, καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπον-  
δῶν ἔτυχεν; 29. Ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί,  
ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἀνευ ὀπλῶν ἦλθον,  
πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκείνοι παιόμενοι,  
κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύ-  
νανται, καὶ μάλ' οἶμαι ἐρῶντες τούτου; Ἄ σὺ πάντα εἰ-  
δὼς τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν  
δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις λόντας; 30. Ἐμοὶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ  
τὸν ἄνθρωπον τούτον μήτε προσέεσθαι εἰς ταῦτ' ἡμῖν αὐ-  
τοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν, σκεύη ἀναθέντας, ὡς  
τοιούτῳ χρῆσθαι. Οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει,  
καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι, Ἑλλήν ὢν, τοιοῦτός ἐστιν.

31. Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν·  
'Ἄλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδέν, οὔτε  
τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥσπερ  
Λυδόν, ἀμφότερα τὰ ὦτα τετρυνημένον. Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως.  
32. Τούτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, παρὰ τὰς τάξ-  
εις λόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶος εἶη, τὸν στρατηγὸν  
παρεκάλουν· ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστρατηγόν· ὅπου



δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶος εἶη, τὸν λοχαγόν. 33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. Ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν σχεδὸν μέσαι ἡσαν νύκτες. 34. Ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλεῖος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν, ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε. Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν, καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. Λέξον δ', ἔφη, καὶ σύ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

35. Ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης, οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν, συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὥς, ἢν δύνωνται, ἀπολέσωσιν. Ἡμῖν δέ γε οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα, ὥς μήποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἢν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. 36. Εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι ὑμεῖς, τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε, μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. Οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, κἂν μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται. Εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοί τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ᾗτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖτε, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι ἔφονται ὑμῖν, καὶ πειράσσονται μιμεῖσθαι. 37. Ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστίν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. Ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί. Καὶ, ὅτε εἰρήνη ᾗν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι, καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἢν που δέη. 38. Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε, ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὥς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. Ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὥς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἢ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν

39. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὅσους δεῖ, ἢν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρσύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάννυ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. 40. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε, ὥς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε, οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς, εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι τι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. 41. Ἦν δέ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὥς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται, τί πείσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. 42. Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι οὔτε πληθὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἢ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα· ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται. 43. Ἐντεθύμημαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι, ὁπόσοι μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπον ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχροῶς ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ὁπόσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασιν πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους, καί, ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν, εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. 44. Ἄ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας, (ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἐσμέν,) αὐτοὺς τε ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

45. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε Χειρίσοφος. Ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις, καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. 46. Καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἀρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἤκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτα ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. Παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κῆρυξ. 47. Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. Ἐκ τούτου



ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες, ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίῳ Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιός ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

## CHAPTER II.

At a council held by the new generals, after speeches from Cheirisophus, Cleonor, and Xenophon, the order of march is determined, and their duties are assigned to each commander.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, προφύλακας καταστήσαντας, συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. 2. Ὁ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὁπότε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα, καὶ λοχαγῶν, καὶ στρατιωτῶν· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες, προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς. 3. Ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τε ἔλθεῖν, καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως, ἢν μὲν δυνώμεθα, καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. Οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν. 4. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιτοκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις, λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ περὶ πλείστον ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ἡδέεσθη, ἀλλὰ, Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος, αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. 5. Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος, οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας,

οὔτε Κύρον τεθνηκότα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστάς, ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειράται. 6. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ, ταῦτα ὁρῶντας, μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ, μαχομένων ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα, τοῦτο ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται, ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν, τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα, ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε. 8. Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτοκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας λέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς οἱ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μὲντοι διανοοῦμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς λέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας. 9. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, πτάρνυνταί τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ, περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων, οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐφάνη, εὐχασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια, ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. Καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Ἐκ τούτου εὗξαντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε.

10. Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἰεν σωτηρίας. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασι τε, καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λελύκασιν. Οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων, εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν



δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κὰν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι, σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. 11. Ἐπειτα δέ, (ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοὶς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί·) ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεὶ στόλῳ, ὡς ἀφανιούντων αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. 12. Καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὁπόσους ἂν κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν· καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. 13. Ἐπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὑστερον, ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιάν, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὧν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὅρᾳ τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. Τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων. 14. Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὡς ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς· Ἀλλ' οὐπω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι, ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις, πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικάτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. 15. Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δέ, ὁπότε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔστι, πολὺν δῆπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι. 16. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρράλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν, τό τε πλῆθος ἀμετρον ὁρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἵεναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δέ, ὁπότε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι, καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες, μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; 17. Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξητε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κυρεῖοι, πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι, νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. Ἐτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι

τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων. Ἐφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. Τοὺς δὲ θέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺν κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταπτομένους, ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει, ὁρᾷ. 18. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ, ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεσιν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοι εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. 19. Οὐκ οὖν τῶν γε ἱππέων πολὺν ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρον ὀχήματός ἐσμεν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμανται, φοβούμενοι σὺν ἡμῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺν μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν ἢν τις προσίῃ, πολὺν δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα. Ἐνὶ δὲ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἡμῖν. 20. Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρῆετε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ὑμῖν Τισσαφέρνῃς ἡγήσεται, οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρεῖττον Τισσαφέρνην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὗς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἱ εἰσονται ὅτι, ἢν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτάνουσι. 21. Τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἥς οὗτοι παρεῖχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἢνπερ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται. 22. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρεῖττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι, καὶ μεγάλως ἡγεῖσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποταμοί, εἰ καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προϊοῦσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίνονται, οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. 23. Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διοίσουσιν, ἡγεμῶν τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανείται, οὐδ' ὡς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. Ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσσοὺς, οὗς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίημεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ, βασιλέως ἄκοντος, ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ



πολλά, γε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν· ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως· Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδουεν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτου χώραν καρποῦνται. 24. Καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντας. Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλοιντο ἀπιέναι. Καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τριτάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. 25. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα, μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἄργοι ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μή, ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι, ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. 26. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν οἰκοὶ σκληρῶς ἐκεῖ πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὄραν. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τάγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. 27. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθα τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα, καί, εἰ μάχεσθαι δεοί, ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, ἃς ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅπη ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς συγκατακαῦσαι. Αὗται γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. 28. Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἔνεκεν, ἢ σίτων, ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. Κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἦν δὲ κρατῶμεν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. 29. Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν ὕπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. Ὅρατε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμί-

ους, ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες, ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων, ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. 30. Δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀρχουσι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν. 31. Ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἦν ψηφίσθητε τὸν ἀεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἀρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλεῖστον ἔψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὕφονται ἀνθ' ἑνὸς Κλεάρχους, τοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῶ εἶναι. 32. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὦρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. Ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα ἔργῳ περαίνηται. Εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταῦτα, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.

33. Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τινας ἄλλον δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις, οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε, δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. 34. Ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, Ὡ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. Δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἔξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς, οὐ πλεῖον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας. 35. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκονσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἦν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν. 36. Ἰσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ εἴη. Εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθείη, τίνα χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου, καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε οἱ



πολέμοι ἐλθοιεν, βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρώμεθ' ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. 37. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω. Εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγείσθω, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστὶ· τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τῶν πρεσβυτάτων στρατηγοὶ ἐπιμελείσθων· ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτεροι, ἐγὼ τε καὶ Τιμασίων, τὸ νῦν εἶναι. 38. Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν, πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα ὃ τι ἂν αἰεὶ κράτιστον δοκῇ εἶναι. Εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· Ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χειρὰ Ἐδοξε ταῦτα. 39. Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα· καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῇ ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων τὸ κατακαίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστί· καὶ εἰ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· σῶζειν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.

## CHAPTER III.

BEFORE the Greeks begin their march, Mithradates, a former friend of Cyrus, comes, and endeavors to gain their confidence; but they resolve to accept no terms from the King. After having crossed the River Zapatas, they are attacked by the same Mithradates, and suffer great annoyance from the slingers and horse of the enemy. Xenophon pursues them from the rear, but to no effect; and subsequently recommends, in council, the formation of a body of slingers and a troop of horse; which is accordingly done.

1. Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατ' ἕκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς· τῶν δὲ περιττῶν, ὅσοι μὲν δέοιτό τις, μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὴν πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡριστοποιοῦντο. Ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθραδάτης σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε· 2. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ

Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ἐμὴν εὐνοὺς· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. Εἰ οὖν ὁρᾷτε ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. Λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε, ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνον καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. 3. Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐὰν ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύῃ, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα. 4. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειράτο Μιθραδάτης διδάσκειν, ὡς ἄπορον εἶη, βασιλέως ἄκοντος, σωθῆναι. Ἐνθα δὴ ἐγινώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστει ἕνεκα. 5. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἔδοκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι, τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἕξτ' ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ εἶεν. Διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν, Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα· καὶ ὥχeto ἀπὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

6. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμόν, ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν, ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθραδάτης ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ὡς τετρακοσίους, μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους· καὶ προσήει μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 7. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἔξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. Οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν. Οἱ τε γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἅμα φιλοὶ ὄντες εἰσω τῶν ὅπλων κατεκέκλειντο· οἱ τε ἄκοντισται βραχύτερα ἤκοντιζον ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. 8. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἔδοκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν, οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμ-



δανον τῶν πολεμίων. 9. Οὔτε γὰρ ἵππεις ἦσαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. 10. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἵππεις καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον, εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων· ὅπόσον δὲ προδιώξαιαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. 11. Ὡς τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διήλθον οὐ πλεον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δειλῆς ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας. Ἐνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἡτιῶντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. 12. Ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς ἡτιῶντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους. 13. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδίωκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάντῃ χαλεπῶς. 14. Τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ βόμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥς τε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλη, δηλῶσαι δὲ ὧν δεόμεθα. 15. Νῦν γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν, ὅσον οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται, οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἶόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη πεζός, πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος. 16. Ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἰργεῖν, ὥς τε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς παρενομένους, σφενδονητῶν τε τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων. Ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. 17. Ἐκεῖναι γάρ, διὰ τὸ χειρὸς πληθέσει τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν, ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται· οἱ δὲ γε Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίαις ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. 18

Ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλονται ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἐθέλονται ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκειν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. 19. Ὅρῳ δὲ καὶ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καταλελειμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. Ἄν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες, σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. 20. Ἐδοξε ταῦτα. Καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν· καὶ ἱππαρχος δὲ ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE Greeks discover the treachery of Mithradates, and repulse an attack which he makes upon them. They reach the Tigris, and encamp at Mesipila. Here they are attacked by Tissaphernes, and, after repelling him, they change the order of march. They traverse a mountainous country, continually harassed by the enemy, till at length Xenophon dislodges a body of Persians from some heights, and enables the army to descend into the plain.

1. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρωϊαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. 2. Διαβεθηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται ὁ Μιθραδάτης, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρην, καὶ ἔλαβεν, ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι, ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων, ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβε



θηκότες ἀπείχον τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθραδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. Παρήγγελλτο δέ, τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν, καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἰρητο θαρρόνσι διώκειν, ὡς ἐφευμένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθραδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε, οἷς εἰρητο, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. 5. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάρους τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοί, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα. Τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἠκίσαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη ὄραν.

6. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 7. Ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα· ὥκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. Τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἦν αὐτῆς τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασάγγαι· ὥκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμίαις· κρητὶς δ' ὑπὲρ λιθίνῃ τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. 8. Ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε, μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. 9. Παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνῃ, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. Ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν, ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες. 10. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας ἕξ, πρὸς τείχος ἔρημον, μέγα, πρὸς τε πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ὥκουν. Ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρητὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. 11. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπωκοδόμητο πλίνθινον τείχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι.

γαι. Ἐνταῦθα ἐλέγετο Μηθία γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. 12. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν, οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

13. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας τέτταρας. Εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἤλθεν ἔχων, καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντου δύναμιν τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὓς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ, πρὸς τοῦτοις, ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη. 14. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὀπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν· σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. 15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκυθοτοξόται ἐτόξενυσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρός, (οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ πάνυ προθυμοῖτο, ῥάδιον ἦν,) καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. 16. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι εἰσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξοτῶν. 17. Μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστιν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν, ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων, τοῖς Κρησί· καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν. Εὐρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

18. Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι, μείον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἔκειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολλὸς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ οὗ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος



19. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγνώσαν, ὅτι πλαισίον ἰσόπλευρον πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη, πολεμίων ἐπομένων. Ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἣν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἢ ὁδοῦ στενωτέρας οὕσης, ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων, ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους· ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη, ἀτάκτους ὄντας. 20. Ὅταν δ' αὖ διασχῇ τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους, καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπομένων. Καὶ ὅποτε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος, βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. 21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγνώσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαν ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας, καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας. Οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι λοχαγοί, ὅποτε μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε δὲ παρήγον ἐξῴθεν τῶν κεράτων. 22. Ὅποτε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπίμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενωτέρον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς· εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἐκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. 23. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἰ πού τις δέοι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρήσαν οὗτοι. Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας. 24. Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασιλείον τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ ὁρῶν ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν ἡ κώμη. Καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς γηλόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥς εἰκός, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων. 25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γηλόφον, κατέβαινον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν. Ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρηνὲς ἐβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων

26. Καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνήτων, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰσὼ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν, ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. 27. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται, ὀπλῖται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. 28. Πάλιν δέ, ὅποτε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ταῦτα ἐπάσχον· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο· ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας, πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 29. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθῆσαν, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμοι. 30. Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας, καὶ ἱατροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.

31. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, καὶ κριθᾶς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. Ταῦτα δὲ συνενεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. Τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. 32. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀνάγκη κατασκηνῆσαι οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπόμαχοι, οἱ τετρωμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα δεξάμενοι. 33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺν περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν ἐκ χώρας ὁρμῶντας ἀλέξασθαι ἢ πορευόμενους ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολέμοις μάχεσθαι. 34. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δαίλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτοῖς



35. Πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτός ἐστι στράτευμα Περσικόν· οἱ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδονται, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν· ἐὰν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ, καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ ποιεῖν νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος. Τούτου ἕνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι, ἀκουόντων τῶν πολεμίων. Καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄψε ἐγίγνετο, ἀπήεσαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς νυκτός πορεύεσθαι, καὶ κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 37. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἤδη ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναξεύξαντες, καὶ διήλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. Καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ, νυκτός προελθόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἣ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. 38. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατείλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς, καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. 39. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεεν, (ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν,) αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἠρώτα· Τί καλεῖς; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἐξεστὶν ὄραν· προκατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. 40. Ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες τοὺς πελταστὰς; ὁ δὲ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν, πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὦρα γ', ἔφη, βουλεύεσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀπελῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. 41. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἑφοδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἐνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ λέγει

Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἴεσθαι ὥς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήζεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. 42. Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι. Εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἀνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς λαβεῖν. 43. Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστὰς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. Συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

44. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὥς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμοι, ὥς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὤρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. 45. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος, διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων. 46. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, παρεκελεύετο· Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες, ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα. Σωτηρίδης δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· 47. Σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχεῖ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω, τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων. 48. Καὶ ὅς, ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὠθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος, ὥς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο. Ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἱππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν, παριέναι, μόλις ἐπομένοις. 49. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι, καὶ βάλλουσι, καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδην, ἔστε ἠνάγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἤγεεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε πεζῷ. Καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.



## CHAPTER V.

THE Greeks are still harassed by the enemy; and, on their arrival at a point where the Carduchian Mountains press close on the river, and leave no passage along the left bank, they resolve to march over the mountains.

1. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον, ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ὤχοντο. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον καταβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαί, πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 2. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν δειλὴ, ἐξαπίνης οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων, διαδιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κατελήφθησαν. 3. Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. Καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἠθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καίοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὀπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. 4. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τάξεις, ἠνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγεν· 5. Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφίεντας τὴν χώραν ἡδὴ ἡμετέραν εἶναι; ἃ γάρ, ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπράττοντο, μὴ καίειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὥς ἄλλοτρίαν. Ἄλλ' ἐάν που καταλίπωσί γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὕφονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. 6. Ἄλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας, ὥς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· οὐκ οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θᾶττον παύσονται.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. Ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν

ὑπερύψηλα, ἐνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὥς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. 8. Ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὦν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε, καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε. 9. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο· Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, διςχιλίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ' ὀρῶ πρόβατα καὶ αἶγας καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ, ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα, ῥαδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. 10. Δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν, οἷς χρῆσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἄσκους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὁρμίσας ἕκαστον ἄσκον λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δῆσας ἐπιβαλὼν ὕλην, καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. 11. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε, αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἄσκος δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν, ἢ ὕλη καὶ ἢ γῆ σχήσει. 12. Ἀκουσασί ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χάριεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς, οἱ εὐθύς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. 13. Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ὑπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, τῇ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἐνθεν ἐξήεσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμοι οὐ προσήλαυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο, καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέφονται οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τί ἐν νῶ ἔχοιεν. 14. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνῆλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἐαλωκότας, ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν, τίς ἐκάστη εἴη. 15. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧς περ ἦκοιεν· ἢ δὲ πρὸς ἔω ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, ἐνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγεται βασιλεύς· ἢ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· ἢ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. 16. Τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ



καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιάν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δὲ οὐδένα ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. Ὅποτε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμυγνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς.

17. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἐκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἐμελλον. Ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὁρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἤξειν, ἥς Ὀρόντας ἦρχε, πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. 18. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ὀπηνίκα καὶ δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο· (τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων ἐδεδοίκασαν μὴ προκαταληφθεῖν) καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσαιεν, συνεσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπεσθαι ἡνίκ' ἂν τις παραγγείλῃ.

## XENOPHON'S ANABASIS.

### BOOK IV.

#### CHAPTER I.

HAVING entered the Carduchian territory, the Greeks suffer severely from the wind and cold, and also from the barbarians, by whom they are shut up in a valley which seems to have no outlet.

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐποίησαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. 3. Ἦκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων, ὅτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδούχια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἦν μὲν βούλωνται, διαβήσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται, περιίασιν. Καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. 4. Τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὥδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι, πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα. 5. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ γὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσειος πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.

6. Ἐνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος,



λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας παντας· Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο, οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι, μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. 7. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δ' ὑψηγείτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσι τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὁρέων.

8. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι, ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. Τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἰ πως ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδοῦχοι διέναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ περ βασιλεῖ πολέμοι ἦσαν. 9. Τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια, ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυχάνοι, ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλοῦντων ὑπήκουον, οὔτε ἄλλα φιλικόν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν. 10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἤδη σκοταῖοι, (διὰ γὰρ τὸ στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰβασις εἰς τὰς κώμας,) τότε δὴ συλλεγέντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπέθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας, καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι ὄντες, ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. 11. Εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαῖναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἠυλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων, καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. 12. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε, τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα πορεύεσθαι ἔχοντας, καταλιπόντας τὰλλα, καὶ ὅποσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ἀφεῖναι. 13. Σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποιοῦν τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ

ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. Δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις τι ἔκλεψεν, οἷον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. 15. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμῶν πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ ἤγειτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὀπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. 16. Καὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καί, στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναγκάζοντες, σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμνὰ παρήγγελλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. 17. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἄλλοτε μὲν, ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο, ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἤγε ταχέως, καὶ παρηγγύα ἔπεσθαι· ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἴη· σχολῇ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἴτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἢ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίγνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. 18. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώννυμος, τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς στολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίης Ἀρκᾶς, διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλὴν. 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμῶν, εὐθύς ὥς περ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, ᾗτιᾷτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμεινε, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. Καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε κάγαθῶ ἀνδρε τέθνατον, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα. 20. Ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Βλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἶδε ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δὲ αὕτη ὁδός, ἦν ὁρᾶς, ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἑκβασιν. 21. Ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δυναίμην φθάσαι πρὶν κατειληφθαι



τὴν ὑπερβολὴν · ο. δ' ἡγεμόνες, οὓς ἔχομεν, οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν. 22. Ο δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, 'Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. 'Επεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρῆχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, (ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε,) καὶ ἀπεκτείναντες τινὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προῦθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν, αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκεν ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρησαίμεθα.

23. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἤλεγχον διαλαβόντες, εἰ τίνα εἰδεῖεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. 'Ο μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη, καὶ μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομένων · ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἑτέρου κατεσφάγη. 24. 'Ο δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὐ φαίη διὰ ταῦτα εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ τυγχάνει θυγάτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη · αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. 25. 'Ερωτώμενος δ', εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάρειτον χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήφοιτο, ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. 26. 'Ενταῦθα ἐδόκει, συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν, ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντῆς πορεύεσθαι. 27. 'Υφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν 'Αριστῶνμος Μεθυδριεὺς 'Αρκᾶς, καὶ 'Αγασίας Στυμφάλιος 'Αρκᾶς · ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παφράσιος, 'Αρκᾶς καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος · ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι ἔφονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου. 28. 'Εκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν, εἰ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. 'Υφίσταται 'Αριστεὺς Χῖος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἄξιός τῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

## CHAPTER II.

At length a prisoner is compelled to guide them to a height, from which they attack and disperse the Carduchi. They do not, however, leave the valley without loss, the rear-guard having suffered severely from an unexpected attack.

1. Καὶ ἦν μὲν δαίμων ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι. Καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἣν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν · καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. 2. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος ὡς δις χίλιοι · καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ · Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας, ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιμόντες. 3. 'Επεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἦν ἔδει διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὁλοτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους καὶ μεῖζους καὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας πταίνοντες διεσφενδονῶντο · καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. 4. 'Ενιοὶ δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιτο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο · καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο · ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπιόντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον · ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλάκησαντες. Οἱ μέντοι πολέμοι, φοβούμενοι δηλονότι, οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους · τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. 5. Οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κύκλῳ περιμόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους · καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαπνόντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες. 6. Οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδός, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. 'Εφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, εἰ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο.



7. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέβαινεν, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡ τε σάλπιγξ ἐπεφθέγγετο, καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδόν, φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὐζωνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν. 8. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθὺς ἔντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτρίβεις ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, ἢ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὥς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. 9. Καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιζαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο ἢ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· (εὐδωτάτῃ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις·) τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὀπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε. 10. Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, κατειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὗς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἦν ἀνάγκη ἢ διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη ἐκδῆναι. 11. Ἐνθα δὲ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις, προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίους τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἀφοδὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλονται φεύγειν. 12. Καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας, ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος, οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον Ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὖθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι.

13. Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν μὴ, εἰ ἔρημον καταλείποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιθαῖντο τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριοῦσιν, (ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια ἅτε διὰ στενὴς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα,) καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφώντος Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπο-

ρεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰροῦσιν. 14. Ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὶς λοιπὸς ἦν, πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος, ὃ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν. 15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε θανμαστόν πᾶσι γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑπώπτεον, δέισαντες αὐτούς, μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο, ἀπολιπεῖν. Οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν.

16. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμίξειαν· καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα εἶπε. 17. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγώς, καὶ λέγει ὥς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθνήσκει Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. 18. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκον ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἑρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆται. 19. Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καίειν τὰς κώμας. Συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στρατεύμα παρῆι, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεῤῥύησαν. 20. Ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμοι· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐνθα τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειντο, ἔντο δὲ οἱ πολέμοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστής, ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα, ἀπέλιπεν. 21. Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεύς Ἀρκὰς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον.

22. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ



ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτη-  
δείοις δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις  
κοιματοῖς εἶχον. 23. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξ-  
αντο, ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδωσαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα  
καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν  
ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. 24. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ  
ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ  
ὅπη εἴη στενὸν χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἐκώλυνον τὰς  
παρόδους. 25. Ὅποτε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν,  
Ξενοφῶν, ὀπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, ἔλυσεν τὴν ἀπόφραξιν  
τῆς παρόδου τοῖς πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι  
τῶν κωλυνόντων. 26. Ὅποτε δὲ τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἐπιθοῖντο,  
Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων, καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι  
τῶν κωλυνόντων, ἔλυσεν τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς  
ὀπισθεν· καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς  
ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. 27. Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὅποτε αὐτοῖς τοῖς  
ἀναβάσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν κατα-  
δαίνουσι· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες  
ὑποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας.  
28. Ἀριστοὶ δὲ καὶ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγυὺς  
τριπήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ διπήχη· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς  
νευράς, ὅποτε τοξεύοιεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀρι-  
στερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. Τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν  
ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. Ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ  
Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις, ἐναγκυλῶντες. Ἐν  
τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο.  
Ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

## CHAPTER III.

THEY arrive at the River Centrites, which divides the Carduchi from Armenia. On the farther bank they perceive the Persian troops, while the Carduchi are still visible in their rear. A happy dream of Xenophon's encourages them to try a ford which had been discovered by two young men: they cross the river in safety.

1. Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἠϋλίσθησαν ἐν ταῖς κόμαις  
ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν,  
εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὅς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν  
Καρδούχων χώραν. Καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύ-  
σαντο ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπέειχε δὲ τῶν ὁρέων ὁ  
ποταμὸς ἐξ ἧς ἐπτα στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. 2. Τότε μὲν  
οὖν ἠϋλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως, καὶ τάπιτήδεια ἔχοντες καὶ  
πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. Ἐπτα  
γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων,  
πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακά, ὅσα οὐδὲ  
τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. Ὡς οὖν  
ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

3. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁρῶσιν ἱππέας πρὸς τὸν ποτα-  
μοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους, ὡς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ'  
ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων, ὡς  
κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. 4. Ἦσαν δ' οὐ-  
τοι Ὀρόντου καὶ Ἀρτούχου, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μάρδοι καὶ  
Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί  
τε καὶ ἀλκιμοὶ εἶναι· ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέβρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας.  
5. Αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὐταί, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν,  
τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπέειχον· ὁδὸς δὲ  
μία ἢ ὀρωμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω, ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτη  
ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις  
τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ  
ποταμὸς μεγάλοις λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, καὶ οὗτ' ἐν τῷ  
ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἥρπασεν ὁ ποταμὸς· ἐπὶ  
τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἰ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο  
πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τὰλλα βέλη· ἀνεχώρησαν οὖν, καὶ



αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. 7. Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. Ἐν-  
αὐθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύ-  
σοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπισθεν. 8. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀν-  
τόματα περιρρύνῃναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι, καὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐπόσον ἐβούλετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρί-  
σοφον, καὶ λέγει, ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διη-  
γείται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. 9. Ὁ δὲ ἤδετό τε, καί, ὥς τάχιστα ἔως ὑπέφαινε, ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί·  
καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου. Καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ  
στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. 10. Καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶν-  
τι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκω· ἤδεσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι  
ἱξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν, καὶ  
εἰ καθεύδοι, ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἰ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς  
τὸν πόλεμον. 11. Καὶ τότε ἔλεγον, ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγ-  
ανα συλλέγοντες ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κἄπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ  
πέραν ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν γέ-  
ροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παιδίσκας, ὥσπερ μαρσίπους  
ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀνθρώδει. 12. Ἰδοῦσι  
δὲ σφισι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολ-  
εμίοις ἱππεῦσι πρόσβατον εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. Ἐκδύντες δ'  
ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὥς νευσοῦμενοι δια-  
βαίνειν, πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ  
αἰδοῖα, καὶ διαβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν.

13. Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς  
νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε, καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς  
τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτε-  
λέσαι. Σπείσας δ' εὐθὺς ἤγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν  
Χειρίσοφον, καὶ διηγοῦνται ταῦτα. 14. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ

Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει. Σπείσαντες δὲ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλ-  
λοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσαντες  
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐβουλευόντο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖεν,  
καὶ τοὺς τε ἐμπροσθεν νικῶεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν μηδὲν  
πάσχοιεν κακόν. 15. Καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν  
ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος,  
τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια  
καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν.

16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦντο  
δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ  
ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὥς τέτταρες στάδιοι. 17. Πορευομέν-  
ων δ' αὐτῶν, ἀντιπαρήσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἱππέων. Ἐπειδὴ  
δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ,  
ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος στεφανωσά-  
μενος καὶ ἀποδὺς ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι  
παρήγγελλε· καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λό-  
χους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ.  
18. Καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ  
δὲ πολέμοι ἐτόξενόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδόων· ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐξικ-  
νοῦντο. 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον  
πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ  
καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι. Πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ  
στρατεύματι. 20. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν  
ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς  
εὐζωνοτάτους, ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν  
κατὰ τὴν ἐκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιού-  
μενος ταύτῃ διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν  
ἱππεῖς. 21. Οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρί-  
σοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ἴδιον περῶντας, ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ  
Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, δέισαντες μὴ ἀποκλει-  
θείησαν, φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὥς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πο-  
ταμοῦ ἄνω ἐκβασιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο,  
ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 22. Λύκιος δὲ, ὁ τὴν τάξιν  
ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης, ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν  
πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος



φευγοντας ειποντο· οί δὲ στρατιῶται ἐδόων μὴ ἀπολειπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος. 23. Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ, ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους. Οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἰππέας φεύγοντας, ὁρῶντες δ' ὀπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπονσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

24. Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἑώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαίνον στρατεύμα· (καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίου καταβαίνοντες ὥς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις.) 25. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δέ, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξαι, ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολείπομενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. 26. Καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε, Ξενοφῶν δέ, στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους, ἀντία τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο· καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχας πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵεναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 27. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὡς ἑώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους, καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θᾶττον δὴ ἐπήεσαν, ὥδ' αὖς τινὰς ἄδοντες. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὃ τι αὖν παραγγέλλῃ. 28. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μὴ διαδύντας. Ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, καὶ ἐπὶ νεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. 29. Τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρηγγείλεν, ἐπειδὴν σφενδὸν ἔξικνῆται, καὶ ἀσπίς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμοι,

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπικτῆς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγοὺς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας, καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα, ἢ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο ὃς αὖν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται.

30. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὁρῶντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιπούς, (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ὥχοντο ἐπιμελόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δ' ἑταιρῶν,) ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως, καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. 31. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὀπλισμένοι, ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν, ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. 32. Ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμοι ἐφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶττον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, τάναντία στρέψαντες, ἐφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. 33. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες, αἰσθόμενοι, πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοί, καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. 34. Οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες, ἀνδριζόμενοι, καὶ προσωτέρῳ τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

#### CHAPTER IV.

HAVING entered Armenia, they pass the sources of the Tigris, and arrive at the Teleboas. They make a treaty with Teribazus, the satrap of the province, but soon discover his insincerity.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίου ἅπαν καὶ λείους γηλόφους οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγυὲς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. 2. Εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην, μεγάλη τε ἦν, καὶ βασιλείον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν δ'



ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρι ὑπερ-  
ἤλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τύγρητος ποταμοῦ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ'  
ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα,  
ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. Οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας  
δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν. 4. Ὁ δὲ  
τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. Ὑπαρχος  
δ' ἦν αὐτῆς Τηρίδαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος, (καὶ  
ὁπότε παρείη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλ-  
λεν.) 5. Οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας  
ἐρμηνέα εἶπεν, ὅτι βούλοιτο διαλεχθῆναι ταῖς ἀρχοῦσι.  
Τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκοῦσαι. Καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς  
ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων τί θέλοι. 6. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι σπείσασθαι  
βούλοιτο, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μήτε  
ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
δσων δέουιντο. Ἐδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐσπεί-  
σαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου,  
παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τηρίδαζος παρηκολούθει,  
ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα σταδίους· καὶ  
ἀφίκαντο εἰς βασιλείαν, καὶ κώμας περίξ πολλὰς, πολλῶν  
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστὰς. 8. Στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν  
γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκη-  
νῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κατὰ τὰς κώμας·  
οὐ γὰρ ἑώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα, καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἔδοκει εἶναι  
διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιῶνος. 9. Ἐνταῦθα εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτή-  
δεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σίτον, οἶνους παλαιοὺς εὐώ-  
δεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὁπρια παντοδαπά. Τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαν-  
νυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον, ὅτι κατίδοιν  
στράτευμα, καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. 10. Ἐδόκει  
δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ  
συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν. Ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον·  
καὶ γὰρ ἔδοκει συναιθριάζειν. 11. Νυκταρενόντων δ' αὐ-  
τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει χιῶν ἀπλετος, ὥς τε ἀπέκρυσσε καὶ  
τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑπο-  
ζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιῶν· καὶ πολλὸς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι·

κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιῶν ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτω  
μὴ παραφύνη. 12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς  
ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἂν ἀναστὰς τις καὶ ἄλλος  
ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ ἐχρίοντο. 13. Πολὺ γὰρ ἐν-  
ταῦθα εὐρίσκετο χρῖσμα, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο αὐτ' ἐλαίου, σύειον,  
καὶ σησάμινον, καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν, καὶ τερε-  
βίνθινον. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον εὐρίσκετο

14. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδοκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι εἰς  
τὰς κώμας εἰς στέγας. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ ὁπρῶνται σὺν πολλῇ  
κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια·  
ὅσοι δέ, ὅτε πρότερον ἀπήσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν ὑπὸ  
ἀτασθαλίας, δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. 15. Ἐν-  
τεῦθεν ἐπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τεμενίτην, ἄνδρα  
δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἐνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθ-  
ορᾶν τὰ πυρὰ· οὗτος γὰρ ἔδοκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἡδὴ  
ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα τε ὥς ὄντα, καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα  
ὥς οὐκ ὄντα. 16. Πορευθεὶς δέ, τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν,  
ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἤκεν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικόν,  
καὶ φαρέτραν, καὶ σάγαριν, οἷανπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν.  
17. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ποδαπὸς εἴη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι,  
πορεύεσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τηριδάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπι-  
τήδεια λάβοι· οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτόν, τὸ στράτευμα ὅπόσον τε  
εἴη, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. 18. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι Τηρί-  
δαζος εἴη ἔχων τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους  
Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη, ὥς  
ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ μοναχῇ  
εἴη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. 19.  
Ἀκούσας τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα συν-  
αγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες, καὶ στρατηγὸν  
ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Στυμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο ἔχον-  
τες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀλόντα ἄνθρωπον. 20. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερ-  
έβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ  
στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες  
ἔθρον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 21. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ἀκούσαντες



τὸν θόρυβον, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἰκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἢ Τηριβάζου ἐάλω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίνει ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. 22. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπήεσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

## CHAPTER V.

THE Greeks are now compelled to quit the inhabited districts, and march through a country in which they suffer from intense cold and deep snow, and also from famine. At length they reach some well-stored villages, where they rest for seven days.

1. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι, ὅπη δύναιτο τάχιστα, πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. Συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς, ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τηριβάζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 2. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπός, καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει, παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων πάντα, καὶ πηγνὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 4. Ἐνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεων τις εἶπε σφαγιάσυσθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. Ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυιᾶ· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὥς τριάκοντα. 5. Διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ

σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὄψε προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. Οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἦκοντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ προσέεσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοῖεν αὐτοῖς πυρούς, ἢ ἄλλο τι, εἴτι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν. 6. Ἐνθα δὴ μετεδίδουσιν ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. Ἐνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο, διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος, βόθροι ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὴ παρῆν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίαςαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡγνόμενός, ὅ τι τὸ πάθος εἴη. 8. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπε τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμῶσι, κἂν τι φάγωσιν ἀναστήσονται, περιῶν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἰ πού τι ὀρώη βρωτόν ἢ ποτόν, διεδίδου, καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμῶσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. 9. Πορευομένων δέ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυναικας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. Αὗται ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. 10. Ὁ δ' ἐρμηνεὺς εἶπε Περσιστί, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. Αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασάγγην. Οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ ὄψε ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. 11. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν ταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. 12. Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινές, κατὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἥρπαζον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐλείποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἱ τε ὑπο τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. 13. Ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἰ τις μελάν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πορεύοιτο, τῶν δὲ



ποδῶν, εἴ τις κινοῖται, καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχει, καὶ εἰ τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο. 14. Ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβάτινας πεποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. 15. Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀναγκὰς ὑπελείποντο τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα, εἰκάζον τετηκέναι· καὶ ἐτετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ, ἥ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπῃ. Ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. 16. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας, ὡς ᾔσθετο, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων, ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμοι συνειλεγμένοι καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινε. Οἱ δὲ σφάζειν ἐκέλευον· οἱ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. 17. Ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσθαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπιπέσοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι. Καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῷ θαυμάῳ, ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. 18. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἠδύναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμοι δέισαντες, ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγετο.

19. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν, ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσι τινες ἐπ' αὐτούς, πορευόμενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπανομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστήκει καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. 20. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἐμπροσθε οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν. Ὁ δὲ παριών, καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους, ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 21. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα σὺλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἁδειπνοὶ, φυλακὰς οἷας

ἠδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ἔμην Ξενοφῶν, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προΐεναι. 22. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης σκευομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. Οἱ δὲ, ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτοις παρέδωσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διελθελυθέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ ἐνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠυλίζετο. 23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενε, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, διαλαχόντες ὡς ἐώρων κώμας, ἐπορεύοντο, ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες.

24. Ἐνθα δὴ Πολυδώτης, Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγός, ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιέναι ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην, ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας, καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμόν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὃ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὤχετο θηράσων, καὶ σὺν ἡλῶ ἐν ταῖς κώμας. 25. Αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγαιοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρεῖαι. Αἱ δὲ εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταί, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, οἰες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφοντο. 26. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροί, καὶ κριθαί, καὶ ὄσπρια, καὶ οἶνος κρίθινος ἐν κρατῆρσιν· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ ἔχοντες. 27. Τούτους δ' ἔδει ὅποτε τις διψῶν λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. Καὶ πάννυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πάννυ ἠδὲ συμμαθόντι τὸ πόμα ἦν.

28. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σὺν δειπνον ἐποίησατο, καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε, λέγων, ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίαςιν, ἣν ἀγαθὸν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστι δ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνε.



γένωνται 29. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχναῖτο, καί, φιλοφρονούμενος, οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἐνθα ἦν κατωρυγμένος. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα, διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως, ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πασιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. 30. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν, λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην, πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχουμένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἄριστον. 31. Οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνηα, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις, τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις, τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. 32. Ὅποτε δὲ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο προπιεῖν, εἴλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἐνθεν ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ῥοφούντα πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. Καὶ τῷ κωμάρχῃ ἐδίδωσαν λαμβάνειν ὃ τι βούλοιτο. Ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δὲ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανεν.

33. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κάκεινους σκηνοῦντας, ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς. Τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν, ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς, ὃ τι θέοι ποιεῖν. 34. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κωμάρχην, διὰ τοῦ περσίζοντος ἑρμηνέως, τίς εἴη ἡ χώρα. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. Καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων τίνοι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεὶ δασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν, ἣ εἴη. 35. Καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ὥχετο ἄγων Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον ὃν εἰλήφει, παλαιότερον, δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχῃ ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῆσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἥλιου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκᾶκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ πῶλον. 36. Ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵππων μείονες μὲν τῶν Περ-

σικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολὺ. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακία περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύνοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστροῦς.

## CHAPTER VI.

ON continuing the march, their guide, being struck by Cheirisophus, deserts them, and they find their way without a guide to the River Phasis. They proceed to some mountains, which are occupied by the Phasiani, whom they dislodge by sending a party round, and thus attacking them on both sides.

1. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχῃ, πλήν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος· τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένει Ἀμφιπολίπῃ παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. Καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὥς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. 2. Ἠγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος αὐτῷ ἔχαλεπάνθη ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κώμας ἦγεν. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδησε δ' οὐ. 3. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρὰς ὥχετο, καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. Τόδε δὲ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἡ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἡράσθη τε τοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ οἰκαδὲ κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο. 4. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμούς, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμόν, εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. 5. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Ταόχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. 6. Χειρίσοφος δὲ, ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τῇς πολεμίους· παρήγγειλε



δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους, ὥρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 8. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι, εἴτε τήμερον, εἴτε αὐριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος. 9. Ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ τὰ χίιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισαμένους ὡς τάχιστα λέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας. Εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντες πολέμιοι θαρράλεώτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκός, τούτων θαρρόντων, πλείους προσγενέσθαι.

10. Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν. Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γιγνώσκω· εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχοῦμεθα. Εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὡς ῥᾶστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι, ὅπως ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. 11. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρώμενον πλεον ἢ ἐφ' ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἀνδρες δ' οὐδαμῶς φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον, τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας, καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθάσαντας, εἰ δυναίμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἀνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. 12. Πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾶον, ὀρθιον ἀμαχί λέναι, ἢ ὁμαλές, ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων· καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχί μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρώη τις, ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος· καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχί λούσιν εὐμενέστερα, ἢ ἡ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. 13. Καὶ κλέψαι οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν μὲν νυκτὸς λέναι ὡς μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι, ἐξὸν δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ αἰσθησθαι παρέχειν. Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι, ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβάλλειν, ἐρημοτέρῳ ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὄρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἄθροοι οἱ πολέμιοι. 14. Ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε,

ἀκούω, τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν, ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. 15. Ὅπως δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτητε, καὶ πειρᾶσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἐὰν ληφθῆτε κλέπτοντες μαστιγοῦσθαι. Νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστὶν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μέντοι, μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς μὴ πληγὰς λάβωμεν. 16. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, κἀγὼ ὑμᾶς, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀκούω δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἀρχεῖν ἀξιοῦνται. Ὡς τε ὥρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν. 17. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι, τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὴν δειπνήσωμεν, λέναι καταληφόμενος τὸ ὄρος. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐφεπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἐλαβόν τινας ἐνεδρεύσαντες· καὶ τούτων πυνθάνομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰετὶ καὶ βουσί· ὥς τε, εἴανπερ ἅπαξ λάβωμεν τι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. 18. Ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν. 19. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε· Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ λέναι, καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαίνωνται. 20. Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστῶννος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται, ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀριστεὺς Χῖος, γυμνήτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος, γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καίειν πολλά. 21. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη ταύτῃ προσάξειν.

22. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν, καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ὤχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ᾤσθοντο ἐχόμενον τὸ ὄρος, ἐρηγόρεσαν, καὶ ἔκαιον πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ



νυκτός. 23. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἤγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήεσαν. 24. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. Πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλήλοις συμμιγνύσασιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. 25. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου, οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. 26. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἑώρων ἠττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν. Γέβρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη, ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες, ἀχρεῖα ἐποιοῦν. 27. Ὡς δ' ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες, καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἦλθον.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE Greeks enter the country of the Taochi, who had retired to their forts, one of which is taken by the Greeks. They find in it a vast number of cattle, on which they subsist during their progress through the country of the Chalybes, a fierce and warlike people. They next march through the territory of the Scythini, to a town called Gymnias, the governor of which provides them with a guide to Mount Theches, from the summit of which they have a view of the Euxine.

1. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους σταθμούς· γέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε· χωρία γὰρ ὤκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Ταόχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. 2. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς χωρίον, ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνεληλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλά, Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἡκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσήει καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρώοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν ἐν κλίῳ. 3. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύ-

λαξί καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὲ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· Εἰς καλὸν ἦκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληφόμεθα τὸ χωρίον. 4. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος ἐρωτῶντος, τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Ἀλλὰ μία αὕτη πάροδος ἔστιν, ἣν ὁρᾷς· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτῃ πειράται παριέναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὃς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται. Ἀμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. 5. Ἦν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὁρῶμεν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπλισμένους. 6. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὥς καὶ σὺ ὁρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἔστιν, ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν. Τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδουμένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἤδη γίγνεται ὥς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δεῖ, ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι, παραδραμεῖν. 7. Ἀλλὰ εὐθύς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἴη· θάπτον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. Ἀλλὰ πορευόμεθα, ἐνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἣν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον, ἣν βουλώμεθα.

8. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ Καλλίμαχος Παφράσιος λοχαγός· (τούτου γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ·) οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. Μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὥς ἑβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἀθρώοι, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὥς ἐδύνατο. 9. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστῶννμος Μεθυδριεύς καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δέ, ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλεῖον ἢ τὸν ἕνα λόχον. 10. Ἐνθα δὲ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾷ αἰ τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δέν-



δρου, ὅφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτάς, δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἄμαξαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο. 11. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας, ὡς ὄρᾳ τὸν Καλλίμαχον, ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀριστῶνυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλέσας, οὐδὲ Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα, ἐταίρους ὄντας, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτός, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας. 12. Ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος, ὡς ἑώρα αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἰτυος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παρέθει αὐτοὺς Ἀριστῶνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς. Πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς, καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ὡς γὰρ ἄπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἠνέχθη. 13. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. Αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες, ῥίπτουσαι τὰ παιδία, εἶτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατεῤῥίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνείας Στυμφάλιος, λοχαγός, ἰδὼν τινα θέοντα ὡς ῥίψοντα ἑαυτὸν, στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς κωλύσων. 14. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἀμφότεροι ὥχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπέθανον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάνν ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ πρόβατα.

15. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύδων σταθμοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διῆλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν. Εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. 16. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας, καὶ κράνη, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον, ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον, ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιντο· καὶ ἀποτέμοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἦδον, καὶ ἐχόρευον, ὅπότε οἱ πολέμοι αὐτοὺς διφθεσθαι ἔμελλον. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. 17. Οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι. Ὡκοῦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι

ἦσαν, ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διетράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν, ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον. 18. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρπασον ποταμόν, εὐρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου, εἰς κώμας, ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. 19. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνίας. Ἐκ ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς. 20. Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον, ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μή, τεθνάναι ἐπηγγέλλετο. Καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἰθεῖν καὶ φθεῖρειν τὴν χώραν· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. 21. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ δρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θήχης. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, καὶ κατεῖδον τὴν θάλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο. 22. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ᾤθησαν ἄλλους ἔμπροσθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ ὀπισθεν ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐζώγρησαν, ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι· καὶ γέφυρα ἔλαβον δασείων βοῶν ὠμοβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν.

23. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ βοή πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῷ μείζων ἐγίγνετο ἡ βοή, ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι. 24. Καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον, καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν, παρεβόηθει· καὶ τέχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, θάλαττα! θάλαττα! καὶ παρεγγυώντων. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔθεον ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. 25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ



λοχαγούς, δακρύνοντες. Καὶ ἐξαπίνης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους, καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. 26. Ἐνταῦθα ἀνέτίθεσαν δερμάτων πλήθος ὠμοβοείων, καὶ βακτηρίας, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. 27. Μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι, δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, ἵππον, καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν, καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα· ἥτει δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς, οὐ σκηνήσουσι, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν, ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἑσπέρα ἐγένετο, ὥχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπιών.

## CHAPTER VIII.

On descending the mountain, they make a treaty with the Macrones, who dwell in the plain below, and proceed safely as far as the Colchian Hills, where they meet with opposition from the natives. The Greeks enter a rich country, and in two days arrive at the sea. They remain for some time in the Greek colony of Trapezus, where they support themselves by plundering the Colchian villages in the neighborhood. They celebrate games at Trapezus.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρώνων σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας δέκα. Τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὃς ὠρίζε τὴν τῶν Μακρώνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. 2. Εἶχον δ' ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον οἶον χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμόν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. Ἦν δὲ οὗτο, δασὺς δένδροις παχέσι μὲν οὐ, πυκνοῖς δέ. Ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς τάχιστα ἐξελθεῖν. 3. Οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες, ἔχοντες γέρρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας, καταντιπέρας τῆς διαβάσεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο, καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμόν ἑρρίπτον, ἐξίκνουντο δὲ οὐ, οὐδ' ἐβλαπτον οὐδένα.

4. Ἐνθα δὴ προσέρχεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν

τις ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων, ὅτι γινώσκω τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καί, εἰ μή τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. 5. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ διαλέγου, καὶ μάθε πρῶτον τίνες εἰσίν. Οἱ δ' εἶπον, ἐρωτήσαντος, ὅτι Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτούς, τί ἀντιτετάχεται, καὶ χρήσουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμοι εἶναι. 6. Οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο· Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἐρχεσθε. Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοί, ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσουντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες, ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι. 7. Ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. Οἱ δ' ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. Ἐντεῦθεν διδῶσιν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέρω.

8. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὠδοποιοῦν, ὡς διαβιδάσσοντες, ἐν μέσοις ἀναμειγμένοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι· καὶ ἀγορὰν οἶαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον· καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 9. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φάλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄζοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλεύσασθαι συλλεγεῖσιν ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται. 10. Ἐλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι δοκεῖ, παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα, λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἢ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀνοδὸν, τῇ δὲ εὐοδὸν, εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει, ὅταν, τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα, ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὀρώσιν. 11. Ἐπειτα, ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιττεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται, ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰληθαιμαστόν, εἰ διακοπεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ



βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων· εἰ δέ πη τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. 12. Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους, τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις, ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχατοὺς λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων. Καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἐσχατοὶ λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτον προσίασιν, ἢ τε ἂν εὐδοῦν ἦ. ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. 13. Καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλεῖπον οὐ ῥᾶδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥᾶδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθίον προσιόντα. Ἐάν τέ τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει. Ἦν τε εἰς πη δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνη τῶν πολεμίων. 14. Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· Ἄνδρες, οὐτοὶ εἰσιν, οὓς ὁρᾶτε, μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι, ἔνθα πάλαί ἐσπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἦν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποίησαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους. 16. Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταί, τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι, ἐπορεύοντο. 17. Οἱ δὲ πολέμοι, ὥς εἶδον αὐτούς, ἀντιπαραθέοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, διεσπάρθησαν, καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. 18. Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διασχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν Λίσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν, ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν

ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ορχομένιος. 19. Οἱ δὲ πολέμοι, ὥς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐτράπετο. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναδάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τάπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχούσαις. 20. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν, ὃ τε καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἡμουν, καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἵστασθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἑώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ, μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. 21. Ἐκείντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοί, ὥς περ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἡ ἀθηνία. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πον ὦραν ἀνεφρόνου· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο, ὥς περ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

22. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμούς, παρασάγγας ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην, ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις. 23. Κάντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενοι ἐλητίζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. Ἀγορὰν δὲ παρῆχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν, βοῦς καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ οἶνον. 24. Συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίων Κόλχων, τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων· καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον βόες. 25. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν εὗξαντο, παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθῆσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ σωτῆρι, καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνᾳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ᾧ εὗξαντο. Ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἔνθα περ ἐσκήνουν. Εἰλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, (ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὢν οἴκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακτανῶν, ξυήλη πατάξας,) δρόμου τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι. 26. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδοσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποικῶς εἴη. Οὗ δὲ, δείξας, οὐπὲρ ἐστηκότες ἐτύγγανον, Οὔτος ὁ λόφος



ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν, ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως; ὁ δ' εἶπε· Μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών. 27. Ἦγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρήτες πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθεον, πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον ἕτεροι. Καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καί, ὅτε θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγίγνετο. 28. Ἔθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι· καὶ ἔδει αὐτούς, κατὰ τοῦ πρᾶνοῦς ἐλάσαντας, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγειν. Καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἐνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ, καὶ γέλως, καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο αὐτῶν.

## XENOPHON'S ANABASIS.

### BOOK V.

#### CHAPTER I.

ΧΕΙΡΙΣΟΦΟΥΣ is sent to apply to Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral, for ships. Xenophon continues, meanwhile, to find employment for the soldiers, and takes care that the roads are mended, in case they should at last be obliged to go by land. They send out two ships, which they had obtained at Trapezus, to bring in any vessels that they may find. Dexippus, a Laconian, who is put in command of one of them, deserts the service and sails home: Polycrates, an Athenian, with the other ship, brings in many vessels to the port.

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἐπραξαὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρι ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, καὶ ὡς εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθυσαν, ἃ εὗξαντο σωτήρια θύσειν, ἐνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

2. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ξυνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Ἀντιλέων Θούριος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπείρηκα ἤδη ξυσκευαζόμενος, καὶ βαδίζων, καὶ τρέχων, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φέρων, καὶ ἐν τάξει ἰών, καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων, καὶ μαχόμενος· ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ ἤδη, πανσάμενος τούτων τῶν πόνων ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπόν, καὶ ἐκταθεῖς, ὡς περ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καθεύδων ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 3. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεθορύβησαν ὡς εὖ λέγοι· καὶ ἄλλος ταῦτα ἔλεγε, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Ἐπεῖτα δὲ Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε. 4. Φίλοι μοί ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ καὶ τυγχάνει. Ἦν οὖν πέμψητέ με, οἴουαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων



καὶ πλοῖα τὰ ἡμᾶς ἄξοντα· ὑμεῖς δέ, εἴπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε περιμένετε, ἔστ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω· ἤξω δὲ ταχέως. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἡσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πλεῖν αὐτὸν ὥς τάχιστα.

5. Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Χει οἴσοφος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναμενουμέν. Ὅσα μοι οὖν δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ταῦτα ἐρῶ. 6. Πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ πορίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἔστιν ἱκανή, οὔτε οὔτου ὠνησόμεθα εὐπορία, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἡ δὲ χώρα πολεμία ἰνδυνος οὖν πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἣν ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφύλακτως πορεύσῃ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 7. Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ οὖν πρῶτομαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὥς σώξῃσθε, ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. Ἔδοξε αὐτὰ. 8. Ἐτι τοίνυν ἀκούσατε καὶ τάδε. Ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκπορεύσονται τινες· οἶμαι οὖν βέλτιστον εἶναι, ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξιέναι, φράζειν δὲ καὶ ὅποι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδῶμεν τῶν ἐξιόντων καὶ τῶν μενόντων, καὶ συμπαρασκευάζωμεν ἕάν τι δέῃ, κἂν βοηθησαί τισι καιρὸς ᾖ, εἰδῶμεν ὅποι δεήσει βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἕάν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων ἐγχειρῇ ποι, συμβουλεύωμεν, πειρώμενοι εἰδέναι τὴν ἰνάμιν ἐφ' οὗς ἂν ἴωσιν. Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. 9. Ἐννοῦτε δὲ καὶ τόδε, ἔφη. Σχολῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις ληΐζεσθαι, καὶ δικαίως ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· ἔχομεν γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων ὑπερκάθηνται δ' ἡμῶν. Φύλακας δὲ μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶναι· ἕάν οὖν κατὰ μέρος μερισθέντες φυλάττωμεν καὶ σκοπῶμεν, ἥττον ἂν δύναιντο ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν ἢ πολέμιοι. 10. Ἐτι τοίνυν τάδε ὁρᾶτε. Εἰ μὲν ἡπιστάμεθα σαφῶς, ὅτι ἤξει πλοῖα Χειρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει ὦν μέλλω λέγειν· νῦν δέ, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ νοι πειρᾶσθαι πλοῖα συμπαρασκευάζειν καὶ αὐτόθεν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἔλθῃ, ὑπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις πλεουσόμεθα. 11. Ἐάν δὲ μὴ ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε χρησόμεθα. Ὅρῳ δὲ ἐγὼ πλοῖα πολλάκις παραπλέοντα· εἰ οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων μακρὰ πλοῖα, κατάγοιμεν καὶ

φυλάττωιμεν αὐτά, τὰ πηδάλια παραλνόμενοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄξοντα γένηται, ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν κομιδῆς οἷας δεόμεθα. 12. Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. Ἐννοήσατε δέ, ἔφη, εἰ εἰκὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, οὗς ἂν κατάγωμεν, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν μένωσι, καὶ ναῦλον ξυμβῆσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελούντες καὶ ὠφελῶνται. Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. 13. Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη, ἦν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὴ ἐκπεραίνηται, ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα, τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἃς δυσπόρους ἀκενομεν εἶναι, ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πείσονται γάρ, καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

14. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀνέκραγον, ὥς οὐ δέοι ὁδοιπορεῖν. Ὁ δέ, ὥς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐκούσας ἐπεισεν ὁδοποιεῖν, λέγων, ὅτι θάττου ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἦν εὐποροὶ γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί. 15. Ἐλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντορον παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ἣ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον Λάκωνα περίοικον. Οὗτος, ἀμελήσας τοῦ συλλέγειν πλοῖα, ἀποδράς ὤχετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕστερον· ἐν Θράκῃ γάρ, παρὰ Σεύθῃ, πολυπραγμονῶν τι, ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου ποῦ Λάκωνος. 16. Ἐλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ἣ ἐπεστάθῃ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ὅποσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα, κατήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα, εἰ τι ἦγον, ἐξαιρούμενοι, φύλακας καθίστασαν· ὅπως σῶα εἴη, τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις χρῆσαιντο εἰς παραγωγὴν. 17. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐ. Κλεαίνετος δ' ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόχον πρὸς χωρίου χαλεπόν, αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.



## CHAPTER II.

As provisions begin to run short in the neighborhood, Xenophon leads out part of the army against the Drilæ, who are enemies of the people of Trapezus. As the Greeks approach, the Drilæ burn all their property in the fields, and retire to their principal fort, where they make a brave resistance. The Greeks at last take and burn the place. The next day they return to Trapezus.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκέτι ἦν λαμβάνειν, ὥστε ἀπαυθημερίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν Ξενοφῶν ἡγεμόνας, τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ἐξάγει εἰς Δρίλας τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ κατέλιπε φυλάττειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι, ἅτε ἐκπεπτωκότες τῶν οἰκιῶν, πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ ὑπερεκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. 2. Οἱ δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι, ὁπόθεν μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ῥάδιον ἦν λαβεῖν οὐκ ἦγον· φίλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν· εἰς τοὺς Δρίλας δὲ προθύμως ἦγον, ὕφ' ὧν κακῶς ἔπασχον, εἰς χωρία τε ὀρεινὰ καὶ δύσβατα καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολεμικωτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἄνω χώρᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅποια τῶν χωρίων τοῖς Δρίλαις ἀλώσιμα εἶναι ἐδόκει, ἐμπιπράντες ἀπήγεσαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν λαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ ὕς, ἢ βοῦς, ἢ ἄλλο τι κτήνος τὸ πῦρ διαπεφευγός. Ἐν δὲ ἦν χωρίον μητρόπολις αὐτῶν· εἰς τοῦτο πάντες ξυνεῤῥνήκεσαν. Περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν χαράδρα ἰσχυρῶς βαθεῖα, καὶ πρόσοδοι χαλεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. 4. Οἱ δὲ πελτασταί, προδραμόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ ἑξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, διαβάντες τὴν χαράδραν, ὄρωντες πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα, προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον· ξυνείποντο δὲ καὶ δορυφόροι πολλοί, οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξωρμημένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο οἱ διαβάντες πλείους ἢ εἰς διςχιλίους ἀνθρώπους. 5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχόμενον οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον, (καὶ γὰρ τάφος ἦν περὶ αὐτὸ εὐρεῖα ἀναβεβλημένη, καὶ σκόλοπες ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς, καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλιναι πεποιημέναι,) ἀπιέναι δὴ ἐπεχείρουν· οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς. 6. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο

ἀποτρέχειν, (ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐνδὸς ἡ κατάβασις ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου εἰς τὴν χαράδραν,) πέμπουσι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ὃς ἡγεῖτο τοῖς ὀπλίταις· 7. Ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν λέγει, ὅτι ἐστὶ χωρίον χρημάτων πολλῶν μεστόν· τοῦτο οὔτε λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα· ἰσχυρὸν γὰρ ἐστίν· οὔτε ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον· μάχονται γὰρ ἐπεξεληλυθότες, καὶ ἡ ἀφοδος χαλεπή.

8. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν, προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν χαράδραν, τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας θέσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὰ ὄπλα· αὐτὸς δέ, διαβὰς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐσκοπεῖτο, πότερον εἴη κρεῖττον ἀπάγειν καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότες, ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας διαδιβάσειν, ὥς ἀλόντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου. 9. Ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀπάγειν οὐκ εἶναι ἀνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν, ἐλεῖν δ' ἂν ᾤοντο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ξυνεχώρησε, τοῖς ἱεροῖς πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ μάντιες ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν, ὅτι μάχη μὲν ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. 10. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς ἐπεμπε διαδιβάσοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμενεν ἀναχωρίσας ἅπαντας τοὺς πελταστὰς, καὶ οὐδένα εἰς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι. 11. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκον οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν, ὥς ἂν κράτιστα οἴηται ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων, οἱ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιούντο. 12. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς πᾶσι παρήγγειλε διηγκυλωμένους λέναι, ὥς, ὁπόταν σημήνη, ἀκοντίζειν δεῖσιν, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλησθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς, ὥς, ὁπόταν σημήνη, τοξεύειν δεῖσιν, καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας λίθων ἔχειν μεστὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐπεμψε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. 13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ὑπολοχαγοί, καὶ οἱ ἀξιόουντες τούτων μὴ χείρους εἶναι, πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν δὴ ξυνεώρων· (μνηοειδὴς γὰρ διὰ τὸ χωρίον ἡ τάξις ἦν·) 14. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγατο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἠλάλαξαν, καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλίται· καὶ τὰ βέλη δημοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχοι, τοξεύματα, σφενδόνας, πλείστοι δ' ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ



καὶ πῦρ προσέφερον. 15. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ πολέμοι τὰ τε σταυρώματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις· ὥστε Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος καὶ Φιλόξενος Πελληνεὺς, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν χιτῶνι μόνον ἀνέβησαν, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον εἶλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀναβέβηκει, καὶ ἠλώκει τὸ χωρίον, ὥς ἐδόκει. 16. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ εἰσδραμόντες ἥρπαζον, ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, στὰς κατὰ τὰς πύλας, ὁπόσους ἐδύνατο κατεκώλυε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔξω· πολέμοι γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς. 17. Οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου μετὰ γενομένου, κραυγὴ τε ἐγίγνετο ἐνδον, καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔχοντες ἃ ἔλαβον, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ τετρωμένος· καὶ πολλὸς ἦν ὠθισμὸς ἀμφὶ τὰ θύρετρα. Καὶ ἐρωτῶμενοι οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἐνδον, καὶ οἱ πολέμοι πολλοί, οἳ παῖονσιν ἐκδεδραμηκότες τοὺς ἐνδον ἀνθρώπους.

18. Ἐντεῦθεν ἀνείπειν ἐκέλευσε Τολμίδην τὸν κήρυκα, ἵεναι εἰσω τὸν βουλόμενόν τι λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ἵενται πολλοὶ εἰσω, καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ εἰσω ὠθούμενοι, καὶ κατακλείουσι τοὺς πολεμίους πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν. 19. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἄκρας πάντα διηρπάσθη, καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὰ σταυρώματα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν φέρουσαν. 20. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν, εἰ οἷόν τε εἴη τὴν ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτω σωτηρία ἀσφαλής· ἄλλως δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπελθεῖν· σκοποῦμένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐδοξε παντάπασιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον. 21. Ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἀφόδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διήρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖους καὶ φορτία ἔχοντας ἐξεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος· κατέλιπον δὲ οἱ λοχαγοί, οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν. 22. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἐνδοθεν πολλοί, γέρρα καὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες, καὶ κνημίδας, καὶ κράνη Παφλαγονικά· καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ. 23. Ὡς τε οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλές

ἦν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσας. Καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρίπτον ἀνωθεν, ὥστε χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νύξ φοβερά ἦν ἐπιούσα. 24. Μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων, θεῶν τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. Ἐξαπίνης γὰρ ἀνέλαμψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, ὅτου δὴ ἐνάφαντος. Ὡς δ' αὕτη ξυνέπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν. 25. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας, αἱ ξύλιναι ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ταχὺ ἐκαίοντο. Ἐφευγον οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν οἰκιῶν. 26. Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα δὴ ἔτι μόνον ἐλύπουν, καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικείσονται ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ τε καὶ καταβάσει. Ἐνταῦθα παραγγέλλει φέρειν ξύλα, ὅσοι ἐτύγχανον ἔξω ὄντες τῶν βελῶν, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανὰ ἤδη ἦν ἐνῆψαν· ἐνῆπτου δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ χαράκωμα οἰκίας, ὅπως οἱ πολέμοι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν. 27. Οὕτω μόλις ἀπῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ποιησάμενοι. Καὶ κατεκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι, καὶ αἱ τύρσεις, καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας.

28. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάβασιν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, (πρανῆς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενὴ,) ψευδενέδραν ἐποίησαντο. 29. Καὶ ἀνὴρ Μυσὸς τὸ γένος, καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἔχων, τῶν Κρητῶν λαβὼν δέκα, ἔμενεν ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ, καὶ προσεποιεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους πειρᾶσθαι λανθάνειν· αἱ δὲ πέλται αὐτῶν ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε διεφαίνοντο, χαλκαὶ οὔσαι. 30. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμοι ταῦτα διαρῶντες ἐφοβοῦντο ὥς ἐνέδραν οὔσαν· ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ἐν τούτῳ κατέβαινε. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει ἤδη ἱκανὸν ὑπεληλυθέναι τῷ Μυσῷ, ἐσήμηνε φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος· καὶ ὃς ἐξαναστὰς φεύγει, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. 31. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κρήτες, (ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρόμῳ,) ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἰς ὕλην κατὰ τὰς νάπας κυλινδούμεναι ἐσώθησαν. 32. Ὁ Μυσὸς δὲ, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγων, ἐβόα βοηθεῖν· καὶ



ἐδοθήσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνέλαβον τετρωμένον. Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχώρουν βαλλόμενοι οἱ βοηθήσαντες, καὶ ἀντιτοξεύοντες τινες τῶν Κρητῶν. Οὕτως ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πάντες σῶοι ὄντες.

## CHAPTER III.

THE Greeks being unable, from want of provisions, to wait much longer for Cheirisophus, proceed by land, having embarked their camp-followers, invalids, and baggage, in their ships. On arriving at Cerasus, they divide the money raised by the sale of prisoners; the tenth part of the sum is intrusted to the generals, for an offering to Apollo, and Diana of Ephesus. Description of Scillus, the residence of Xenophon, in Elis, and of the temple of Diana.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε Χειρίσοφος ἦκεν, οὔτε πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἦν, οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι, ἐδόκει ἀπιτέον εἶναι. Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τοὺς τε ἀσθενοῦντας ἐνεβίβασαν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν· καὶ Φιλήσιον καὶ Σοφαίνετον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰςβίβασαντες, τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὠδοπεποιημένη ἦν. 2. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασοῦντα τριταῖοι, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, Σινωπέων ἀποικον, ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώρα. 3. Ἐν ταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἀριθμός, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι. Οὗτοι ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ χιόνος, καὶ εἰς τις νόσῳ.

4. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλῶτων ἀργύριον γενόμενον. Καὶ τὴν δεκάτην, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐξεῖλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοί, τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος, φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναιὸς ἔλαβε. 5. Ξενοφῶν οὖν, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναιὸς ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος, ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων Φησαυρόν, καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὐ-

τοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανε ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. 6. Τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας ὅτε ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν, καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἵνα· καὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἦν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῇ, αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι· ἦν δὲ τι πάθῃ, ἀναθεῖναι, ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὃ τι οἶοιτο χαριεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ. 7. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι, ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντος παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀφικνεῖται Μεγαβύζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων, καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δέ, λαβὼν, χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ, ὅπου ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός. 8. Ἐτυχε δὲ διὰ μέσου ῥέων τοῦ χωρίου ποταμὸς Σελινοῦς. Καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ, καὶ ἰχθύες δὲ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἐνεῖσι καὶ κόγχοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων, ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἀγρενόμενα θηρία. 9. Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ αἰεὶ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὠραῖα, θυσίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ· καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον τῆς ἐορτῆς. Παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνώσιν ἄλφιστα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καὶ τῶν θερευομένων δέ. 10. Καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιούντο εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν οἱ τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν· οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεθήρων· καὶ ἡλίσκετο τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης. σῦες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι. 11. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα, ἣ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται, ὥς εἴκοσι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. Ἐνὶ δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χώρῳ καὶ λειμῶν καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μεστά, ἱκανὰ καὶ σῦς καὶ αἰγας καὶ βοῦς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι. 12. Περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλλος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη, ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὠραῖα. Ὁ δὲ ναός, ὥς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ, τῷ ἐν Ἐφέ-



σω εἰκασται, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν, ὡς κυπαρίττινον χρυσοῦντι, τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Καὶ στήλη ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα· ΙΕΡΟΣ Ο ΧΩΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΘΕΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ. ΕΚ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΑΖΕΙΝ. ΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΗΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΗΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ.

## CHAPTER IV.

From Cerasus the Greeks reach the country of the Mossynæci, a barbarous nation, whom they find divided into two parties, one of which they assist in storming and burning the forts of the other.

1. Ἐκ Κερασούντος δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν ἐκομίζοντο οἱ περ καὶ πρόσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ γῆν ἐπορεύοντο. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Μοσσυνοίκων ὀρίοις, πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον, πρόξενον ὄντα τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ἐρωτῶντες, πότερον ὡς διὰ φιλίας, ἢ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας, πορεύσονται τῆς χώρας. Οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι οὐ διήσοιεν· ἐπίστευον γὰρ τοῖς χωρίοις. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν λέγει ὁ Τιμησίθεος, ὅτι πολέμοι εἰσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα. Καὶ ἐδόκει καλέσαι ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλονται ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιμησίθεος ἦκεν ἄγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας. 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, συνῆλθον οἱ τε τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ἔλεξε μὲν Ξενοφῶν, ἡρμήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος·

5. Ὡ ἄνδρες Μοσσύνοικοι, ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα διασωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περὶ πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν· κωλύουσι δὲ οὗτοι ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ ἀκούομεν ὑμῖν πολεμίους εἶναι. 6. Εἰ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν ξυμμάχους, καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι, εἰ τί ποτε ὑμᾶς οὗτοι ἠδίκηκασιν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῶν ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους. 7. Εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσετε, σκέψασθε πόθεν αὐτοὺς ἂν τοσαύτην δύναμιν λάβοιτε ξύμμαχον. 8. Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ὅτι καὶ βούλονται ταῦτα, καὶ δέχονται τὴν ξυ-

μμαχίαν. 9. Ἄγετε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι, ἂν ξύμμαχοι ὑμῶν γενώμεθα; καὶ ὑμεῖς τί οἰοίτε ἐσεσθε ἡμῖν ξυμπράξαι περὶ τῆς διόδου; 10. Οἱ δὲ εἶπον, ὅτι ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὴν τῶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν πολεμίων, καὶ δεῦρα ὑμῖν πέμπειν ναῦς τε καὶ ἄνδρας, οἵτινες ὑμῖν ξυμμαχοῦνται τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγήσονται.

11. Ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ δόντες καὶ λαβόντες, ᾤχοντο. Καὶ ἦκον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο, ἐκβάντες, εἰς τάξιν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, ὁ δὲ εἰς ἔμενε. 12. Καὶ οἱ μὲν, λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα, ἀπέπλευσαν· οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἐξετάξαντο ὧδε. Ἔστησαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ὥς περ χοροὶ, ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες γέρρα πάντες λευκῶν βοῶν δασέα, εἰκασμένα κίττου πετάλῳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτὸν ὡς ἐξάπηχυ, ἐμπροσθεν μὲν λόγχην ἔχον, ὀπισθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδές. 13. Χιτωνίσκους δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου· ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ κράνη σκύτινα, οἵα περ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρόβυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον, ἐγγύτατα τιαροειδῆ· εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις σιδηρᾶς. 14. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπορεύοντο ἄδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπορεύοντο εὐθύς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπὶ χωρίῳ, ὃ ἐδοκεῖ ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι. 15. Ὡκεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, τῆς μητροπόλεως καλουμένης αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. Καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ πόλεμος ἦν· οἱ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι καὶ πάντων Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ἔφασαν τούτους οὐ δικαίως ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὃν καταλαβόντας πλεονεκτεῖν.

16. Εἶποντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινές, οὐ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀρπαγῆς ἐνεκεν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμοι, προσιόντων, τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου, ἐκδραμόντες τρέπονται αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τῶν ξυναναδάντων



Ἑλλήνων τινάς, καὶ ἐδίωκον, μέχρι οὗ εἶδον τοὺς Ἑλληνας βοηθοῦντας. 17. Εἶτα δὲ ἀποτραπόμενοι ὦχοντο καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς τε Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς ἐαυτῶν πολεμίοις, καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον νόμῳ τινὶ ᾄδοντες. 18. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες μάλα ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐπεποιήκεσαν θρασυτέρους, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐξελθόντες Ἑλληνες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφεύγεσαν, μάλα ὄντες συχνοί. ὁ οὐπω πρόσθεν ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. 19. Ξενοφῶν δέ, ζυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἑλληνας, εἶπεν. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἀθυμήσητε ἕνεκα τῶν γεγενημένων. ἴστε γάρ, ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μείον τοῦ κακοῦ γε γένηται. 20. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες ἡμῖν ἡγεῖσθαι τῷ ὄντι πολέμοι εἰσιν οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἀφροντιστήσαντες τῆς ξὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως, καὶ ἱκανοὶ ἡγησάμενοι εἶναι ξὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ταῦτα πράττειν, ἅπερ ξὺν ἡμῖν, δίκην δεδώκασιν. ὥστε αὐθις ἦττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως ἀπολείφονται. 21. Ἄλλ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὔσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόξητε κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δηλώσητε, ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε τοῖς ἀτάκτοις ἐμάχοντο.

22. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἔμειναν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ θύσαντες, ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλιερήσαντο, ἀριστήσαντες, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ ταῦτα ταξάμενοι, ἐπορεύοντο, τοὺς τοξότας μεταξὺ τῶν λόχων ἔχοντες, ὑπολειπομένους δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν. 23. Ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ εὐζῶνοι κατατρέχοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἐβαλλον. τούτους ἀνέστελλον οἱ τοξόται καὶ πελτασταί. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάδην ἐπορεύοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ προτεραίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτρέφθησαν καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτοῖς. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι ἦσαν ἀντιτεταγμένοι. 24. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν πελταστὰς ἐδέξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐμάχοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν οἱ ὀπλῖται ἐτράποντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ εὐθὺς εἶποντο, διώκοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὴν μητρόπολιν, οἱ δὲ

ὀπλῖται ἐν τάξει εἶποντο. 25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς ταῖς τῆς μητροπόλεως οἰκίαις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πολέμοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον τοῖς παλτοῖς. καὶ ἄλλα δόρατα ἔχοντες παχέα, μακρά, ὅσα ἀνὴρ ἂν φέροι μόλις, τούτοις ἐπειρῶντο ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκ χειρός. 26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὑφίεντο οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἀλλ' ὁμόσε ἐχώρουν, ἔφενγον οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἔλιπον ἅπαντες τὸ χωρίον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ὁ ἐν τῷ μόσσυνι τῷ ἐπ' ἄκρον ὠκοδομημένῳ, ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα καὶ φυλάττουσιν, οὐκ ἔθελεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ πρότερον αἰρεθέντι χωρίῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μοσσύνοις κατεκαύθησαν. 27. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες, διαρπάζοντες τὰ χωρία, εὐρισκόν θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων νενημένων πατρίους, ὥς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι, τὸν δὲ νέον σῖτον ξὺν τῇ καλάμῃ ἀποκείμενον. ἦσαν δὲ ζεῖαι αἱ πλείσται. 28. Καὶ δελφίνων τεμάχη ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν εὐρίσκετο τεταριχευμένα, καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι τῶν δελφίνων, ὃ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι, καθάπερ οἱ Ἑλληνες τῷ ἐλαίῳ. 29. Κάρνα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνωγαίων ἦν πολλὰ τὰ πλατέα, οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν. Τούτῳ καὶ πλείστῳ σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο, ἔφοντες καὶ ἄρτους ὀπτῶντες. Οἶνος δὲ ἠύρισκετο, ὅς, ἄκρατος μὲν, ὅξυς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ὑπὸ τῆς αὐστηρότητος, κερασθεὶς δέ, ἐνώδης τε καὶ ἠδύς.

30. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες, ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα, ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὸ πρόσω, παραδόντες τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ξυμμαχήσασιν τῶν Μοσσυννοίκων. Ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παρήεσαν χωρία τῶν ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων, τὰ εὐπροσοδῶτατα οἱ μὲν ἔλειπον, οἱ δὲ ἐκόντες προσεχώρουν. 31. Τὰ δὲ πλείστα τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων. Ἀπεῖχον αἱ πόλεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα, αἱ δὲ πλεῖον, αἱ δὲ μείον. ἀναβοώντων δὲ ἀλλήλων ξυνήκουον εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας πόλεως. οὕτως ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ κοίλῃ ἡ χώρα ἦν. 32. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἦσαν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων σιτευτούς, τεθραμμένους καρύοις ἐφθοῖς, ἀπαλοὺς καὶ λευκοὺς σφόδρα, καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντας



ἴσους τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ πλάτος εἶναι, ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα, καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πάντα ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμιον. 33. Ἐζή-  
τουν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐταίραις αἷς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐμφανῶς  
ξυγγίγνεσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν οὗτός σφισι. Λευκοὶ δὲ πάν-  
τες οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. 34. Τούτους ἔλεγον οἱ  
στρατευσάμενοι βαρβαρωτάτους διελθεῖν, καὶ πλείστον τῶν  
Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους. Ἐν τε γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄν-  
τες, ἐποίουν ἅπερ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρμῇ ποιήσαιαν, ἄλλως  
δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμῶεν· μόνοι τε ὄντες, ὅμοια ἐπραττον ἅπερ  
ἂν μετ' ἄλλων ὄντες· διελέγοντό τε ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐγέλων  
ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ὠρχοῦντο ἐφιστάμενοι ὅπου τύχοιεν, ὥςπερ  
ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.

## CHAPTER V.

THEY meet with a second tribe of Chalybes, who are engaged chiefly in iron-works. They pass through their country to that of the Tibareni, who make a treaty with them. The Greeks march to Cotyora, a colony of Sinope, where, not being well received, they support themselves by plundering the lands of the Paphlagonians and those of Cotyora. The people of Sinope, by their ambassadors, complain of the injury done to their colony, and threaten vengeance; but are satisfied by the reply of Xenophon.

1. Διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες, διὰ τε τῆς πολε-  
μίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἐπορεύθησαν ὀκτῶ σταθμούς, καὶ ἀφί-  
κνούνται εἰς Χάλυβας. Οὗτοι ὀλίγοι ἦσαν καὶ ὑπήκοοι  
τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ  
σιδηρείας. Ἐντεῦθεν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Τιβαρηνοὺς. 2. Ἡ  
δὲ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα πολὺ ἦν πεδινωτέρα, καὶ χωρία  
εἶχεν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἥττον ἐρυμνά. Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρη-  
ζον πρὸς τὰ χωρία προσβάλλειν, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὀνηθῆναι  
τι· καὶ τὰ ξένια ἃ ἦκε παρὰ Τιβαρηνῶν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ'  
ἐπιμῆναι κελεύσαντες, ἔστε βουλευσάμενοι, ἐθύοντο. 3.  
Καὶ πολλὰ καταθυσάντων, τέλος ἀπεδείξαντο οἱ μάντιες  
πάντες γνώμην, ὅτι οὐδαμῇ προσίοιεντο οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πόλε-  
μον. Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐδέξαντο, καί, ὥς διὰ φιλίας  
πορευόμενοι δύο ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Κοτύωρα, πόλιν

Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἀποίκους, ὄντας δ' ἐν τῇ Τιβαρηνῶν  
χώρα.

4. Μέχρι ἐνταῦθα ἐπέξευσεν ἡ στρατιὰ. Πλήθος τῆς  
καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης ἄχρι εἰς  
Κοτύωρα, σταθμοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι δύο, παρασάγγαι ἑξακόσιοι  
καὶ εἴκοσι, στάδιοι μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι·  
χρόνου πλήθος ὀκτῶ μῆνες. 5. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας  
τετταράκοντα πέντε. Ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς  
θεοῖς ἔθυσαν, καὶ πομπὰς ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστοι  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἀγῶνας γυμνικούς. 6. Τὰ δ' ἐπιτή-  
δεια ἐλάμβανον, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν  
χωρίων τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ παρεῖχον ἀγοράν, οὐδ'  
εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἐδέχοντο.

7. Ἐν τούτῳ ἔρχονται ἐκ Σινώπης πρέσβεις, φοβούμενοι  
περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως, (ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων καὶ  
φόρους ἐκείνοις ἔφερον,) καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον  
δηνουμένην. Καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔλεγον  
(προηγόρει δὲ Ἑκατόννυμος, δεινὸς νομιζόμενος εἶναι λέ-  
γειν.) 8. Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ τῶν  
Σινωπέων πόλις, ἐπαινέσοντας τε ὑμᾶς, ὅτι νικᾶτε Ἕλλη-  
νες ὄντες βαρβάρους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ξυνηθροισμένους, ὅτι  
διὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν, ὥς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν, πραγμάτων  
σεσωσμένοι πάρεστε. 9. Ἀξιοῦμεν δέ, Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ  
αὐτοί, ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὄντων Ἑλλήνων, ἀγαθὸν μὲν τι πάσχειν,  
κακὸν δὲ μηδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπὴρ-  
ξαμεν κακῶς ποιοῦντες. 10. Κοτυωρίται δὲ οὗτοι εἰσὶ  
μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἀποικοὶ, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην  
παραδεδώκαμεν, βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι· διὸ καὶ δασμὸν  
ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὗτοι τεταγμένον, καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ  
Τραπεζούντιοι ὡσαύτως· ὥστε ὃ τι ἂν τούτους κακὸν ποι-  
ήσητε, ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις νομίζει πάσχειν. 11. Νῦν δὲ  
ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς, εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν βία παρεληλυθότας, ἐνίοις  
σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων βία λαμβάνειν,  
ὧν ἂν δέησθε, οὐ πείθοντας. 12. Ταῦτ' οὖν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν  
εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσετε, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν καὶ Καρύλαν καὶ



Παφλαγόνας, καὶ ἄλλον, ὅντινα ἂν δυνώμεθα, φίλον ποι-  
εῖσθαι.

13. Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Σινωπεῖς, ἤκομεν ἀγαπῶντες,  
ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσωσάμεθα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνα-  
τὸν ἅμα τε χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις  
μάχεσθαι. 14. Καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις  
ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν, (παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν,) ὠ-  
νούμενοι εἰχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν  
ἡμᾶς, καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς  
καὶ εἰ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχό-  
μεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἡγοῖντο,  
κακῶς ἐποιούμεν, ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. 15. Ἐρωτᾶτε δὲ αὐ-  
τούς, ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε, οὓς  
ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνας διὰ φιλίαν ἢ πόλιν ξυνέπεμψεν. 16. Ὅποι  
δ' ἂν ἐλθόντες ἀγορὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἂν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν  
ἂν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνομεν  
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 17. Καὶ Καρδούχους, καὶ Ταόχους, καὶ  
Χαλδαίους, καίπερ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας, ὅμως,  
καὶ μάλα φοβεροὺς ὄντας, πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα, διὰ τὸ  
ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ  
παρεῖχον. 18. Μάκρωνας δέ, καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας,  
ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν, οἷαν ἐδύναντο, παρεῖχον, φίλους τε ἐνομίζο-  
μεν εἶναι, καὶ βίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων. 19.  
Κοτυωρίτας δέ, οὓς ὑμετέρους φατὲ εἶναι, εἰ τι αὐτῶν εἰ-  
λήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὥς φίλοι προσεφέροντο  
ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλεισαντες τὰς πύλας, οὔτε εἰσω ἐδέχοντο, οὔτε  
ἔξω ἀγορὰν ἐπεμπον· ἥτιόντων δὲ τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρμοστήν  
τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. 20. Ὁ δὲ λέγεις, βίᾳ παρελθόντας  
σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἡξιούμεν, τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς στέγας  
δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέωγον τὰς πύλας, ἢ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχετο  
αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ταύτῃ εἰσελθόντες, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον  
ἐποιήσαμεν· σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς στέγαις οἱ κάμνοντες, τὰ  
ἑαυτῶν δαπανῶντες· καὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ  
ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρμοστῇ ὦσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ

ἡμῖν ἢ κομίσασθαι, ὅτι νῦν βουλώμεθα. 21. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ὡς  
ὄρατε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι,  
ἂν μὲν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντευποιεῖν, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι.  
22. Ἄ δὲ ἠπειλήσας, ὡς, ἦν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, Κορύλαν καὶ Παφ-  
λαγόνας ξυμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ, ἦν μὲν  
ἀνάγκῃ ἢ, πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις· (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλ-  
λοις πολλαπλασίοις ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν·) ἂν δὲ δοκῇ, ἡμῖν  
καὶ φίλον ποιήσομεν τὸν Παφλαγόνα. 23. Ἀκούομεν δὲ  
αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ χωρίων τῶν  
ἐπιθαλαττίων. Πειρασόμεθα οὖν, συμπράττοντες αὐτῷ, ὧν  
ἐπιθυμεῖ, φίλοι γίγνεσθαι.

24. Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις τῷ  
Ἐκατωνύμῳ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις· παρελθὼν δ'  
αὐτῶν ἄλλος εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι ἤκοιεν,  
ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείξοντες ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. Καὶ ξενίοις, ἦν μὲν  
ἔλθητε πρὸς τὴν Σινωπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεξόμεθα, νῦν δὲ  
τοὺς ἐνθάδε κελεύσομεν διδόναι ἃ δύνανται· ὀρώμεν γὰρ  
πάντα ἀληθῆ ὄντα ἃ λέγετε. 25. Ἐκ τούτου ξενία τε  
ἐπεμπον οἱ Κοτυωρίται, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ἐξένιζον τοὺς τῶν Σινωπέων πρέσβεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
πολλά τε καὶ φιλικὰ διελέγοντο, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς  
λοιπῆς πορείας ἐπυνθάνοντο, ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE ambassadors advise the Greeks to pursue their route by sea, and engage to provide ships for their conveyance. It occurs to Xenophon, during the delay, to found a city in Pontus, but his design is defeated by the contrivance of Silanus, to whom he had communicated it.

1. Ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Τῇ δὲ  
ὕστεραίᾳ ξυνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ  
ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας παρακαλέσαντας  
τοὺς Σινωπέας βουλευέσθαι. Εἴτε γὰρ πεζῇ δέοι πορεύ-  
εσθαι, χρήσιμοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σινωπεῖς· ἔμπειροι γὰρ  
ἦσαν τῆς Παφλαγονίας· εἴτε κατὰ θάλατταν, προσδεῖν



ἐδόκει Σινωπέων· μόνοι γὰρ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἀρκούντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. 2. Καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις ξυνεβουλευόντο, καὶ ἡξίου, "Ελλήνας ὄντας "Ελλήσοι τούτῳ πρῶτον καλῶς δέχεσθαι τῷ εὐνοῦς τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα συμβουλεύειν.

3. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἐκατόννυμος, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογήσατο περὶ οὗ εἶπεν, ὡς τὸν Παφλαγῶνα φίλον ποιήσονται, ὅτι οὐχ, ὡς τοῖς "Ελλήσοι πολεμησάντων σφῶν, εἴποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις φίλους εἶναι, τοὺς "Ελλήνας αἰρήσονται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβουλεύειν ἐκέλευον, ἐπευξάμενος ὥδε εἶπεν.

4. Εἰ μὲν συμβουλεύοιμι, ἃ βέλτιστά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, πολλά μοι κάγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μή, τάναντία. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ συμβουλή λεγομένη εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι παρεῖναι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ δῆ, ἂν μὲν εὖ συμβουλεύσας φανῶ, πολλοὶ ἐσεσθε οἱ ἐπαινοῦντές με· ἂν δὲ κακῶς, πολλοὶ ἐσεσθε οἱ καταρώμενοι.

5. Πράγματα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἔσομεν, εἰ κατὰ θάλατταν κομίζησθε· ἡμᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ πλοῖα πορίζειν· ἦν δὲ κατὰ γῆν στέλλησθε, ἡμᾶς δεήσει τὰς μαχομένους εἶναι.

6. Ὅμως δὲ λεκτέα ἃ γινώσκω· ἔμπειρος γάρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας τῶν Παφλαγόνων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. Ἐχει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα.

7. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθύς, ἥ τῇ εἰςβολῇ ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλη, ἥ ἢ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψηλά, ἃ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάνυ ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν· τούτων δὲ κατεχομένων, οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι δύναιντ' ἂν διελθεῖν. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δείξαιμι ἂν, εἰ μοί τινα βούλοισθε συμπεμψαι.

8. Ἐπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία ὄντα, καὶ ἰππεῖαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίζουσι κρεῖττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλέως ἰππείας. Καὶ νῦν αὐτοὶ οὐ παρεγένοντο βασιλεῖ καλοῦντι, ἀλλὰ μείζον φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν.

9. Εἰ δὲ καὶ δυνηθεῖτε τὰ τε ὄρη κλέψαι, ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆσαι μαχομένοι τοὺς τε ἰππεῖς τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλείον ἢ δώδεκα, ἥξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς παταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμῶδοντα, εὖρος τριῶν πλέ

θρων, ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπίσθεν ἐπομένων· δεύτερον δ' Ἰριν, τρίπλεθρον ὡσαύτως· τρίτον δ' Ἄλυν, οὐ μείον δυοῖν σταδίῳ, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε ἄνεν πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ παρέχων; ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος, ἐφ' ὃν ἐλθοῖτε ἂν, εἰ τοὶ Ἄλυν διαβαίητε. 10. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. Ἄν δὲ πλέητε, ἔστιν ἐνθένδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην παραπλευσαι, ἐκ Σινώπης δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡρακλείας δὲ οὔτε πεζῇ, οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἔστιν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.

11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτενον φιλίας ἔνεκα τῆς Κορύλα λέγειν, (καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῷ,) οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς δῶρα ληφόμενον διὰ τὴν συμβουλήν ταύτην· οἱ δὲ ὑπώπτενον καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα λέγειν, ὡς μὴ πεζῇ ἰόντες τὴν Σινωπέων τι χώραν κακὸν ἐργάζονται. Οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι.

12. Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ὡ Σινωπεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἡρῶνται πορείαν, ἣν ὑμεῖς συμβουλεύετε· οὕτω δὲ ἔχει· εἰ μὲν πλοῖα ἐσεσθαι μέλλει ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς ἔνα μὴ καταλείπεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς ἂν πλέοιμεν· εἰ δὲ μέλομεν οἱ μὲν καταλείψεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίημεν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα.

13. Γινώσκουμεν γάρ, ὅτι, ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶμεν, δυνάμεθ' ἂν καὶ σώζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ που ἥττους τῶν πολεμίων ληφθησόμεθα, εὐδὴλον δῆ, ὅτι ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρα ἐσόμεθα.

14. Ἀκουσάντες ταῦτα οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκέλευον πέμπειν πρέσβεις. Καὶ πέμπονσι Καλλίμαχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ Ἀρίστωνα Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Σαμόλαν Ἀχαιοῦν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχοντο.

15. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὄρωντι μὲν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὄρωντι δὲ καὶ πελταστὰς πολλοὺς, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας, καὶ ἰππέας δέ, καὶ μάλα ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανοὺς, ὄντας δ' ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ἐνθα οὐκ ἂν ἀπ' ὀλίγων χρημάτων τοσαύτη δύναμις παρε



σκευάσθῃ, καλὸν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ χώραν καὶ δύναμιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσκτήσασθαι πόλιν κατοικήσαντας. 16. Καὶ γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένῳ τό τε αὐτῶν πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς περιοικοῦντας τὸν Πόντον. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο, πρὶν τινι εἰπεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Σιλανὸν καλέσας, τὸν Κύρου μάντιν γενόμενον, τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην. 17. Ὁ δὲ Σιλανός, δεδιώς μὴ γένηται ταῦτα, καὶ καταμείνῃ που ἢ στρατιά, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα λόγον, ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται καταμείναι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι. 18. Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὗς γὰρ παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε τριςχιλίους δαρεϊκούς, ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἡγήθευσε θνόμενος Κύρῳ, διεσεσώκει. 19. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει βέλτιστον εἶναι καταμείναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ Τιμασίῳν δὲ ὁ Δαρδανεὺς καὶ Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος πρὸς ἐμπόρους τινὰς παρόντας τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν καὶ Σινωπέων λέγουσιν, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἐκποριοῦσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισθόν, ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκπλέοντας, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μείναι τοσαύτῃ δύναμις ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ· βουλεύεται γὰρ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃ τὰ πλοῖα, τότε εἰπεῖν ἐξαίφνης τῇ στρατιᾷ. 20. Ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν ὁρῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ὥς οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας ὀνῆσαι τι τοὺς οἴκοι· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον οἰκουμένης ἐκλεξάμενοι, ὅπῃ ἂν βούλησθε, κατασχεῖν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα, ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, τὸν δὲ ἐθέλοντα, μένειν αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα δ' ὑμῖν παρῆστιν, ὥστε, ὅπῃ ἂν βούλησθε, ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσοιτε.

21. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι· ξυνέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς Τιμασίῳν ὁ Δαρδανεὺς Εὐρύμαχόν τε τὸν Δαρδανεά καὶ Θώρακα τὸν Βοιώτιον, τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐροῦντας. Σινωπεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες πέμπουσι ποδὸς τὸν Τιμασίῳνα, καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι, λαβόντα χρήματα, ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιά. 22. Ὁ δὲ, ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, ἐν ξυλλόγῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν

όντων, λέγει τάδε. Οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν τῇ μονῇ, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι. Ἀκούω δὲ τινὰς θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, οὐδ' ὑμῖν λέγοντας. 23. Ὑπισχνοῦμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐκπλέητε, ἀπὸ νομηνίας μισθοφορὰν παρέξειν κυζικηνὸν ἐκάστῳ τοῦ μηνός· καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα, ἐνθεν καὶ εἰμι φυγᾶς, καὶ ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν ἢ ἐμὴ πόλις· ἐκόντες γὰρ με δέξονται. 24. Ἠγήσομαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἱγῶ, ἐνθεν πολλὰ χρήματα λήψεσθε. Ἐμπειρος δὲ εἰμι τῆς Ἀολίδος, καὶ τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ τῆς Τρωάδος, καὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς πάσης, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ξυνεστρατεῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ Δερκυλλίδῃ.

25. Ἀναστὰς δὲ αὐθις Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος, ὃς ἀεὶ περὶ στρατηγίας Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο, ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερρόνησον, χώραν καλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, ὥστε τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐνοικεῖν, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ, ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε. Γελοῖον δὲ εἶναι, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐσης χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀφθόνου, ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων μαστεύειν. 26. Ἔστε δ' ἂν, ἔφη, ἐκεῖ γένησθε, κἀγώ, καθάπερ Τιμασίῳν, ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφορίαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι Τιμασίῳνι οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Σινωπεῖς ὑπισχνοῦντο, ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν. 27. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τούτῳ ἐσίγα. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Φιλῆσιος καὶ Λύκων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔλεγον, ὥς δεινὸν εἶη ἰδίᾳ μὲν Ξενοφῶντα πείθειν τε καταμένειν, καὶ θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς, μὴ κοινούμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μηδὲν ἀγορεύειν περὶ τούτων. Ὡς τε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε. 28. Ἐγώ, ὧ ἄνδρες, θύομαι μὲν, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, ὅποσα δύναμαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ, ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ πράττων, ὅποια μέλλει ὑμῖν τε κάλλιστα καὶ ἀριστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐμοί. Καὶ νῦν ἐθυόμην περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου, εἰ ἄμεινον εἶη ἀρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ πράττειν περὶ τούτων, ἢ παντάπασι μηδὲ ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. 29. Σιλανὸς δὲ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον τα ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· (ῆδει γὰρ καὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ



ἄπειρον ἦντα, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρῆναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς·) ἔλεξε δέ, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνοντό τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί, ὥς ἄρα γινώσκων, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλευε διαβάλλειν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐγὼ πράττειν ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη, οὐ πείσας ὑμᾶς. 30. Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἑώρων ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἂν ἐσκόπουν, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν γενοίτο, ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον, ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἐπεὶ κτήσαιοτο ἱκανά, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκείους ὠφελῆσαι τι. 31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Σινωπεῖς, ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπισχνουμένους ὑμῖν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ νομηνίας, καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, σωζομένους, ἐνθα βουλόμεθα, μισθὸν τῆς πορείας λαμβάνειν· καὶ αὐτὸς τε παύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας, καὶ ὅποσοι πρὸς ἐμὲ προσήεσαν, λέγοντες, ὥς χρὴ ταῦτα πράττειν, ἀναπαύσασθαι φημι χρῆναι. 32. Οὕτω γὰρ γινώσκω· ὁμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πολλοί, ὥσπερ τυνί, δοκεῖτε ἂν μοι καὶ ἐντιμοὶ εἶναι, καὶ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· (ἐν γὰρ τῷ κρατεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων·) διασπασθέντες δ' ἂν, καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως, οὐτ' ἂν τροφὴν δύνασθε λαμβάνειν, οὔτε χαίροντες ἂν ἀπαλλάξαιτε. 33. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι, ἄπειρ ὑμῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐὰν τις μείνῃ, ἢ ἀπολειπὼν τινα ληφθῇ, πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι πᾶν τὸ στρατεύμα, κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ὥς ἀδικοῦντα. Καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα. Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες.

34. Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ἐβόα, καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ὥς δίκαιον εἶη ἀπιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλ' ἠπεύλον αὐτῷ, ὅτι εἰ λήφονται ἀποδιδράσκοντα, τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν. 35. Ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται, ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν δεδογμένον εἶη, καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπειρητικῶς εἶη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπονσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Τιμασίῳ καὶ Θώρακι, ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν τῆς μισθοφορίας. 36. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν τὴν στρατιάν οἱ τὴν μισθοφορίαν ὑπεσχημένοι. Παραλαβόντες οὖν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους

στρατηγοὺς, οἷς ἀνεκοιναῦντο, ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον, (πάντες δ' ἦσαν, πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναίου, δὲ Χειρίσοφον ὅτε στρατῆγαι· Χειρίσοφος δὲ οὐπω παρῆν·) ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ δοκρὴ κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἐστὶ, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν. 37. (Αἰήτου δὲ νῆδους ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν.) Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποι εἰς τὴν στρατιάν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ξυλλέξαντες, ἔφη, εἰ βούλεσθε, λέγετε. Ἐνταῦθα ἀποδείκνυται Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεύς γνώμην, οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον λοχαγοὺς πρῶτον πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. Καὶ ἀπελθόντες ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν.

## CHAPTER VII.

ΧΕΙΡΙΣΟΦΟΝ, being accused of intending to sail to the Phasis, defends himself, and brings to punishment the men who had some time before insulted the ambassadors from Cerasus.

1. Ταῦτα οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο πραττόμενα. Καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει, ὥς Ξενοφῶν, ἀναπεπεικῶς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς, διανοεῖται ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξαπατήσας πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν. 2. Ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον· καὶ ξύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ κύκλοι ξυνίσταντο, καὶ μάλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, μὴ ποιήσειαν, οἷα καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κόλχων κήρυκας ἐποίησαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους· ὅσοι γὰρ μὴ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατέφυγον, κατελεύσθησαν. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠσθάνετο Ξενοφῶν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὥς τάχιστα ξυναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἀγοράν, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶσαι ξυλλεγῆναι αὐτομάτους· καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ξυλλέγειν ἀγοράν. 4. Οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, ξυνόδραμον καὶ μάλα ἐτοίμως. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν οὐ κατηγόρει, ὅτι ἤλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, λέγει δὲ ὥδε.

5. Ἀκούω τινα διαβάλλειν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἐμέ, ὥς ἐγὼ ἄρα ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φᾶσιν. Ἀκούσατε οὖν μου, πρὸς θεῶν· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνωμαι ἀδικεῖν, οὐ



χρή με ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν ἂν δῶ δίκην· ἂν δ' ὑμῖν φαίνωνται ἀδικεῖν οἱ ἐμὲ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρήσθε, ὥσπερ ἄξιον. 6. 'Τμεῖς δ', ἔφη, ἴστε δῆπου, ὅθεν ἥλιος ἀνίσχει, καὶ ὅπου δύεται, καὶ ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ἵεναι, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δέ τις βούληται εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τοῦμπαλιν πρὸς ἔω. Ἔστιν οὖν, ὅστις τοῦτο ἂν δύναίτο ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι, ὥς ἥλιος, ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται δὲ ἐνταῦθα, ἐνθα δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν; 7. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι βορέας μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρει, νότος δὲ εἰσὼ εἰς Φᾶσιν, καὶ λέγετε, ὅταν βορρᾶς πνέῃ, ὥς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Τοῦτο οὖν ἔστιν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ, ὥστε ἐμβαίνειν, ὅπότεν νότος πνέῃ; 8. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὅποτεν, γαλήνῃ ἦ, ἐμβιβῶ. Οὐκ οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ πλοίῳ πλεύσομαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦλάχιστον ἐν ἑκατόν; πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην ὑμᾶς ξὺν ἐμοὶ πλεῖν, μὴ βουλομένους, ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι; 9. Ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ καταγοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡκεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν· γνῶσεσθε δῆπου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστέ· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκὼς εἰς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατημένοι ἐγγυὲς μυρίων, ἔχοντες ὅπλα. Πῶς ἂν οὖν εἰς ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίῃ δίκην, ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑμῶν βουλευόμενος; 10. Ἀλλ' οὐτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἡλιθίων, κάμοι φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. Καίτοι οὐ δικαίως γ' ἂν μοι φθονοῖεν· τίνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ κωλύω ἢ λέγειν, εἰ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν δύναται ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι, εἰ τις ἐθέλει, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐγρηγορέναι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελόμενον; τί γάρ, ἄρχοντας αἰρουμένων ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ τινι ἐμποδῶν εἰμι; παρήμι, ἀρχέτω· μόνον ἀγαθὸν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαινέσθω. 11. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἴεται ταῦτα, ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατῆσαι ταῦτα λέγων διδασκέτω. 12. Ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἅλις ἔχητε, μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητε οἷον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀρχό-

μενον πρᾶγμα· ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι καὶ ἔσται, οἷον ὑποδείκνυσιν, ὥρα ἡμῖν βουλευέσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ αἰσχιστοὶ ἄνδρες ἀποφαινώμεθα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων. 13. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐθαύμασάν τε ὃ τι εἶη, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. Ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν· Ἐπίστασθέ πον, ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι βαρβαρικά, φίλια τοῖς Κερασούντιοις, ὅθεν κατιόντες τινὲς καὶ ἱερεῖα ἐπώλουν ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὧν εἶχον· δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τινες, εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτῳ χωρίον τούτων ἐλθόντες, ἀγοράσαντές τι, πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν. 14. Τοῦτο καταμαθὼν Κλεάρετος ὁ λοχαγός, ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν εἴη καὶ ἀφύλακτον, διὰ τὸ φίλιον νομίζειν εἶναι, ἔρχεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὥς πορθήσων, οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν εἰπών. 15. Διενενόητο δὲ, εἰ λάβοι τόδε τὸ χωρίον, εἰς μὲν τὸ στράτευμα μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν, εἰς δὲ εἰς πλοῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγχανον οἱ ξύσκηνοι αὐτοῦ παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐνθήμενος, εἰ τι λάβοι, ἀποπλέων οἴχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου. Καὶ ταῦτα ξυνωμολόγησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι, ὥς ἐγὼ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι. 16. Παρακαλέσας οὖν, ὅπουσους ἔπειθεν, ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. Πορευόμενον δ' αὐτὸν φθάνει ἡμέρα γενομένη, καὶ ξυστάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν τόπων βάλλοντες καὶ παίοντες, τόν τε Κλεάρετον ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συχνούς· οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ εἰς Κερασούντα αὐτῶν ἀποχωροῦσι. 17. Ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμῶμεν πεζῇ· τῶν δὲ πλεόντων ἔτι τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασούντι, οὐπω ἀνηγμένοι. Μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ Κερασούντιοι λέγουσιν, ἀφικνοῦνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν γεραιτέρων, πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον χρήζοντες ἐλθεῖν. 18. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς Κερασουντίους ἔλεγον, ὅτι θαυμάζοιεν, τί ἡμῖν δόξειεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν, ἔφασαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἦδεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ μέλλειν ἐνθάδε πλεῖν, ὥς ἡμῖν λέξαι τὰ γενόμενα, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς κελεύειν αὐτοὺς θάπτειν λαβόντας τοὺς τούτου δεομένους. 19. Τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόν-



των τινές Ἑλλήνων ἐτυχον ἔτι ὄντες ἐν Κερασσῶντι αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὅπου εἶεν, αὐτοὶ τε ἐπόλησαν βάλλειν τοῖς λίθοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκελεύοντο. Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀποθνήσκουσι, τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις, καταλενοσθέντες. 20. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ Κερασσῶντιοι, καὶ λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἠχθόμεθα τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις, καὶ ἐβουλενόμεθα ξὺν τοῖς Κερασσωντίοις, ὅπως ἂν ταφείησαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκροί. 21. Συγκαθήμενοι δ' ἐξωθεν τῶν ὀπλων, ἐξαίφνης ἀκούομεν θορύβου πολλοῦ, Παῖε παῖε, βάλλε βάλλε· καὶ τάχα δὴ ὀρώμεν πολλοὺς πρὸς θεόντας, λίθους ἔχοντας ἐν ταῖς χερσί, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀναιρουμένους. 22. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερασσῶντιοι ὥς ἂν καὶ ἐωρακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα, δείσαντες ἀποχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα. Ἦσαν δὲ, νῆ Δία καὶ ἡμῶν οἱ ἔδεισαν. 23. Ἐγώ γε μὴν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἡρώτων, ὃ τι ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. Τῶν δὲ ἦσαν μὲν οἱ οὐδὲν ᾔδεσαν, ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδότε τι καὶ ἐπέτυχον, λέγει μοι ὅτι οἱ ἀγορανόμοι δεινότατα ποιοῦσι τὸ στράτευμα. 24. Ἐν τούτῳ τις ὄρᾳ τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρχον πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἀποχωροῦντα, καὶ ἀνέκραγεν· οἱ δὲ, ὥς ἤκουσαν ὥσπερ ἡ σὺνδς ἀγρίου ἢ ἐλάφου φανέντος, ἵενται ἐπ' αὐτόν. 25. Οἱ δ' αὖ Κερασσῶντιοι, ὥς εἶδον ὀρμῶντας καθ' αὐτοὺς, σαφῶς νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἵεσθαι, φεύγουσι δρόμῳ, καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. Συνεισέπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες, καὶ ἐπνίγετο, ὅστις νεῖν μὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστάμενος. 26. Καὶ τούτους τί δοκεῖτε; ἡδίκουν μὲν οὐδέν, ἔδεισαν δὲ μὴ λύττα τις ὥσπερ κυεῖν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτῶκοι. Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ἐσται, θεάσασθε, οἷα ἡ κατάστασις ἡμῖν ἐσται τῆς στρατιᾶς. 27. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριαι οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον ᾧ ἂν βούλησθε, οὔτε καταλῦσαι· ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ βουλούμενος ἄξει στράτευμα, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν θέλῃ. Κἂν τινες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις, ἢ εἰρήνης δεόμενοι, ἢ ἄλλου τινός, κατακτείναντες τούτους οἱ βουλόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν λόγων μὴ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν πρὸς

ὑμᾶς ἰόντων. 28. Ἐπειτα δέ, οὗς μὲν ἂν ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἔλησθε ἄρχοντας, ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ χώρᾳ ἔσονται· ὅστις δ' ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἔληται στρατηγόν, καὶ ἐθέλῃ λέγειν, Βάλλε βάλλε, οὗτος ἐσται ἱκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα κατακανεῖν, καὶ ἰδιώτην, ὃν ἂν ὑμῶν ἐθέλῃ, ἀκρίτον, ἣν ὧσιν οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο. 29. Οἷα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ διαπεπράχασι οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὗτοι στρατηγοί, σκέψασθε. Ζήλαρχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀγορανόμος, εἰ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς, οἴχεται ἀποπλέων, οὐ δοὺς ὑμῖν δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖ, φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος, δέισας, μὴ ἀδίκως ἀκριτος ἀποθάνῃ. 30. Οἱ δὲ καταλεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις, διεπράξαντο ὑμῖν μόνοις μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασσῶντα μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, ἂν μὴ σὺν ἰσχυρί, ἀφικνεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς, οὗς πρόσθεν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακανόντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν, τούτους διεπράξαντο μηδὲ ξὺν κηρυκίᾳ ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἀνελέσθαι. Τίς γὰρ ἐθελήσει κῆρυξ ἵεναι, κήρυκας ἀπεκτονῶς; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασσωντίων θάψαι αὐτοὺς ἐδεήθημεν. 31. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, δοξάτω ὑμῖν, ἵνα, ὥς τοιούτων ἐσομένων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις, καὶ τὰ ἐρμυνὰ ὑπερδέξια πειράται ἔχων σκηνοῦν. 32. Εἰ μέντοι ὑμῖν δοκεῖ θηρίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνθρώπων, εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα, σκοπεῖτε παῦλάν τινα αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς Διός, πῶς ἢ θεοῖς θύσομεν ἡδέως, ποιῶντες ἔργα ἀσεβῆ, ἢ πολεμίοις πῶς μαχοῦμεθα, ἣν ἀλλήλους κατακαίνωμεν; 33. Πόλις δὲ φιλία τίς ἡμᾶς δέξεται, ἥτις ἂν ὄρᾳ τοσαύτην ἀνομίαν ἐν ἡμῖν; ἀγορὰν δὲ τίς ἄξει θαρρῶν, ἣν περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες φαινώμεθα; οὐ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἴομεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαίνου, τίς ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιούτους ὄντας ἐπαινέσειεν; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πονηροὺς ἂν φαίημεν εἶναι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιῶντας.

34. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες ἔλεγον τοὺς μὲν οὕτων ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἀνομίας ἄρξαι· εἰ δὲ τις ἄρξῃ, ἄγεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς εἰς δίκας πάντας καταστήσαι· εἶναι δὲ δίκας, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο τις ἡδίκητο, ἐξ οὗ Κῦρος



ἀπέθανε· δικαστὰς δὲ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐποίησαντο. 35 Πάροινοῦντος δὲ Ξενοφῶντος, καὶ τῶν μάντεων συμβουλευόντων, ἔδοξε καὶ καθῆραι τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ ἐγένετο καθαρμός.

## CHAPTER VIII.

AN inquiry being made into the accounts of the generals, several of them are fined for deficiencies. Xenophon is accused of using severity toward the soldiers: he admits the fact, and defends it under the circumstances.

1. Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δίκην ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου. Καὶ διδόντων, Φιλῆσιος μὲν ὥφλε καὶ Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων τὸ μείωμα, εἴκοσι μνᾶς, Σοφαίνετος δέ, ὅτι ἄρχων αἰρεθεὶς κατημέλει, δέκα μνᾶς. Ξενοφῶντος δὲ κατηγόρησάν τινες, φάσκοντες παῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐποιούντο. 2. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστὰς ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶτον λέξαντα, ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται· Ὅπου καὶ τῷ ῥίγει ἀπωλλόμεθα, καὶ χιῶν πλείστη ἦν. 3. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χειμῶνός γε ὄντος οἷον λέγεις, σίτου δὲ ἐπιλελοιπότος, οἷνου δὲ μηδ' ὀσφραίνεσθαι παρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ πόνων πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων, πολεμίων δὲ ἐπομένων, εἰ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ὑβρίζον, ὁμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος εἶναι, οἷς φασὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ὕδρεως κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. 4. Ὅμως δὲ καὶ λέξον ἔφη, ἐκ τίνος ἐπλήγης. Πότερον ἦτουν σέ τι, καί, ἔπε μοι οὐκ ἐδίδως, ἔπαιον; ἀλλ' ἀπήτουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν μαχόμενος, ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαρώνησα; 5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔφησεν, ἐπήρετο αὐτόν, εἰ ὀπλιτεύοι. Οὐκ ἔφη. Πάλιν, εἰ πελτάζοι. Οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἡμίονον ἐλαύνειν ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συσκήνων, ἐλεύθερος ὢν. 6. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναγινώσκει αὐτόν, καὶ ἤρετο· Ἡ σὺ εἰ ὁ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀπάγων; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη· σὺ γὰρ ἡνάγταζες· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκεύη διέῤῥιψας. 7

Ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν διάρριψις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τοιαύτη τις ἐγένετο. Διέδωκα ἄλλοις ἄγειν, καὶ ἐκέλευσα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπαγαγεῖν· καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ἅπαντα σῶα, ἀπέδωκά σοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ ἀπέδειξας τὸν ἄνδρα. Οἷον δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο, ἀκούσατε, ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον.

8. Ἄνθρωπος κατελείπετο, διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι πορεύεσθαι. Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι εἰς ἡμῶν εἴη· ἡνάγκασα δὲ σὲ τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὥς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο· καὶ γὰρ, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο. Συνέφη τοῦτο ὁ ἄνθρωπος. 9. Οὐκ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ προὔπεμψά σε, καταλαμβάνω αὐτίς, σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι προσιών, βόθρον ὀρύττοντα, ὥς κατορύξοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπήνον σε; 10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεστηκότων ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες, ὅτι ζῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος· σὺ δ' εἶπας· Ὅποσα γε βούλεται· ὥς ἐγωγε αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄξω. Ἐνταῦθα ἔπαισά σε· ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἔδοξας γὰρ μοι εἰδοῦναι εὐκέναι, ὅτι ἔζη. 11. Τι οὖν; ἔφη, ἥττον τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ σοι ἀπέδειξα αὐτόν; Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα· τοῦτον οὖν ἔνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ κατορυχθῆναι; 12. Τοῦτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον πάντες ὥς ὀλίγας παῖσειεν· ἄλλους δ' ἐκέλευε λέγειν, διὰ τί ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν· 13. Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμολογῶ παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας ἔνεκεν ἀταξίας, ὅσοις σώζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ μαχομένων, ὅπου δέοι· αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς τάξεις, προθέοντες ἀρπάζειν ἤθελον, καὶ ἡμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο πάντες ἐποιούμεν, ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλλόμεθα. 14. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ μαλακισμένον τινα, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἀνίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ προῖεμενον αὐτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἔπαισα, καὶ ἐβιασάμην πορεύεσθαι. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ χειμῶνι καὶ αὐτός ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰ συσκευαζομένους, καθεζόμενος συχνὸν χρόνον, κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις καὶ τὰ σκέλη ἐκτείνας. 15. Ἐν ἐμαυτῷ οὖν πείραν λαβὼν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλον ὁπότε ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλακεύοντα, ἤλαυνον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι καὶ



ἀνδρίζεσθαι παρῆχε θερμασίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα· τὸ δὲ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐώρων ὑπουργὸν ὃν τῷ τε ἀποπῆγνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα, καὶ τῷ ἀποσῆπασθαι τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν δακτύλους· ἕπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόντας. 16. Ἄλλον δὲ γε ἴσως ὑπολειπόμενόν που διὰ ῥαστώνην, καὶ κωλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὀπίσθεν πορεύεσθαι, ἔπαισα πύξ, ὅπως μὴ λόγῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παύοιτο. 17. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δίκην λαβεῖν. Εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον, ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἡξίουν λαμβάνειν; ἀπλοῦς μοι, ἔφη, ὁ λόγος. 18. Εἰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἐκόλασά τινα, ἀξιῶ ὑπέχειν δίκην, οἷαν καὶ γονεῖς υἱοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισὶ. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱατροὶ καίουσι καὶ τέμνουσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. 19. Εἰ δὲ ὑβρεῖ νομίζετε με ταῦτα πράττειν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ θαρσῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τότε, καὶ θρασύτερός εἰμι νῦν ἢ τότε, καὶ οἶνον πλείω πίνω· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδένα παίω. Ἐν εὐδία γὰρ ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς. 20. Ὅταν δὲ χειμῶν ᾖ, καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρηται, οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ὅτι καὶ νεύματος μόνου ἔνεκα χαλεπαίνει μὲν πρῶτος τοῖς ἐν πρῶρᾳ, χαλεπαίνει δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτης τοῖς ἐν πρύμνῃ; ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ μικρὰ ἁμαρτηθέντα πάντα συνεπιτρίψαι. 21. Ὅτι δὲ δικαίως ἔπαιον αὐτούς, καὶ ὑμεῖς κατεδικάσατε· ἔχοντες ξίφη, οὐ ψήφους, παρέστητε, καὶ ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐβούλεσθε· ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε τούτοις ἐπεκουρεῖτε, οὔτε σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ἔπαίετε. 22. Τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν ἐποιήσατε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν, ὑβρίζειν ἐὼντες αὐτούς. Οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους, καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους. 23. Βοίσκος γοῦν ὁ πύκτης ὁ Θετταλὸς τότε μὲν διεμάχετο, ὡς κάμνων, ἀσπίδα μὴ φέρειν, νῦν δ', ὡς ἀκούω, Κοτυωριτῶν πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀποδέδυκεν. 24. Ἦν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τούτῳ τάναντία ποιήσατε, ἢ τοὺς κύνας ποιοῦσι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας διδάσκει, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφίαισι· τοῦτον δὲ, ἦν σωφρονῆτε τὴν νύκτα μὲν

δῆσετε τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε. 25. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, θαυμάζω, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τινι ὑμῶν ἀπηχθόμην, μέμνησθε, καὶ οὐ σιωπᾶτε, εἰ δὲ τῷ ἢ χειμῶνα ἐπεκούρησα, ἢ πολέμιον ἀπήρυσσα, ἢ ἀσθενοῦντι ἢ ἀποροῦντι συνεξεπόρισά τι, τούτων οὐδεὶς μέμνηται· οὐδ' εἴ τινα καλῶς τι ποιοῦντα ἐπήνεσα, οὐδ' εἴ τιν' ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀγαθὸν ἐτίμησα, ὡς ἐδυνάμην, οὐδὲ τούτων μέμνησθε. 26. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καλὸν τε καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἥδιον, τῶν ἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνησθαι.

Ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμίμνησκον. Καὶ περιεγένετο ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.



# XENOPHON'S ANABASIS.

## BOOK VI.

### CHAPTER I.

AMBASSADORS arrive from the satrap of Paphlagonia, whose territory the Greeks are injuring, and propose peace, which is accepted. The Greeks sail from Cotyora to the port of Sinope; while staying here, they determine to elect a commander-in-chief, and choose Xenophon: on his refusing to accept the office, they appoint Cheirisophus, who had lately returned with ships from Anaxibius.

1. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔζων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ληιζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας. Ἐκλώ-  
πουν δὲ καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες εὐ μάλα τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμέ-  
νους, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τοὺς πρόσω σκηνοῦντας ἐπειρῶντο  
κακουργεῖν· καὶ πολεμικώτατα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον ἐκ  
τούτων. 2. Ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς ἐτύγχανε τότε Παφλαγο-  
νίας ἄρχων, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας πρέσβεις, ἔχοντας  
ἵππους καὶ στολὰς καλὰς, λέγοντας, ὅτι Κορύλας ἔτοιμος  
εἶη τοὺς Ἑλληνας μῆτε ἀδικεῖν μῆτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. 3. Οἱ δὲ  
στρατηγοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι περὶ μὲν τούτων σὺν τῇ στρα-  
τιᾷ βουλευσώμενοι, ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ δὲ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς· παρεκάλ-  
εσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἐδόκουν δικαιοτάτους  
εἶναι. 4. Θύσαντες δὲ βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἄλλα  
ἱερεῖα, εὐωχίαν μὲν ἀρκοῦσαν παρεῖχον, κατακείμενοι δὲ ἐν  
σκίμποις ἐδείπνου, καὶ ἔπινον ἐκ κερατίνων ποτηρίων,  
οἷς ἐνετύγχανον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.

5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σπονδαί τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, ἀνέστη-  
σαν πρῶτον μὲν Θράκες, καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ὠρχήσαντο σὺν  
τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ ἤλλοντο ὑψηλὰ τε καὶ κούφως, καὶ ταῖς  
μαχαίοις ἔχρωντο· τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παῖει, ὥς  
πᾶσιν ἐδάκει πεπληγέναι τὸν ἄνδρα· ὁ δ' ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς

πῶς. 6. Καὶ ἀνέκραγον οἱ Παφλαγόνες. Καὶ ὁ μὲν  
σκυλεύσας τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ ἑτέρου, ἐξῆει ἄδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν·  
ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Θρακῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐξέφερον ὥς τεθνηκότα·  
ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν πεπονθώς. 7. Μετὰ τοῦτο Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγ-  
νητες ἀνέστησαν, οἱ ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην  
ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. 8. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἦν ὅδε· ὁ  
μὲν, παραθέμενος τὰ ὅπλα, σπείρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ, πυκνὰ  
μεταστρεφόμενος, ὥς φοβούμενος· ληστής δὲ προσέρχεται·  
ὁ δ', ἐπειδὴν προΐδεται, ἀπαντᾷ ἀρπάσας τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ μά-  
χεται πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους· (καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐν ῥυθμῷ  
πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν·) καὶ τέλος ὁ ληστής, δῆσας τὸν ἄνδρα  
καὶ τὸ ζεῦγος ἀπάγει· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν  
ληστήν· εἰτα παρὰ τοὺς βοῦς ζεύξας, ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε δε-  
δεμένον ἐλαύνει. 9. Μετὰ τοῦτο Μυσὸς εἰσῆλθεν, ἐν ἑκα-  
τέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων πέλτην· καὶ τότε μὲν ὥς δύο ἀντιτατ-  
τομένων μιμούμενος ὠρχεῖτο, τότε δὲ ὥς πρὸς ἓνα ἐχρήτο  
ταῖς πέλταις, τότε δ' ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα, ἔχων τὰς  
πέλτας, ὥστε ὄψιν καλὴν φαίνεσθαι. 10. Τέλος δὲ τὸ  
Περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο, κροῶν τὰς πέλτας· καὶ ὠκλαζε, καὶ  
ἐξανίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐν ῥυθμῷ ἐποίει πρὸς τὸν  
αὐλόν. 11. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπιόντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς, καὶ  
ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀναστάντες, ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὥς  
ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα, ἥσάν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ, πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον  
ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι, καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο, ὥς περ  
ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις. Ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ Παφ-  
λαγόνες, δεινὰ ἐποιούντο πάσας τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἐν ὅπλοις  
εἶναι. 12. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁρῶν ὁ Μυσὸς ἐκπεπληγμένους  
αὐτούς, πείσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινά, πεπαμένον ὀρχηστρίδα,  
εἰσάγει, σκευάσας ὥς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἀσπίδα δοὺς  
κούφην αὐτῇ· Ἡ δὲ ὠρχήσατο πυρρίχην ἐλαφρῶς. 13.  
Ἐνταῦθα κρότος ἦν πολὺς· καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες ἤροντο, εἰ  
καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμαχόντο αὐτοῖς. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι αὐταὶ  
καὶ αἱ τρεψάμεναι εἰεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Τῇ  
μὲν οὖν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο.

14. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸς ἤγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ στράτευμα

καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε ἀδικεῖν Παφλαγόνας μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ᾤχοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἔδοκει παρεῖναι, ἀναβάντες ἔπλεον ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πνεύματι καλῷ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὴν Παφλαγονίαν. 15. Τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ ἀφικνοῦντα. εἰς Σινώπην, καὶ ὠρμίσαντο εἰς Ἀρμίνην τῆς Σινώπης Σινωπεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ, Μιλησίων δὲ ἀποικοὶ εἰσιν. Οὗτοι δὲ ξένια πέμπουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλφίτων μὲν μεδίμνους τριςχιλίους, οἴνου δὲ κεράμια χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε τριήρη ἔχων. 16. Καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται προσεδόκων ἄγοντά τί σφισιν ἦκειν· ὁ δ' ἦγε μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπήγγελλε δέ, ὅτι ἐπαινοίη αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀναξίβιος ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπισχνεῖτο Ἀναξίβιος, εἰ ἀφικνοῦντο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, μισθοφορίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι.

17. Καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἀρμίνῃ ἔμειναν οἱ στρατιῶται ἡμέρας πέντε. Ὡς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔδόκουν ἐγγὺς γίνεσθαι, ἤδη μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσῆει αὐτοὺς ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἔχοντές τι οἴκαδε ἀφίκωνται. 18. Ἠγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἓνα ἔλοιντο ἄρχοντα, μᾶλλον ἂν, ἢ πολυαρχίας οὔσης, δύνασθαι τὸν ἓνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰ τι δέοι λανθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ εἰ τι αὐτὸν δέοι φθάνειν, ἦττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἐνὶ περαίνεσθαι ἂν· τὸν δ' ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἐπραττον πάντα οἱ στρατηγοί. 19. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διανοοῦντο, ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα· καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἔλεγον, προσιόντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω γινώσκει· καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἕκαστος ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν. 20. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν πῇ μὲν ἐδούλετο ταῦτα, νομίζων καὶ τὴν τιμὴν μείζω οὕτως ἑαυτῷ γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τούνομα μείζον ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτοῦ, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἂν αἴτιος τῇ στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι. 21. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμήματα ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοκράτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα. Ὅποτε δ' αὐτὸν ἐνθυμοῖτο

ὅτι ἀδελὸν μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅπη τὸ μέλλον ἔξει, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κίνδυνος εἴη καὶ τὴν προειργασμένην δόξαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἠπορεῖτο. 22. Διαπορουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ διακρίναι ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακοινῶσαι· καὶ παραστησάμενος δύο ἱερεῖα, ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καὶ τὸ ὄναρ δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμιζεν ἑωρακέναι, ὃ εἶδεν, ὅτε ἦρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθίστασθαι. 23. Καὶ ὅτε ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὠρμᾶτο, Κύρῳ συσταθσόμενος, αἰτὸν ἀνεμνησκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον, καθήμενον μέντοι, ὥσπερ ὁ μάντις προπέμπων αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι μέγας μὲν οἰωνὸς εἴη, καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικός, καὶ ἐνδοξος, ἐπίπονος μέντοι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ αἰετῷ καθημένῳ· εἰ μέντοι χρηματιστικὸν εἶναι τὸν οἰωνόν· τὸν γὰρ αἰτὸν πετόμενον μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 24. Οὕτω δὲ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ διαφανῶς ὁ θεὸς σημαίνει μήτε προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, μήτε, εἰ αἰροῖντο, ἀποδέχεσθαι. 25. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. Ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ συνῆλθε, καὶ πάντες ἔλεγον ἓνα αἰρεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε, προεβάλλοντο αὐτόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοκει δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι αἰρήσονται αὐτόν, εἰ τις ἐπιψηφίζοι, ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε.

26. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἠδομαι μὲν ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τιμώμενος, εἴπερ ἀνθρωπὸς εἰμι, καὶ χάριν ἔχω, καὶ εὐχομαι δοῦναί μοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίον τινος ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῦ γενέσθαι· τὸ μέντοι ἐμὲ προκριθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμῶν ἄρχοντα, Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς παρόντος, οὔτε ὑμῖν μοι δοκεῖ συμφέρον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἦττον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν, εἰ τι δέοισθε, παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐμοί τε αὐτὸ οὐ πάννυ τι νομίζω ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῦτο. 27. Ὅρῳ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι μου οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες, πρὶν ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας εἶναι. 28. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὁμολόγησαν, εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες, καὶ οὐκέτι πέρα ἐπολιόρκησαν τὴν πόλιν. Εἰ οὖν, ταῦτα ὁρῶν, ἐγὼ δοκοῖην ὅπου δυναίμην ἐνταῦθ' ἄκυρον ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων ἀξίωμα, ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ, μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθεῖην. 29. Ὁ



ὁ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἦττον ἂν στάσις εἴη ἐνὸς ἀρχοντος ἢ πολλῶν, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι ἄλλον μὲν ἐλόμενοι οὐχ εὐρήσετε ἐμὲ στασιάζοντα· νομίζω γάρ, ὅστις ἐν πολέμῳ ὦν στασιάζει πρὸς ἀρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐμὲ ἔλησθε, οὐκ ἂν θανατάσαιμι εἰ τινα εὕροιτε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον.

30. Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἶπε, πολὺ πλείονες ἐξανίσταντο, λέγοντες, ὥς δέοι αὐτὸν ἀρχειν. Ἀγασίας δὲ Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν, ὅτι γελοῖον εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει· ὥς ὀργιούνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ἐὰν σύνδειπνοι συνελθόντες μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιον συμποσίαρχον αἰρῶνται. Ἐπεὶ εἰ οὕτω γε τοῦτο ἔχει, ἔφη, οὐδὲ λοχαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐσμέν. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ὥς εὖ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγασίου, ἀνεθορύβησαν. 31. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ ἑώρα πλείονος ἐνδέον, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, ὥς πάνυ εἰδῆτε, ὁμνύω ὑμῖν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἢ μὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ὑσθάνομην, ἐθυόμην, εἰ βέλτιον εἴη ὑμῖν τε, ἐμοὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ ἐμοί, ὑποστῆναι· καὶ μοι οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμηναν, ὥστε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν γινῶναι, ὅτι τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαι με δεῖ. 32. Οὕτω δὴ Χειρίσοφον αἰροῦνται. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ ἤρεθθῃ, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἐγωγε ἐστασίαζον, εἰ ἄλλον εἴλεσθε· Ξενοφῶντα μέντοι, ἔφη, ὠνήσατε οὐχ ἐλόμενοι· ὥς καὶ νῦν Δέξιππος ἤδη διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον, ὃ τι ἐδύνατο καὶ μάλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν σιγάζοντος. Ὁ δ' ἔφη νομίζειν, αὐτὸν Τιμασίῳ μᾶλλον συνάρχειν ἐθελῆσαι, Δαρδανεῖ δντι, τοῦ Κλεάρχου στρατεύματος, ἢ ἑαυτῷ Λάκωνι δντι. 33. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐμὲ εἴλεσθε, ἔφη, καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι, ὃ τι ἂν δύνωμαι, ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν. Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε, ὥς αὐριον, ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ, ἀναξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἔσται εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἅπαντας οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖσε πειρᾶσθαι κατασχεῖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ἐπειδὴν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, βουλευσόμεθα.

## CHAPTER II.

THE Greeks sail to Heraclea. On occasion of a quarrel, the army is divided into three parts: one part is composed chiefly of Arcadians and Achæans, under their own leaders; the other two are respectively under Xenophon and Cheirisophus.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμενοι, πνεύματι ἔπλεον καλῶ ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ γῆν. Καὶ [παραπλέοντες ἐθεώρουν τὴν τε Ἰασονίαν ἀκτὴν, ἐνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λέγεται ὀρμίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ στόματα, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Θερμῶδοντος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἰριος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἄλνους, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τοῦ Παρθενίου· τοῦτον δὲ] παραπλεύσαντες, ἀφῖκοντο εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Μεγαρέων ἀποικον, οὖσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Μαριανδυνῶν χώρᾳ. 2. Καὶ ὀρμίσαντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀχερουσιᾷ Χερρόνησῳ, ἐνθα λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον κύνα καταβῆναι, ἣ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνῦσι τῆς καταβάσεως, τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια. 3. Ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ξένια πέμπουσιν, ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους τριςχιλίους, καὶ οἶνου κεράμια διςχίλια, καὶ βοῦς εἴκοσι, καὶ οἷς ἑκατόν. Ἐνταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ρεῖ ποταμός, Λύκος ὄνομα, εὐρὸς ὥς δύο πλέθρων.

4. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται συλλεγέντες ἐβουλεύοντο τὴν λοιπὴν πορείαν, πότερον κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν χρῆ πορευθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Λύκων Ἀχαιός, εἶπε· Θανμάζω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι οὐ πειρῶνται ἡμῖν ἐκπορίζειν σιτηρέσιον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ξένια οὐ μὴ γένηται τῇ στρατιᾷ τριῶν ἡμερῶν σῖτα· ὁπόθεν δ' ἐπισιτισάμενοι πορευσόμεθα οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη. Ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριςχιλίους κυζικηνοὺς. 5. Ἄλλος δ' εἶπε, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους· καὶ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις αὐτίκα μάλα, ἡμῶν καθημένων, πέμπειν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εἰδέναι ὃ τι ἂν ἀπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι. 6. Ἐντεῦθεν προὔβαλλοντο πρέσβεις, πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφον, ὅτι ἀρχὼν ἦρητο· ἔστι δ' οἱ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. Οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμάχοντο· ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ταῦτα

ἔδοκει, μὴ ἀναγκάζειν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φιλίαν, ὃ τι μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες διδοῖεν. 7. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐδόκουν ἀπρόθυμοι εἶναι, πέμπονσι Λύκωνα Ἀχαιοὺν, καὶ Καλλίμαχον Παρρᾶσιον, καὶ Ἀγασίαν Στυμφάλιον. Οὗτοι ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον τὰ δεδογμένα. Τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ἔφασαν καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα. 8. Ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται βουλευσέσθαι ἔφασαν· καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ τε χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνήγον, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἰσω ἀνεσκεύασαν, καὶ αἱ πύλαι ἐκέκλειντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὄπλα ἐφαίνετο.

9. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ ταραζάντες ταῦτα τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡτιῶντο διαφθεῖρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν. Καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοί· προειστήκει δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καλλίμαχος τε ὁ Παρρᾶσιος καὶ Λύκων ὁ Ἀχαιός. 10. Οἱ δὲ λόγοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, ὥς αἰσχροὺς εἶη ἄρχειν Ἀθηναῖον Πελοποννησίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, μηδεμίαν δύναμιν παρεχόμενον εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόρους σφᾶς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα, τὴν σωτηρίαν σφῶν κατειργασμένων· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς κατειργασμένους Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲν εἶναι· (καὶ ἦν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῦ ὅλου στρατεύματος Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοί·) 11. Εἰ οὖν σωφρονοῖεν, αὐτοὶ συστάντες, καὶ στρατηγούς ἐλόμενοι ἑαυτῶν, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἂν τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο, καὶ πειρῶντο ἀγαθὸν τι λαμβάνειν. 12. Ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ ἀπολιπόντες Χειρίσοφον, εἰ τινες ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀρκάδες ἢ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, συνέστησαν· καὶ στρατηγούς αἰροῦνται ἑαυτῶν δέκα· τούτους δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ὃ τι δοκοίη τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ Χειρισόφῳ ἐνταῦθα κατελύθη ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτῃ ἢ ἑβδόμῃ ἀφ' ἧς ἡρέθη.

13. Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐβούλετο κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως ἀσφαλεστέραν εἶναι, ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον στέλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν καθ' αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας τοῦ Χειρισόφου, ὅτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀρμοστής φαίη τριήρεις ἔχων ἤξειν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. 14. Ὅπως οὖν μηδεὶς μετάσχοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καὶ

οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων, διὰ ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅμα δὲ μισῶν ἐκ τούτου τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπὶ γρέπει αὐτῷ ποιεῖν, ὃ τι βούλεται. 15. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι· θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ κοινουμένῳ, τότερα λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμείναντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἢ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἐσήμηνεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, οὐστρατεύεσθαι. 16. Οὕτω γίγνεται τὸ στράτευμα τριχῇ· Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀχαιοί, πλείους ἢ τετρακισχίλιοι, ὀπλῖται πάντες· Χειρισόφῳ δ' ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς τετρακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, οἱ Κλεάρχου Θυράκης· Ξενοφῶντι δὲ ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς τριακοσίους· ἵππικόν δὲ μόνος οὗτος εἶχεν ἀμφὶ τετταράκοντα ἵππείας.

17. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες, διαπραζάμενοι πλοῖα παρὰ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν, πρῶτοι πλέουσιν, ὅπως, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, λάβοιεν ὅτι πλείστα· καὶ ἀποβαίνουσιν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα, κατὰ μέσον πῶς τῆς Θράκης. 18. Χειρίσοφος δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἀρξάμενος, περὶ ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς χώρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Θράκην ἐνέβαλε, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἦει· καὶ γὰρ ἡσθένει. 19. Ξενοφῶν δὲ πλοῖα λαβὼν, ἀποβαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς Θράκης καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεώτιδος, καὶ διὰ μεσογαίας ἐπορεύετο

### CHAPTER III.

ON reaching the port of Calpe, the Arcadians disembark, and make an incursion into the Bithynian territory. They are eventually defeated and hemmed in by the enemy, but are at length released by the arrival of Xenophon. All the Greeks return to Calpe, and join Cheirisophus.

1. [Ὅν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἢ τε Χειρισόφου ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντὸς κατελύθη, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ στράτευμα ἐσχίσθη ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω εἰρηται.] 2. Ἐπράξαν δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι



τάδε. Οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες, ὥς ἀπέβησαν νυκτὸς εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα, πορεύονται εἰς τὰς πρώτας κώμας, στάδια ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὥς τριάκοντα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο, ἦγεν ἕκαστος στρατηγὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον ἐπὶ κώμην· ὁποία δὲ μείζων ἐδόκει εἶναι, σύνδυο λόχους ἦγον οἱ στρατηγοί. 3. Συνεβάλλοντο δὲ καὶ λόφον, εἰς ὃν δέοι πάντας ἀλίζεσθαι· καί, ἄτε ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβον, καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ περιεβάλλοντο.

4. Οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες ἠθροίζοντο οἱ διαφεύγοντες· πολλοὶ δὲ διέφευγον, πελτασταὶ ὄντες, ὀπλίτας, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν χειρῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελέγησαν, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Σμίκρητος λόχῳ, ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων στρατηγῶν, ἀπιόντι ἤδη εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἄγοντι, ἐπιτίθενται. 5. Καὶ τέως μὲν ἐμάχοντο ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες. Ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει χαράδρας τρέπονται αὐτούς, καὶ αὐτὸν τε τὸν Σμίκρητα ἀποκτιννύουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας· ἄλλον δὲ λόχον τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν, τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ὅκτῳ μόνους κατέλιπον· καὶ αὐτὸς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐσώθη. 6. Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον, οἱ μὲν σὺν πράγμασιν, οἱ δὲ ἄνευ πραγμάτων· οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες, ἐπεὶ εὐτύχησαν τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύχημα, συνεβόων τε ἀλλήλους, καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐρρωμένως τῆς νυκτός. Καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρα κύκλω περὶ τὸν λόφον, ἐνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, ἐτάττοντο καὶ ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ πελτασταί, καὶ αἰεὶ πλείονες συνέρρεον. 7. Καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀσφαλῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες οὔτε τοξότην εἶχον, οὔτε ἀκοντιστήν, οὔτε ἱππέα. Οἱ δὲ προσθέοντες καὶ προσελαύνοντες ἠκόντιζον· ὁπότε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπίοιεν, ῥαδίως ἀπέφευγον. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλη ἐπετίθεντο. 8. Καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, τῶν δὲ οὐδεῖς· ὥστε κινηθῆναι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἶργον αὐτοὺς οἱ Θρᾶκες. 9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία πολλὴ ἦν, διελέγοντο περὶ σπονδῶν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡμολόγητο αὐτοῖς, ὁμήρους δὲ οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Θρᾶκες αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἵσχετο· τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οὕτως εἶχε.

10. Χειρίσοφος δὲ, ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενος παρὰ θάλατταν, ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. Ξενοφῶντι δὲ, διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας πορευομένῳ, οἱ ἱππεῖς προκαταθέοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι πρεσβύταις πορευομένοις ποι. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤχθησαν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐρωτᾷ αὐτοὺς εἰ που ἦσθηνται ἄλλου στρατεύματος ὄντος Ἑλληνικοῦ. 11. Οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ νῦν ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται ἐπὶ λόφου, οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες πάντες περικεκκυκλωμένοι εἰεν αὐτούς. Ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, ὅπως ἡγεμόνες εἰεν ὅπον δέοι· σκοποὺς δὲ καταστήσας, συνέλεξε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξεν. 12. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ μὲν τεθνᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς πολιορκοῦνται. Νομίζω δ' ἐγωγε, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολοῦνται, οὐδ' ἡμῖν εἶναι οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν, οὕτω μὲν πολλῶν ὄντων πολεμίων, οὕτω δὲ τεθαρρήκότων. 13. Κράτιστον οὖν ἡμῖν ὥς τάχιστα βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅπως, εἰ ἔτι εἰσὶ σῶοι, σὺν ἐκείνοις μαχώμεθα, καὶ μὴ, μόνοι λειφθέντες, μόνοι καὶ κινδυνεύωμεν. 14. Νῦν μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδευνώμεθα, προελθόντες, ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι· ἔως δ' ἂν πορευώμεθα, Τιμασίων, ἔχων τοὺς ἱππεῖς, προελαυνέτω ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σκοπεῖτω τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ. 15. (Παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ἀνθρώπους εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως, εἰ πού τί ποθεν καθορῶεν, σημαίνοιεν· ἐκέλευε δὲ καίειν ἅπαντα, ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμῳ.) 16. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἀποδραίμεν ἂν οὐδαμοῦ ἐνθένδε· πολλὴ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πάλιν ἀπιέναι, πολλὴ δὲ εἰς Χρυσόπολιν διελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι πλησίον· εἰς Κάλπης δὲ λιμένα, ἐνθα Χειρίσοφον εἰκάζομεν εἶναι, εἰ σέσωσται, ἐλαχίστη ὁδός. Ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστιν, οἷς ἀποπλευσοῦμεθα, μένουσί τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 17. Τῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων, σὺν τοῖς Χειρίσοφον μόνοις κάκιόν ἔστι διακινδυνεύειν, ἢ τῶνδε σωθέντων, πάντας εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθόντας, κοινῇ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχεσθαι. Ἀλλὰ χρὴ παρασκευασαμένους τῇ

γνώμην πορεύεσθαι, ὡς νῦν ἡ εὐκλεῶς τελευτῆσαι ἔστιν, ἢ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι, Ἑλλήνας τοσούτους σῶσαντας. 18. Καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἰσως ἄγει οὕτως, ὃς τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας, ὡς πλέον φρονούντας, ταπεινῶσαι βούλεται, ἡμᾶς δέ, τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχομένους, ἐντιμότερους ἐκείνων καταστήσαι. Ἄλλ' ἔπεσθαι χρή, καὶ προσέχειν τὴν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον δύνησθε ποιεῖν.

19. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἡγεῖτο. Οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς, διασπειρόμενοι ἐφ' ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν, ἔκαιον, ἢ ἐβάδιζον, καὶ οἱ πελτασταί, ἐπιπαριόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, ἔκαιον πάντα ὅσα καύσιμα ἐώρων, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δέ, εἴ τιτι παραλειπομένῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν· ὥστε πᾶσα ἡ χώρα αἰθεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ εἶναι. 20. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὦρα ἦν, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐπὶ λόφον ἐκβάντες, καὶ τὰ τε τῶν πολεμίων πυρὰ ἐώρων, (ἀπείχον δὲ ὡς τετταράκοντα σταδίους,) καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστα πυρὰ ἔκαιον. 21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν τάχιστα, παρηγγέλθη τὰ πυρὰ κατασβεδνύναι πάντα. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα φυλακὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ συνταξάμενοι ὡς εἰς μάχην, ἐπορεύοντο ἢ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. 22. Τιμασίῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ προελαύνοντες, ἐλάνθανον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ γενόμενοι, ἐνθα ἐπολιορκούντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. Καὶ οὐχ ὁρῶσιν οὔτε φίλιον στράτευμα, οὔτε πολέμιον, (καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τὸ στράτευμα,) γραῖδια δὲ καὶ γερόντια καὶ πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ βοῦς καταλελειμμένους. 23. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν, τί εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ἐπυνθάνοντο, ὅτι οἱ μὲν Θρᾷκες εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ὥχοντο ἀπιόντες· ἔωθεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν οἴχεσθαι· ὅπου δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι.

24. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ ἥριστῃσαν, συσκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, βονλόμενοι ὡς τάχιστα συμμίξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. Καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐώρων τὸν στίβον τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάλπης ὁδόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸ αὐτό, ἄσμενοι τε

εἶδον ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ὥσπερ ἀδελφούς. 25. Καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες τῶν περὶ Ξενοφῶντα, τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέσειαν· ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν, ὥμεθα ὑμᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πυρὰ οὐχ ἐωρῶμεν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἤξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· (καὶ οἱ πολέμοι δέ, ὡς γε ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν, τοῦτο δείσαντες ἀπῆλθον· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀπήεσαν.) 26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκεσθε, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν, ὥμεθα ὑμᾶς, πυθομένους τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, φοβηθέντας οἴχεσθαι ἀποδράντας ἐπὶ θάλατταν· καὶ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι ὑμῶν. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐπορεύθημεν.

## CHAPTER IV.

DESCRIPTION of Calpe. Being once more united, the whole army determines that it shall be a capital offense to propose another separation. The army being in want of supplies, Neon leads out two thousand men, contrary to the omens: he is attacked by Pharnabazus, the satrap of Bithynia, and with difficulty escapes to a mountain, with the loss of five hundred men: he is brought back to the camp by Xenophon.

1. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἠυλίζοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, ὃ καλεῖται Κάλπης λιμὴν, ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀρξάμενη δὲ ἡ Θράκη αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Ἡρακλείας, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι. 2. Καὶ τριήρει μὲν ἔστιν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου κώπαις ἡμέρας μάλα μακρὰς πλοῦς· ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη μὲν πόλις οὐδεμία οὔτε φίλια οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, ἀλλὰ Θρᾷκες Βιθυνοί· καὶ οὐδ' ἂν λάβωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκπίπτοντας, ἢ ἄλλως πως, δεινὰ ὑβρίζειν λέγονται. 3. Ὁ δὲ Κάλπης λιμὴν ἐν μέσῳ μὲν κεῖται ἐκατέρωθεν πλεόντων ἐξ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Βυζαντίου· ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ προκείμενον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθῆκον αὐτοῦ, πέτρα ἀπορρώξ, ὕψος, ὅπη ἐλάχιστον, οὐ μείον εἴκοσιν ὀργυιῶν· ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν, ὁ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀνήκων τοῦ χωρίου, μάλιστα τεττάρων πλέθρων τὸ εὖρος· τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ



αὐχένος χωρίον ἱκανὸν μυρίοις ἀνθρώποις οἰκῆσαι. 4. Λιμὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ, τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν αἰγιαλὸν ἔχων. Κρήνη δὲ ἡδέος ὕδατος καὶ ἀφθονος ῥέουσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ, ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ χωρίου. Ξύλα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάννυ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ναυπηγῆσιμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ. 5. Τὸ δὲ ὄρος εἰς μεσόγαιαν μὲν ἀνῆκει ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίοις, καὶ τοῦτο γεῶδες καὶ ἄλιθον· τὸ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν, πλεονὴς ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίοις, δασὺ πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς καὶ μεγάλους ξύλοις. 6. Ἡ δὲ ἄλλη χώρα καλὴ καὶ πολλή· καὶ κῶμαι ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ οἰκούμεναι· φέρει γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ κριθάς, καὶ πυρούς, καὶ ὄσπρια πάντα, καὶ μελίνας, καὶ σήσαμα, καὶ σῦκα ἀρκοῦντα, καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς καὶ ἡδυοίνους, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα πλὴν ἐλαιῶν. Ἡ μὲν χώρα ἦν τοιαύτη. 7. Ἐσκήνουν δὲ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ· εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γενόμενον οὐκ ἐβούλοντο στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἕξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, βουλομένων τινῶν κατοικίσαι πόλιν. 8. Τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλείστοι ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει βίου ἐκπεπλευκότες ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν μισθοφοράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἀκούοντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσανηλωκότες χρήματα, καὶ τούτων ἕτεροι ἀποδεδρακότες πατέρας καὶ μητέρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ τέκνα καταλιπόντες, ὥς, χρήματ' αὐτοῖς κτησάμενοι, ἤξοντες πάλιν, ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ Κύρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν. Τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐπόθουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σῶζεσθαι.

9. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστέρα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταῦτον συνόδου, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἐθύετο Ξενοφῶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξάγειν. Ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο, εἶποντο καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς τοὺς πλείστους, ἐνθαπερ ἔπεσον, ἐκάστους ἔθαψαν· (ἡδὴ γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταῖοι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι ἦν·) ἐνίους δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν συνενεγκόντες, ἔθαψαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὥς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα· οὓς δὲ μὴ εὗρισκον κενοτάφισιν αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν μέγα, καὶ στεφάνους

ἐπέθεσαν. 10. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες· (συνῆγε δὲ μάλιστα Ἀγασίας τε Στυμφάλιος λοχαγός, καὶ Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλεῖος λοχαγός, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων.) 11. Καὶ δῶγμα ἐποίησαντο, εἴαν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνησθῇ δίχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ζημιοῦσθαι, καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι, ἥπερ πρόσθεν εἶχε, τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἄρχειν τοὺς πρόσθεν στρατηγούς. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἤδη τετελευτήκει, φάρμακον πιὼν, πυρέττων· τὰ δ' ἐκείνου Νέων Ἀσιναῖος παρέλαβε.

12. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὴν μὲν πορείαν, ὥς ἔοικε, δῆλον ὅτι περὶ ποιητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πλοῖα· ἀνάγκη δὲ πορεύεσθαι ἡδὴ· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μένουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, θυσόμεθα· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς μαχομένους, εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε· οἱ γὰρ πολέμοι ἀνατεθάρρηκασιν. 13. Ἐκ τούτου ἐθύοντο οἱ στρατηγοί, μάντις δὲ παρῆν Ἀρηξίων Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ὁ Ἀμβρακιώτης ἡδὴ ἀποδεδράκει, πλοῖον μισθωσάμενος ἐξ Ἡρακλείας. Θυομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερὰ. 14. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαύσαντο. Καὶ τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν ὥς ὁ Ξενοφῶν, βουλόμενος τὸ χωρίον οἰκίσαι, πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν λέγειν ὥς τὰ ἱερὰ οὐ γίγνεται ἐπὶ ἀφόδῳ. 15. Ἐντεῦθεν κηρύξας τῇ αὐρίῳ παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τὸν βουλόμενον, καὶ μάντις εἴ τις εἴη, παραγγείλας παρεῖναι, ὥς συνθεασόμενον τὰ ἱερὰ, ἔθνε· καὶ ἐνταῦθα παρῆσθιν πολλοί. 16. Θυομένων δὲ πάλιν εἰς τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ, οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερὰ. Ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπεν, ἃ ἔχοντες ἦλθον, καὶ ἀγορὰ οὐδεμία παρῆν.

17. Ἐκ τούτου ξυνελθόντων, εἶπε πάλιν Ξενοφῶν· ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, τὰ ἱερὰ οὐπω γίγνεται· τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς δεομένους· ἀνάγκη οὖν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι θύεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου. 18. Ἀναστὰς δὲ

τις εἶπε· Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα ἡμῶν οὐ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά· καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἡκοντος πλοίου, ἤκουσα τίνος, ὅτι Κλεάνδρος ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστής μέλλει ἥξειν, πλοῖα καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων. 19. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀναμένειν μὲν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνάγκη ἦν ἐξί-  
 εἶναι. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάλιν ἐθύετο εἰς τρεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἐγί-  
 νετο τὰ ἱερά. Καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἰόντες τὴν Ξενο-  
 φῶντος, ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἔχοιεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν  
 ἔφη ἐξαγαγεῖν, μὴ γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν.

20. Καὶ πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐθύετο, καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσα  
 ἡ στρατιὰ, διὰ τὸ μέλειν ἀπαθῖν, ἐκυκλοῦντο περὶ τὰ ἱερά·  
 τὰ δὲ θύματα ἐπιλελοίπει. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐξήγον μὲν  
 οὐ, συνεκάλεσαν δέ. 21. Εἶπεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν· Ἰσως οἱ  
 πολέμοι συνειλεγμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀνάγκη μάχεσθαι· εἰ οὖν,  
 καταλιπόντες τὰ σκεύη ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ χωρίῳ, ὡς εἰς μίχην  
 παρεσκευασμένοι ἴομεν, ἴσως ἂν τὰ ἱερά προχωροῖη ἡμῖν.  
 22. Ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοι  
 εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ θύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα. Καὶ πρό-  
 δατα μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, βοῦς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμάξης πριάμενοι ἐθύοντο·  
 καὶ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνδρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος προθυμείσθαι,  
 εἰ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἴη. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὧς ἐγένετο.

23. Νέων δὲ ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου  
 μέρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς τῇ  
 ἐνδείᾳ, βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι, εὐρών τινα ἀνθρω-  
 πον Ἡρακλεώτην, ὃς ἔφη κώμας ἐγγὺς εἰδέναι, ὅθεν εἴη  
 λαβεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐκήρυξε, τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια, ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἐσομένου. Ἐξέρχονται δὲ σὺν δορ-  
 ατίοις, καὶ ἄσκοις, καὶ θυλάκοις, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις, εἰς  
 διςχιλίους ἀνθρώπους. 24. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς κώ-  
 μαῖς, καὶ διεσπείροντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν  
 αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι, (βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ  
 ἦσαν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς) βουλόμενοι σὺν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, εἰ δύ-  
 ναιτο, ἀποκωλύσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μὴ ἔλθεῖν εἰς τὴν  
 Φρυγίαν· οὗτοι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ  
 μείον πεντακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνέφυγον

25. Ἐκ τούτου ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα τῶν ἀποφυγόντων  
 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγεγένητο  
 τὰ ἱερά ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λαβὼν βοῦν ὑπὸ ἀμάξης, (οὐ γὰρ  
 ἦν ἄλλα ἱερεῖα,) σφαγιασάμενος ἐδοθήει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ  
 μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἅπαντες. 26. Καὶ ἀναλαβόντες  
 τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνδρας, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνοῦνται. Καὶ  
 ἤδη μὲν ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἦν, καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες μάλ' ἀθύ-  
 μως ἔχοντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο· καὶ ἐξαπίνης διὰ τῶν λασί-  
 ων τῶν Βιθυνῶν τινες ἐπιγενόμενοι τοῖς προφύλαξι, τοὺς  
 μὲν κατέκαινον, τοὺς δὲ ἐδίωξαν μέχρι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.  
 27. Καὶ κραυγῆς γενομένης, εἰς τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἑδραμον  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ διώκειν μὲν καὶ κινεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον  
 νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι· δασέα γὰρ ἦν τὰ χωρία·  
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνυκτέρενον, φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοῖς φύ-  
 λαξι.

## CHAPTER V.

THE day following, Xenophon leads out the troops with better omens: after burying those who fell the day before, he sees the enemy on a hill, attacks them boldly, and puts them to flight.

1. Τὴν μὲν νύκτα οὕτω διήγαγον. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ  
 στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἡγοῦντο· οἱ δὲ εἶποντο,  
 ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη. Πρὶν δὲ ἀρίστου  
 ὥραν εἶναι, ἀπετάφρυσαν, ἣ ἡ εἰσοδος ἦν εἰς τὸ χωρίον,  
 καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσαν ἅπαν, καταλιπόντες τρεῖς πύλας. Καὶ  
 πλοῖον ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἦκεν, ἄλφιτα ἄγον, καὶ ἱερεῖα, καὶ  
 οἶνον. 2. Πρῶτ' ὁ ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο ἐπεξόδια, καὶ  
 γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ. Καὶ ἤδη τέλος  
 ἔχόντων τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁρᾷ ἀετὸν αἰσιον ὁ μάντις Ἀρηξίων  
 Παφράσιος, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύει τὸν Ξενοφῶντα. 3. Καὶ  
 διαβάντες τὴν τάφρον, τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται, καὶ ἐκήρυξαν  
 ἀριστησαντας ἐξιέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις,  
 τὸν δὲ ὄχλον καὶ ἀνδράποδα αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. 4. Οἱ μὲν  
 δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐξήσαν, Νέων δὲ οὐ· ἐδόκει γὰρ κάλλισ



τον εἶναι, τοῦτον φύλακα καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπέλιπον αὐτούς, αἰσχυνόμενοι μὴ ἐφέπεσθαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐξιόντων, κατέλιπον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔμενον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο. 5. Πρὶν δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νεκροῖς· καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ κέρατος ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φανέντας νεκρούς, ἔθαπτον πάντας, ὅπόσους ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας. 6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἔθαψαν, προαγαγόντες, καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν αὐθις ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων, ἔθαπτον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅπόσους ἐπελάμβανεν ἡ στρατιά. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ἔνθα δὲ ἔκειντο ἄθροοι, συνενεγκόντες αὐτοὺς ἔθαψαν.

7. Ἦδη δὲ πέρα μεσούσης τῆς ἡμέρας προαγαγόντες τὸ στρατεύμα ἔξω τῶν κωμῶν, ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅ τι τις ὁρῶη, ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος. Καὶ ἐξαίφνης ὁρῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τεταγμένους ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, ἱππέας τε πολλοὺς καὶ πεζοὺς· καὶ γὰρ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ Ῥαθίνης ἦκον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ἔχοντες τὴν δύναμιν. 8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ πολέμιοι, ἔστησαν ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους. Ἐκ τούτου εὐθὺς Ἀρηξίων ὁ μάντις τῶν Ἑλλήνων σφαγιάζεται, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καλὰ τὰ σφάγια. 9. Ἐνθα δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, ἐπιτάξασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι λόχους φύλακας, ἵνα, ἂν που δέη, ὥσιν οἱ ἐπιβοηθήσουντες τῇ φάλαγγι, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τεταραγμένοι ἐμπίπτωσιν εἰς τεταγμένους καὶ ἀκεραίους. 10. Συνεδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσιν. Ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, προηγείσθε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὥς μὴ ἐστήκωμεν, ἐπεὶ ὤφθημεν καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐγὼ δὲ ἤξω, τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους καταχωρίσας, ὑπὲρ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ.

11. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἥσυχoi προῆγον· ὁ δὲ, τρεῖς ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις, ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἄνδρας, τὴν

μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐφέπεσθαι, ἀπολιπόντας ὡς πλέθρον· Σαμόλας Ἀχαιοὺς ταύτης ἤρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἐχώρισεν ἔπεσθαι· Πυρρίας Ἀρκᾶς ταύτης ἤρχε· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ· Φρασίας Ἀθηναῖος ταύτη ἐφεστήκει. 12. Προϊόντες δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐπὶ νάπει μεγάλῳ καὶ δυσπόρῳ, ἔστησαν, ἀγνοοῦντες εἰ διαβατέον εἴη τὸ νάπος. Καὶ παρεγγυῶσι στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγοὺς παριέναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον. 13. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, θαυμάσας ὅ τι τὸ ἰσχον εἴη τὴν πορείαν, καὶ ταχὺ ἀκούων τὴν παρεγγυήν, ἐλαύνει ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει Σοφαίνετος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι βουλῆς οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη, εἰ διαβατέον ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον ὃν τὸ νάπος.

14. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν σπουδῇ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ ἴστε μὲν με, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον προξενήσαντα ὑμῖν ἐθελούσιον· οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὁρῶ δεομένους ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀνδρείότητα, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας. 15. Νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀμαχὶ μὲν ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπελθεῖν· ἦν γὰρ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὗτοι ἡμῖν, ὁπόταν ἀπίωμεν, ἔφονται καὶ ἐπιπεσοῦνται. 16. Ὅρατε δὴ, πότερον κρεῖττον ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, προβαλλομένους τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ μεταβαλλομένους, ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους θεάσασθαι. 17. Ἴστε μέντοι ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων οὐδενὶ καλῷ ἔοικε, τὸ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς κακίοσι θάρσος ἐμποιεῖ. Ἐγὼ οὖν ἥδιον ἂν σὺν ἡμίσεσιν ἐποίμην, ἢ σὺν διπλασίοις ἀποχωροίην. Καὶ τούτους οἶδ' ὅτι, ἐπιόντων μὲν ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς ἐλπίζετε αὐτοὺς δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς· ἀπιόντων δέ, πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι τολμήσουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι. 18. Τὸ δὲ διαβάντας ὀπισθεν νάπος χαλεπὸν ποιήσασθαι, μέλλοντας μάχεσθαι, ἂρ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἀρπάσαι ἄξιον; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολεμίοις ἐγὼ βουλοίμην ἂν εὖπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποχωρεῖν· ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου δεῖ διδάσκεισθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μὴ νικῶσι σωτηρία. 19. Θαυμάζω δ' ἐγώ γε, καὶ τὸ νάπος τοῦτο εἰ τις μᾶλλον φοβερὸν νομίζει εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν διαπεπορεύμεθα χωρίων. Πῶς μὲν

γὰρ διαβατὸν τὸ πεδίον, εἰ μὴ νικήσομεν τοὺς ἱππέας; πῶς δὲ ἂν διεληλυθαμεν ὄρη, ἣν πελτασταὶ τοσοῦδε ἐφέπωνται; 20. Ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, πόσον τι νάπος ἢ Πόντος; ἐνθα οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστι τὰ ἀπάζοντα, οὔτε σῖτος, ὃ θρεφόμεθα μένοντες· δεήσει δέ, ἣν θάττον ἐκεῖ γενώμεθα, θάττον πάλιν ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 21. Οὐκ οὖν νῦν κρεῖττον ἡρισθηκότας μάχεσθαι, ἢ αὐριοῖν ἀναρίστους; ἄνδρες, τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ, οἳ τε οἰωνοὶ αἰσιοί, τὰ τε σφάγια κάλλιστα· ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. Οὐ δεῖ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντως εἶδον, ἡδέως δειπνῆσαι, οὐδ' ἵππου ἂν θέλωσι σκηνῆσαι.

22. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγε. Καὶ ὃς ἡγεῖτο, παραγγείλας διαβαίνειν, ὃ ἕκαστος ἐτύγχανε τοῦ νάπου· ὧν· θάττον γὰρ ἀθρόον ἐδόκει ἂν οὕτω πέραν γενέσθαι τὸ στράτευμα, ἢ εἰ κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ νάπῃ ἣν ἐξεμηνύοντο. 23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, παριῶν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα ἔλεγεν· Ἄνδρες, ἀναμνησθεσθε, ὅσας δὴ μάχας σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμόσε ἰόντες νενικήκατε, καὶ οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ πολεμίους φεύγοντες· καὶ τοῦτο ἐννοήσατε, ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν.

24. Ἄλλ' ἐπεσθε ἡγεμόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε ὀνομασί. Ἡδὺ τοι, ἀνδρεῖόν τι καὶ καλὸν νῦν εἰπόντα καὶ ποιήσαντα, μνήμην ἐν οἷς ἐθέλει παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ. 25. Ταῦτα παρελαύνων ἔλεγε, καὶ ἅμα ὑφηγεῖτο ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ποιησάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Παρηγγέλλετο δέ, τὰ μὲν ὄρατα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον ἔχειν, ἕως σημαῖνοι τῇ σάλπιγγι· ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς προβολὴν καθέντας ἐπεσθαι βάδην, καὶ μηδένα ὁρόμῳ διώκειν. Ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα παρῆει ΖΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ. Οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ὑπέμενον, νομίζοντες καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον. 26. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλησίαζον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτασταὶ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, πρὶν τινα κελεύειν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἀντίοι ὤρμησαν, οἳ θ' ἱππεῖς καὶ τὸ στίφος τῶν Βιθυνῶν· καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς πελταστὰς. 27. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑπηντίαζεν ἡ

φάλαγξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ταχὺ πορευομένη, καὶ ἅμα ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ἐπαιάνιζον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡλάλαζον, καὶ ἵμα τὰ ὄρατα καθίεσαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμοι, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγον. 28. Καὶ Τιμασίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐφείπετο, καὶ ἀπεκτίννυσαν, ὅσους περ ἠδύναντο, ὥς ὀλίγοι ὄντες. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εὐθὺς διεσπάρη, καθ' ὃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, ἅτε οὐ σφόδρα διωκόμενον, ἐπὶ λόφου συνέστη. 29. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπομένοντας αὐτούς, ἐδόκει ῥᾶστόν τε καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον εἶναι ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτούς. Παιανίσαντες οὖν εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδίωκον, μέχρι τὸ δεξιὸν διεσπάρη· ἀπέθανον δὲ ὀλίγοι· τὸ γὰρ ἱππικὸν φόβον παρείχετο τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πολὺ ὄν. 30. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες τό τε Φαρναδάζον ἱππικὸν ἔτι συνεστηκός, καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἱππέας πρὸς τοῦτο συναθροισζομένους, καὶ ἀπὸ λόφου τινὸς καταθεωμένους τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἱτέον εἶναι οὕτως, ὅπως δύναιτο, ὥς μὴ τεθαρρήκοτες ἀναπαύσαιντο. Συνταξάμενοι δὴ πορεύονται. 31. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμοι ἱππεῖς φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πρानοῦς, ὁμοίως ὥς περ οἱ ὑπὸ ἱππέων διωκόμενοι· νάπος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο, ὃ οὐκ ἤδεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ προαπετράποντο διώκοντες· ὅψε γὰρ ἦν. 32. Ἐπανελθόντες δέ, ἐνθα ἡ πρώτη συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, στησάμενοι τρόπαιον ἀπήεσαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς· στάδιοι δ' ἦσαν ὥς ἐξήκοντα ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

H



## CHAPTER VI.

THE army, being now left to plunder without interruption, lives in plenty. Cleander, the Spartan governor of Byzantium, arrives, and is at first prejudiced against the Greeks by Dexippus, until he learns his character. Cleander is willing to take the command of the Greeks, but the omens being unfavorable, the army marches, under their former generals, through Bithynia to Chrysopolis.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πολέμοιοι εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἀπήγοντο καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅποιοι ἐδύναντο προσωτάτω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες προσέμενον μὲν Κλέανδρον, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ὡς ἤξοντα· ἐξιόντες δ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας σὺν ταῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ ταῖς ἀνδραπόδοις, ἐφέροντο ἀδεῶς πυρούς, κριθάς, οἶνον, ὕσπρια, μελίνας, σῦκα· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀγαθὰ εἶχεν ἡ χώρα πλὴν ἐλαίου. 2. Καὶ ὁπότε μὲν καταμένονοι τὸ στρατεύμα ἀναπαύομενον, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λείαν λέναι, καὶ ἐλάμβανον ἐξιόντες· ὁπότε δὲ ἐξίοι πᾶν τὸ στρατεύμα, εἰ τις χωρὶς ἀπελθὼν λάβοι τι δημόσιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. 3. Ἦδη δὲ ἦν πάντων ἀφθονία· καὶ γὰρ ἀγοραὶ πάντοθεν ἀφικνοῦντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, καὶ αἱ παραπλέοντες ἄσμενοι κατῆγον, ἀκούοντες, ὡς οἰκίζοιτο πόλεις, καὶ λιμὴν εἶη. 4. Ἐπεμبون δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμοιοι ἤδη, οἱ πλησίον ὦκουν, πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἀκούοντες, ὅτι οὗτος πολίζει τὸ χωρίον, ἐρωτῶντες, ὅ τι δέοι ποιοῦντας φίλους εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐπεδείκνυν αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις.

5. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κλέανδρος ἀφικνεῖται, δύο τριήρεις ἔχων, πλοῖον δ' οὐδέν. Ἐτύγχανε δὲ τὸ στρατεύμα ἔξω ὄν, ὅτε ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ εἰλήφεσαν πρόβατα πολλά· ὀκνοῦντες δὲ μὴ ἀφαιρεθεῖεν, τῷ Δεξιππῷ λέγουσιν, ὅς ἀπέδρα τὴν πεντηκόντορον ἔχων ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ κελεύουσι διασώσαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ πρόβατα, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι. 6. Εὐθὺς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπελαύνει τοὺς περιστῶτας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι δημόσια

εἶη, καὶ τῷ Κλέανδρῳ ἐλθὼν λέγει, ὅτι ἀρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Ὁ δὲ κελεύει τὸν ἀρπάζοντα ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν. 7. Καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ἡγέτινα· περιτυχὼν δ' Ἀγασίας ἀφαιρεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγόμενος λοχίτης. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιχειροῦσι βάλλειν τὸν Δεξιππον, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν προδότην. Ἐδείσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριηριτῶν πολλοί, καὶ ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ Κλέανδρος δ' ἔφευγε. 8. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατεκώλυόν τε, καὶ τῷ Κλέανδρῳ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐδὲν εἶη πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα αἴτιον εἶη τοῦ στρατεύματος ταῦτα γενέσθαι. 9. Ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος, ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεξιππον τε ἀνερθεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀχθεσθεῖς, ὅτι ἐφοβήθη, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι ἔφη, καὶ κηρύξειν μηδεμίαν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, ὡς πολεμίους. Ἦρχον δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. 10. Ἐνταῦθα πονηρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔφη γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκδώσει τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν καὶ τὸν ἀφελόμενον. 11. Ἦν δὲ, ὃν ἐζήτει, Ἀγασίας, διὰ τέλους φίλος τῷ Ξενοφῶντι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ διέβαλεν αὐτόν ὁ Δεξιππος. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειδὴ ἀπορία ἦν, συνήγαγον τὸ στρατεύμα οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔνιοι μὲν αὐτῶν παρ' ὀλίγον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Κλέανδρον, τῷ δὲ Ξενοφῶντι οὐκ ἔδοκει φαῦλον εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν·

12. Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ φαῦλον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχων τὴν γνώμην Κλέανδρος ἀπεισιν, ὥσπερ λέγει. Εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγυὲς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις· τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεστήκασιν· ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι βούλονται διαπράττεσθαι. 13. Εἰ οὖν οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς Βυζαντίου ἀποκλείσει, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρμοσταῖς παραγγελεῖ, εἰς τὰς πόλεις μὴ δέχεσθαι, ὡς ἀπιστοῦντας Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἀνόμους ὄντας, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ ἡμῶν ἤξει, χαλεπὸν ἔσται καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀποπλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄρχουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τὸν νῦν χρόνον.

14. Οὐκ οὖν δεῖ, οὔτε ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἕνεκα οὔτε δυοῖν, ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειστέον, ὃ τι ἂν κελεύωσι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἡμῶν, ὅθεν ἐσμέν, πείθονται αὐτοῖς. 15. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, (καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω Δέξιππον λέγειν πρὸς Κλέανδρον, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησεν Ἀγασίας ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσα,) ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπολύω καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ Ἀγασίαν, ἂν αὐτὸς Ἀγασίας φήσῃ ἐμέ τι τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι, καὶ καταδικάζω ἑμᾶντοῦ, εἰ ἐγὼ πετροβολίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς βιαίου ἐξάρχω, τῆς ἐσχάτης δίκης ἄξιός εἶναι, καὶ ὑφέξω τὴν δίκην. 16. Φημί δέ, καὶ εἰ τινα ἄλλον αἰτιάται, χρῆναι ἑαυτὸν παρασχεῖν Κλεάνδρῳ κρίναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπολελυμένοι τῆς αἰτίας εἴητε. Ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχει, χαλεπὸν, εἰ, οἰόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰρξόμεθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων.

17. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπεν Ἀγασίας· Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμνυμι θεοὺς καὶ θεάς, ἢ μὴν μήτε με Ξενοφῶντα κελευσαι ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, μήτε ἄλλον ὑμῶν μηδένα· ἰδόντι δέ μοι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀγόμενον τῶν ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν ὑπὸ Δεξίππου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὑμᾶς προδόντα, δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι· καὶ ἀφειλόμην, ὁμολογῶ. 18. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν μὴ ἐκδῶτέ με· ἐγὼ δὲ ἑμᾶντόν, ὥσπερ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, παρασχῆσω κρίναντι Κλεάνδρῳ, ὃ τι ἂν βούληται ποιῆσαι· τούτου ἕνεκα μήτε πολεμεῖτε Λακεδαιμονίοις, σῶζοισθέ τε ἀσφαλῶς, ὅποι θέλει ἕκαστος. Συμπέμψατε μέντοι μοι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλόμενοι πρὸς Κλέανδρον, οἵτινες, ἂν τι ἐγὼ παραλείπω, καὶ λέξουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ πράξουσιν. 19. Ἐκ τούτου ἔδωκεν ἡ στρατιά, οὗστινας βούλοιτο, προσελόμενεν ἰέναι. Ὁ δὲ προσείλετο τοὺς στρατηγούς. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς Κλέανδρον Ἀγασίας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου. Καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατηγοί.

20. Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς σε, ὦ Κλέανδρε, καὶ ἐκέλευσέ σε, εἴτε πάντας αἰτιά, κρίναντα σεαυτὸν χρῆσθαι,

ὃ τι ἂν βουλή, εἴτε ἕνα τινά, ἢ δύο, ἢ καὶ πλείους αἰτιά, τούτους ἀξιούσι παρασχεῖν σοι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κρίσιν. Εἴτε οὖν ἡμῶν τινα αἰτιά, πάρεσμέν σοι ἡμεῖς· εἴτε καὶ ἄλλον τινά, φράσον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀπέσται, ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν ἐθέλῃ πείθεσθαι. 21. Μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀγασίας εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὦ Κλέανδρε, ὁ ἀφελόμενός Δεξίππου ἄγοντος τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ παίειν κελεύσας Δέξιππον. 22. Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα· Δέξιππον δὲ οἶδα αἰρεθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν τῆς πεντηκοντόρου, ἥς ἡγησάμεθα παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων, ἐφ' ᾧτε πλοῖα συλλέγειν, ὡς σωζοίμεθα, καὶ ἀποδράντα Δέξιππον, καὶ προδόντα τοὺς στρατιώτας, μεθ' ὧν ἐσώθη. 23. Καὶ τοὺς τε Τραπεζουντίους ἀπεστερήκαμεν τὴν πεντηκόντορον, καὶ κακοὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτον· αὐτοὶ τε τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολώλαμεν. Ἦκουε γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄπορον εἴη, περὶ ἀπιόντας τοὺς ποταμούςς τε διαβῆναι, καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Τοῦτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην. 24. Εἰ δὲ σὺ ἡγες, ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ μὴ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποδράντων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων ἐποίησα. Νόμιζε δ', ἂν ἐμὲ νῦν ἀποκτείνῃς, δι' ἄνδρα δειλὸν τε καὶ πονηρόν, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτείνων.

25. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν ὅτι Δέξιππον μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς εἴη· οὐ μέντοι ἔφη νομίζειν, οὐδ' εἰ παμπόνηρος ἦν Δέξιππος, βίαν χρῆναι πάσχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κριθέντα, (ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς νῦν ἀξιούτε,) τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν. 26. Νῦν μὲν οὖν ἄπιτε, καταλιπόντες τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ κελεύσω, πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. Αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὔτε τὴν στρατιάν, οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα ἔτι, ἐπεὶ οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. 27. Ὁ δὲ ἀφαιρεθεὶς εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, εἰ καὶ οἶμι με ἀδικοῦντά τι ἄγεσθαι, οὔτε ἐπαιον οὐδένα, οὔτε ἐβαλλον, ἀλλ' εἶπον ὅτι δημόσια εἴη τὰ πρόβατα· ἦν γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα, εἰ τις, ὁπότε ἡ στρατιὰ ἐξίοι, ἰδίᾳ λήϊζοιτο, δημόσια εἶναι τὰ ληφθέντα. 28. Ταῦτα εἶπον· καὶ ἐκ τούτου με λαβὼν οὗτος ἤγεν, ἵνα μὴ φθῇ



γοιτο μηδείς ἀλλ' αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ μέρος, διασώσεις τοῖς λησταῖς παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν τὰ χρήματα. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοιοῦτος εἶ, κατάμενε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσώμεθα.

29. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον ἡρίστων· τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνήγαγε Ξενοφῶν, καὶ συνεβούλευε πέμψαι ἄνδρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον παραιτησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

30. Ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, πέμψαντας στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς καὶ Δρακόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἔδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι, δεῖσθαι Κλέανδρου κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφεῖναι τῷ ἄνδρι. 31. Ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἐχεις μὲν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, τοὺς ἄνδρας· καὶ ἡ στρατιά σοι ὑφεῖτο, ὃ τι ἐβούλον ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἀπάντων· νῦν δέ σε αἰτοῦνται καὶ δέονται δοῦναί σοι τῷ ἄνδρι, καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐμοχθησάτην. 32. Ταῦτα δέ σου τυχόντες, ὑπισχνοῦνταί σοι ἀντὶ τούτων, ἣν βούλη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἣν οἱ θεοὶ ἰλεῶσι, ἐπιδείξειν σοι, καὶ ὡς κόσμοί εἰσι, καὶ ὡς ἱκανοί, τῷ ἄρχοντι πειθόμεναι, τοὺς πολεμίους σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθαι. 33. Δέονται δέ σου καὶ ταῦτο, παραγεγόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα ἑαυτῶν, πείραν λαβεῖν καὶ Δεξίππου καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἄλλων, οἷος ἕκαστός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστοις νεῖμαι. 34. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος Ἀλλὰ ναὶ τῷ σιῷ, ἔφη, ταχύ τοι ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. Καὶ τῷ τε ἄνδρι ὑμῖν δίδωμι, καὶ αὐτὸς παρέσομαι· καὶ ἣν οἱ θεοὶ παραδιδῶσι, ἐξηγήσομαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Καὶ πολὺ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀντίοι εἰσίν, ἢ οὕς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐνίων ἤκουον, ὡς τὸ στράτευμα ἀφίστατε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

35. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ἔχοντες τῷ ἄνδρι· Κλέανδρος δὲ ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ ξυνῆν Ξενοφῶντι φιλικῶς, καὶ ξενίαν ξυνεδάλοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἑώρα αὐτοὺς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εὐτάκτως ποιῶντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐπεθύμει ἡγεμῶν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. 36. Ἐπεὶ μὲντοι θυομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ

ἱερὰ, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν, Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐτελέσθη τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν· ὑμεῖς μέντοι μὴ ἀθυμεῖτε τουτου ἔνεκα· ὑμῖν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δέδοται ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκεῖσε ἤκητε δεξόμεθα ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κάλλιστα.

37. Ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ δημόσια πρόβατα· ὁ δὲ, δεξάμενος, πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε. Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέπλει. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, διαθέμενοι τὸν σῆτον, ὃν ἦσαν συγκεκομισμένοι, καὶ τᾶλλα, ἃ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξεπορεύοντο διὰ τῶν Βιθυνῶν. 38. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνέτυχον, πορευόμενοι τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, ὥστε ἔχοντές τι εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, τοῦμπαλιν ὑποστρέψαντας ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἔλαβον πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ πρόβατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο ἐκταῖοι εἰς Χρυσόπολιν τῆς Καλχηδονίας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαφυροποιλοῦντες.

# XENOPHON'S ANABASIS.

## BOOK VII.

### CHAPTER I.

PHARNABAZUS, being anxious to get the Greeks out of his territory, persuades Anaxibius to invite them to Byzantium: Anaxibius gives them hopes of employment in his service. The Greeks cross over, and, by the order of Anaxibius, appear under arms before the city, ready for service. In the mean time the gates are shut, and the Greeks excluded from the city; they attack the place in consequence, and force their way in, but are at length pacified by Xenophon. They now accept as leader Cœratades, a Theban, who promises to lead the Greeks into the Delta of Thrace, but very soon gives up the office.

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀνδράσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρον ἐπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ, μέχρι εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου περὶ ἐξιόντες καὶ ἐκπλέοντες ἐποίουν, μέχρι ἔξω τοῦ στόματος ἐγένοντο ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδῆλωται. 2. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φαρνάβαζος, φοβούμενος τὸ στράτευμα, μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν στρατεύηται, πέμψας πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον, (ὁ δ' ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὢν,) ἐδεῖτο διαβιβάσαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πάντα ποιῆσειν αὐτῷ, ὅσα δέοι. 3. Καὶ Ἀναξίβιος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ διαβαῖεν, μισθοφορίαν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. 4. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἔφασαν βουλευσάμενοι ἀπαγγελεῖν, Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ βούλοιο ἀποπλεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, συνδιαβάντα. ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Ἐφῆ οὖν ταῦτα ποιῆσειν.

5. Σεύθης δὲ ὁ Θρᾶξ πέμπει Μηδοσάδην, καὶ κελεύει Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμεῖσθαι ὅπως διαβῇ τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ ταῦτα συμπροθυμηθέντι ὅτι οὐ μεταμελήσει. 6. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διαθήσεται· τούτου ἕνεκα μηδὲν τελείτω μήτε ἐμοί, μήτε ἄλλῳ μηδεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διαβῇ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπαλλάξομαι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς διαμένοντας καὶ ἐπικαιρίους ὄντας προσφερέσθω, ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ἀσφαλές.

7. Ἐκ τούτου διαβαίνουσι πάντες εἰς τὰ Βυζάντιον οἱ στρατιῶται. Καὶ μισθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος, ἐκήρυξε δὲ λαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξιέναι, ὥς ἀποπέμψων τε ἅμα καὶ ἀριθμὸν ποιήσων. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτίζεσθαι εἰς τὴν πορείαν, καὶ ὀκνηρῶς συνεσκευάζοντο. 8. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, Κλεάνδρῳ τῷ ἁρμοστῇ ξένος γεγενημένος, προσελθὼν ἠσπάζετο αὐτόν, ὥς ἀποπλευσούμενος ἦδη. Ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ λέγει· Μὴ ποιήσης ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔφη αἰτίαν ἔξεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν τινες ἤδη σὲ αἰτιῶνται, ὅτι οὐ ταχὺ ἐξέρπει τὸ στράτευμα. 9. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' αἰτίος μὲν ἔγωγε οὐκ εἰμὶ τούτου, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοί, ἐπισιτισμοῦ δεόμενοι, διὰ τοῦτο ἀθυμοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. 10. Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη, ἐγὼ σοι συμβουλεύω ἐξελθεῖν μὲν ὥς πορευσόμενον, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔξω γένηται τὸ στράτευμα, τότε ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐλθόντες πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον διαπραξόμεθα. Οὕτως ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. 11. Ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσεν οὕτω ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐξιέναι τὴν ταχίστην συνεσκευασμένους, καὶ προσανειπεῖν, ὅς ἂν μὴ παρῇ εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται. 12. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξήεσαν οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ πρότοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. Καὶ ἄρδην πάντες πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔξω ἦσαν, καὶ Ἐτεόνικος εἰστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας, ὥς, ὅποτε ἔξω γένοιτο πάντες, συγκλείσων τὰς πύλας, καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβαλὼν. 13. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς, ἔλεξε· Τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια, ἔφη, λαμβάνετε ἐκ τῶν Θρακίων κωμῶν· (εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι



πολλὰ κριθαὶ καὶ πυροί, καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια·) λαβόν-  
τες δὲ πορεύεσθε εἰς Χερρόνησον, ἐκεῖ δὲ Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν  
μισθοδοτήσει. 14. Ἐπακούσαντες δὲ τινες τῶν στρατιω-  
τῶν ταῦτα, ἢ καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν τις, διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ  
στράτευμα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ  
Σεύθου, πότερα πολέμιος εἴη ἢ φίλος, καὶ πότερα διὰ τοῦ  
ἱεροῦ ὅρους δέοι πορεύεσθαι, ἢ κύκλῳ διὰ μέσης τῆς Θράκης.  
15. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, οἱ στρατιῶται ἀναρπάσαν-  
τες τὰ ὅπλα θέουσι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὡς πάλιν εἰς  
τὸ τεῖχος εἰσιόντες. Ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ὡς  
εἶδον προσθέοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, συγκλείουσι τὰς πύλας  
καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. 16. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐκοπ-  
τόν τε τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἀδικώτατα πάσχοιεν ἐκ-  
βαλλόμενοι εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ κατασχίσαι τὰς πύλας  
ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκόντες ἀνοίξουσιν. 17. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἔθεον  
ἐπὶ θάλατταν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τοῦ τεύχους ὑπερβαί-  
νουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλοι δέ, οἱ ἐτύχανον ἐνδοῦντες,  
τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ὀρῶσι τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις πράγματα,  
διακόπτοντες ταῖς ἀξίναῖς τὰ κλεῖθρα, ἀναπεταίνουσι τὰς  
πύλας· οἱ δ' εἰσπίπτουσιν.

18. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ὡς εἶδε τὰ γιγνόμενα, δέσας, μὴ ἐφ'  
ἄρπαγὴν τράποιτο τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ γέ-  
νοιτο τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔθει, καὶ  
συνεισπίπτει εἰς τὴν πυλὸν σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ. 19. Οἱ δὲ  
Βυζάντιοι, ὡς εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα βίᾳ εἰσπίπτον, φεύγουσιν  
ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, οἱ δὲ οἴκαδε· ὅσοι δὲ  
ἐνδον ἐτύχανον ὄντες ἔξω ἔθεον, οἱ δὲ καθείλκον τὰς τρι-  
ήρεις, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι σώζοντο· πάντες δὲ ῥοντο ἀπο-  
λωλέναι, ὡς ἐαλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως. 20. Ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος  
εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἀποφεύγει. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος, καταδραμὼν  
ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐν ἀλιευτικῷ πλοίῳ περιέπλει εἰς τὴν ἀκρό-  
πολιν, καὶ εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Καλχηδόνης φρουρούς·  
οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει σχεῖν τοὺς  
ἄνδρας. 21. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ξενοφῶντα,  
προσπίπτουσαν αὐτῷ πολλοί, καὶ λέγουσι, Νῦν σοι ἔξεστιν,

ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. Ἐχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις,  
ἔχεις χρήματα, ἔχεις ἄνδρας τοσοῦτους. Νῦν ἂν, εἰ βοῶ-  
λοιο, σὺ τε ἡμᾶς ὀνήσαιο, καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ μέγαν ποιήσαιμεν.  
22. Ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' εὐ τε λέγετε, καὶ ποιήσω  
ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἐπιθυμεῖτε, θέσθε τὰ ὅπλα ἐν τάξει  
ὡς τάχιστα· βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς κατηρεμίσαι· καὶ αὐτὸς  
τε παρηγγύα ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευε παρεγγυᾶν  
τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα. 23. Οἱ δέ, αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ταπτό-  
μενοι, οἱ τε ὀπλῖται ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἰς ὀκτὼ ἐγένοντο,  
καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκάτερον παραδεδραμήκεσαν.  
24. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἷον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαι ἔστι, τὸ  
Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ  
ἔκειτο τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ κατηρεμίσθησαν, συγκαλεῖ Ξενοφῶν  
τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ λέγει τάδε.

25. Ὅτι μὲν ὀργίξεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ νομί-  
ζετε δεῖνὰ πάσχειν ἐξαπατῶμενοι, οὐ θαυμάζω. Ἦν δὲ τῷ  
θυμῷ χαριζόμεθα, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς παρόντας  
τῆς ἐξαπάτης τιμωρησώμεθα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν αἰ-  
τίαν διαρπάσωμεν, ἐνθυμείσθε ἃ ἔσται ἐντεῦθεν. 26. Πολ-  
έμοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα ἀποδεδειγμένοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς  
συμμάχοις. Οἷος δ' ὁ πόλεμος ἂν γένοιτο, εἰκάζειν δὴ πάρ-  
εστιν, ἑωρακότας καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας τὰ νῦν ἤδη γεγενημένα.  
27. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἤλθομεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν  
πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἔχοντες  
τριήρεις, τὰς μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ, τὰς δ' ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις, οὐκ  
ἐλάττους τριακοσίων, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων  
ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ προσόδου οὐσης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τε τῶν  
ἐνδῆμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐ μείον χιλίων ταλάντων·  
ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν νήσων ἀπασῶν, καὶ ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πολλὰς  
ἔχοντες πόλεις, καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς, καὶ  
αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὅπου νῦν ἐσμεν, ἔχοντες, κατε-  
πολεμήθημεν οὕτως, ὡς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε. 28. Νῦν  
δὲ δὴ τί ἂν οἴομεθα παθεῖν, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν καὶ τῶν  
Ἀχαιῶν συμμάχων ὑπαρχόντων, Ἀθηναίων δέ, καὶ ὅσοι  
ἐκείνοις τότε ἦσαν σύμμαχοι, πάντων προσγεγενημένων

Τισσαφέρνους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄλλων βαρβάρων πάντων πολεμίων ἡμῖν ὄντων, πολεμωτάτου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως; ὃν ἤλθομεν ἀφαιρησόμενοί τε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες εἰ δυναίμεθα. Τούτων δὲ πάντων ὁμοῦ ὄντων, ἔστι τις οὕτως ἄφρων, ὅστις οἴεται ἂν ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι; 29. Μή, πρὸς θεῶν, μαινώμεθα μὴδ' αἰσχροῦς ἀπολώμεθα, πολέμοι ὄντες καὶ ταῖς πατρίσι, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν εἰσι πάντες ταῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατευσομέναις, καὶ δικαίως, εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἠθελήσαμεν κατασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα κρατοῦντες, Ἑλληνίδα δὲ εἰς ἣν πρώτην πόλιν ἤλθομεν, ταύτην ἐξαλαπάξομεν. 30. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν εὐχομαι, πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιθεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν γενόμενα, μυρίας ἐμέ γε κατὰ γῆς ὀργυιᾶς γενέσθαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ συμβουλεύω, Ἑλληνας ὄντας, τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστηκόσι πειθόμενους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνησθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀδικουμένους τῆς γοῦν Ἑλλάδος μὴ στέρεσθαι. 31. Καὶ νῦν μοι δοκεῖ, πέμψαντας Ἀναξιβίῳ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βίαιον ποιήσοντες παρελθύθαμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἣν μὲν δυνώμεθα παρ' ὑμῶν ἀγαθόν τι εὐρίσκεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ δηλώσοντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαπατῶμενοι, ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι ἐξερχόμεθα.

32. Ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἱερώννυμόν τε Ἡλείον, ἐροῦντα ταῦτα, καὶ Εὐρύλοχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ Φιλήσιον Ἀχαιοῖν. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὥχοντο ἐροῦντες.

33. Ἐτι δὲ καθημένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, προσέρχεται Κοιρατάδης Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιήει, ἀλλὰ στρατηγιῶν, καὶ ἐπαγγελλούμενος, εἰ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγοῦ δέοιτο· καὶ τότε προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἴη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης, ἐνθα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ λήψοιντο· ἔστε δ' ἂν μόλωσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξειν ἔφη καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά. 34. Ἀκούουσι ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἀναξιβίου ἅμα ἀπαγγελλούμενα· ἀπεκρίνατο γάρ, ὅτι πειθόμενοις αὐτοῖς οὐ μεταμελήσει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε οἴκοι τέλεσι ταῦτα

ἀπαγγελεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς βουλευσοῖτο περὶ αὐτῶν, ὃ τι δύναιτο ἀγαθόν· 35. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν τε Κοιρατάδην δέχονται στρατηγόν, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆλθον. Ὁ δὲ Κοιρατάδης συντίθεται αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρέσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, ἔχων καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ μάντιν, καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ. 36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξῆλθον, ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκλείσε τὰς πύλας καὶ ἐκῆρυνξεν ὃς ἂν ἄλῳ ἔνδον ὦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὅτι πεπράσεται. 37. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κοιρατάδης μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὸν μάντιν ἦκε, καὶ ἄλφιτα φέροντες εἶποντο αὐτῷ εἰκοσιν ἄνδρες, καὶ οἶνον ἄλλοι εἰκοσι, καὶ ἐλαιῶν τρεῖς καὶ σκορόδων εἰς ἀνὴρ ὅσον ἐδύνατο μέγιστον φορτίον, καὶ ἄλλος κρομμύων. Ταῦτα δὲ καταθέμενος ὥς ἐπὶ δάσμευσιν, ἐθύετο.

38. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, μεταπεμφάμενος Κλεάνδρον, ἐκέλευεν οἱ διαπράξαι, ὅπως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τε εἰσέλθοι, καὶ ἀποπλεύσαι ἐκ Βυζαντίου. 39. Ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Κλεάνδρος, Μάλα μόλις, ἔφη, διαπραξάμενος ἦκω· λέγειν γὰρ Ἀναξίβιον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον εἴη τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ τείχους Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔνδον· τοὺς Βυζαντίους δὲ στασιάζειν καὶ πονηροὺς εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὁμως δὲ εἰσιέναι, ἔφη, ἐκέλευεν, εἰ μέλλοις σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπλεῖν. 40. Ὁ μὲν δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰσω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆει σὺν Κλεάνδρῳ. Ὁ δὲ Κοιρατάδης τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρι, οὐδὲ διεμέτρησεν οὐδὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα εἰσθήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, καὶ Κοιρατάδης, ἐστεφανωμένος, ὥς θύσων· προσελθὼν δὲ Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεύς, καὶ Νέων ὁ Λσιναῖος, καὶ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος, ἔλεγον Κοιρατάδῃ, μὴ θύειν, ὥς οὐχ ἡγησόμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰ μὴ δώσει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δὲ κελεύει διαμετρεῖσθαι. 41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἐνέδει αὐτῷ, ὥστε ἡμέρας σῖτον ἐκάστῳ γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ἱερεῖα ἀπῆει, καὶ τὴν στρατῆγιαν ἀπειπῶν.



## CHAPTER II.

It being now determined in what manner to proceed, many of the soldiers leave the army. Those who remain in Byzantium are sold for slaves by Aristarchus, the successor of Cleander in the government. The Greeks at length agree to sail back to Asia, on the advice of Xenophon, but are hindered by Aristarchus. Being at the same time solicited to enter the service of Seuthas, a Thracian chieftain, Xenophon goes in person to learn his terms.

1. Νέων δὲ ὁ Ἀσιναῖος, καὶ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιοῦς, καὶ Φιλῆσιος ὁ Ἀχαιοῦς, καὶ Ξανθικλῆς ὁ Ἀχαιοῦς καὶ Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεύς ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰς κώμας τῶν Θρακῶν προελθόντες τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. 2. Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐστασίαζον, Κλεάνωρ μὲν καὶ Φρυνίσκος πρὸς Σεύθην βουλόμενοι ἄγειν· (ἐπειθε γὰρ αὐτούς, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ μὲν ἵππον, τῷ δὲ γυναῖκα·) Νέων δὲ εἰς Χερρόνησον, οἰόμενος, εἰ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γένοιτο, παντὸς ἂν προστάναι τοῦ στρατεύματος· Τιμασίων δὲ προϋθυμεῖτο πέραν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆναι, οἰόμενος ἂν οἰκαδε κατελθεῖν. Καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ταῦτα ἐδούλοντο. 3. Διατριβομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν, τὰ ὅπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς χώρους, ἀπέπλεον ὥς ἐδύναντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις κατεμυγνύοντο. 4. Ἀναξίβιος δ' ἔχαιρε ταῦτα ἀκούων διαφθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα· τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων, ᾤετο μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι Φαρναβάζῳ.

5. Ἀποπλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξίβιῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ, διάδοχος Κλεάνδρῳ, Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστής· ἐλέγετο δέ, ὅτι καὶ ναύαρχος διάδοχος Πῶλος δσον αὐτῷ παρείη ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. 6. Καὶ Ἀναξίβιος τῷ μὲν Ἀριστάρχῳ ἐπιστέλλει, ὅπόσους ἂν εὖροι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν Κύρου στρατιωτῶν ὑπολελειμμένους, ἀποδόσθαι· Ὁ δὲ Κλεάνδρος οὐδένα ἐπεπράκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐθεράπευεν, οἰκτεῖρων, καὶ ἀναγκάζων οἰκίᾳ δέχεσθαι· Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθε τάχιστα, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσί-

ων ἀπέδοτο. 7. Ἀναξίβιος δέ, παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον, πέμπει παρὰ Φαρναβάζον κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα. Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ᾤσθητο Ἀρίσταρχόν τε ἤκοντα εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀρμοστήν, καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οὐκέτι ναυαρχοῦντα, Ἀναξίβιον μὲν ἠμέλησε, πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ διεπράττετο τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρείου στρατεύματος, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον.

8. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος, καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα, κελεύει πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ συνέχειν τε αὐτό, καὶ συναθροίζειν τῶν διεσπαρμένων ὡς ἂν πλείστους δύνηται, καὶ παραγαγόντα εἰς τὴν Πέρινθον, διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅτι τάχιστα· καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τριακόντορον καὶ ἐπιστολήν, καὶ ἄνδρα συμπέμπει, κελεύσοντα τοὺς Περινθίους ὡς τάχιστα Ξενοφῶντα προπέμψαι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα. 9. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν διαπλεύσας ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐδέξαντο ἡδέως, καὶ εὐθὺς εἶποντα ἄσμενοι, ὡς διαδησόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

10. Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης, ἀκούσας ἤκοντα πάλιν, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ θάλατταν Μηδοσάδην, ἐδεῖτο τὴν στρατιάν ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑποσχομένους αὐτῷ, ὅτι οὐδένα ὁλόν τε εἴη τούτων γενέσθαι. 11. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ᾤχετο. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς Πέρινθον, Νέων μὲν ἀποσπάσας, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο χωρὶς, ἔχων ὡς ὀκτακοσίους ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα πᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Περινθίων ἦν.

12. Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἔπραττε περὶ πλοίων, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα διαβαῖεν. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος Ἀρίσταρχος, ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστής, ἔχων δύο τριήρεις, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀπέειπε μὴ διάγειν, ἐλθόν τε ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, τοῖς στρατιώταις εἶπε μὴ περαιοῦσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. 13. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς ταῦτο ἐπεμψεν ἐνθάδε. Πάλιν δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεξεν· Ἀναξίβιος μὲν τοίνυν οὐκέτι ναύαρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδε ἀρμοστής· εἰ δὲ τινα

ὑμῶν λήψομαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, καταδύσω. 14. Ταῦτ' εἰ πῶν ὥχετο εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ μεταπέμπεται τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἦδη δὲ ὄντων πρὸς τῷ τείχει, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὅτι, εἰ εἰσεῖσι, συλληφθήσεται, καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ τι πείσεται, ἢ καὶ Φαρναδάζω παραδοθήσεται. Ὁ δέ, ἀκούσας ταῦτα, τοὺς μὲν προπέμπεται, αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι θῦσαί τι βούλοιο. 15. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐθύετο, εἰ παρείεν αὐτῷ οἱ θεοὶ πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς Σεύθην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα. Ἐώρα γὰρ οὔτε διαβαίνειν ἀσφαλὲς ὄν, τριήρεις ἔχοντος τοῦ κωλύσοντος, οὔτ' ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἐλθὼν κατακλεισθῆναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν πολλῇ σπάνει πάντων γενέσθαι, ἐνθα πείθεσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη τῷ ἐκεῖ ἀρμοστῇ, τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ἔχειν τὸ στράτευμα.

16. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἤκοντες παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀπιέναι σφᾶς κελεύει, τῆς δειλῆς δὲ ἦκειν· ἐνθα καὶ δῆλη μᾶλλον ἐδόκει ἢ ἐπιβουλή. 17. Ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Σεύθην λέναι, παραλαβὼν Πολυκράτην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, λοχαγόν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου ἀνδρα, (πλὴν παρὰ Νέωνος,) ᾧ ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν, ὥχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Σεύθου στράτευμα ἐξήκοντα στάδια. 18. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπιτυχάνει πυροῖς ἐρήμοις. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ᾤετο μετακεχωρηκέναι ποι τὸν Σεύθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ θορύβου τε ἦσθετο, καί, σημαινόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν περὶ Σεύθην, κατέμαθεν ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα τὰ πυρὰ κεκαυμένα εἶη τῷ Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὀρῶντο, ἐν τῷ σκότει ὄντες, μήτε ὅπόσοι μήτε ὅπου εἶεν, οἱ δὲ προσιόντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν. 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθετο, προπέμπει τὸν ἑρμηνέα ὄν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων, καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ, ὅτι Ξενοφῶν πάρεστι βουλόμενος συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ ἤροντο, εἰ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. 20. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφη οὗτος εἶναι, ἀναπηδήσαντες

ἐδίωκον· καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον παρήσαν πελτασταὶ ὅσον διακόσιοι, καὶ παραλαβόντες Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, ἦγον πρὸς Σεύθην. 21. Ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν τύρσει μάλα φυλαττόμενος, καὶ ἵπποι περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸν φόβον τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐχίλου τοὺς ἵππους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐγκεχαλινωμένων ἐφυλάττετο. 22. Ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν Τήρης, ὁ τούτου πρόγονος, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ πολὺ ἔχων στράτευμα, ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσαι, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἀφαιρεθῆναι· ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Θυνοί, πάντων λεγόμενοι εἶναι μάλιστα νυκτὸς πολυμκώτατοι.

23. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰσελθεῖν Ξενοφῶντα, ἔχοντα δύο, οὓς βούλοιο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνδον ἦσαν, ἡσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Θράκιον νόμον κέρατα οἴνου προῦπινον· (παρὴν δὲ καὶ Μηδοσάδης τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅςπερ ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ πάντοσε.) 24. Ἐπειτα δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν· Ἐπεμψας πρὸς ἐμέ, ὦ Σεύθῃ, εἰς Καλχηδόνα πρῶτον Μηδοσάδην τουτονί, δεόμενός μου συμπροθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνούμενός μοι, εἰ ταῦτα πράξαιμι, εὖ ποιήσῃ, ὥς ἔφη Μηδοσάδης οὕτοσί. 25. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐπήρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην, εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' εἶη. Ὁ δ' ἔφη. Αὐτίς ἦλθε Μηδοσάδης οὗτος, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ διέβην πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ Παρίου, ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ ἄγοιμι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ τέ σε φίλῳ μοι χρήσεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ τὰ παρὰ θαλάττῃ μοι χωρία, ὧν σὺ κρατεῖς, ἔσεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ. 26. Ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ἐπήρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην, εἰ ἔλεγε ταῦτα. Ὁ δὲ συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα. Ἴθι νῦν, ἔφη, ἀφήγησαι τούτῳ, τί σοι ἀπεκρινάμην ἐν Καλχηδόνι πρῶτον. 27. Ἀπεκρίνω, ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα διαβήσοιτο εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἕνεκα δεοί τελεῖν οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε ἄλλῳ· αὐτὸς δέ, ἐπεὶ διαβαίης, ἀπιέναι ἔφησθα· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως, ὥςπερ σὺ ἔλεγες. 28. Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον, ἔφη, ὅτε κατὰ Σηλυδρίαν ἀφίκου; Οὐκ ἔφησθα οἷόν τε εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰς Πέρηνθον ἐλθόντας διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. 29. Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη



ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάρειμι καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οὗτος Φρυνίσκος, εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Πολυκράτης οὗτος, εἰς τῶν λοχαγῶν, καὶ ἔξω εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πιστότατος ἐκάστῳ, πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. 30. Εἰ οὖν βούλει πιστοτέραν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, καὶ ἐκείνους κάλεσαι. Τὰ δὲ ὄπλα σὺ ἐλθὼν εἰπέ, ὦ Πολύκρατες, ὅτι ἐγὼ κελεύω καταλιπεῖν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν εἰσιθι.

31. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἀπιστή-  
σειεν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἰεν εἰδέναι, καὶ  
φίλους εὐνοὺς ἔφη νομίζειν. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον,  
οὗς ἔδει, πρῶτον μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο Σεύθην, ὃ τι δέοιτο  
χρησθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ. 32. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὧδε. Μαισάδης ἦν  
πατήρ μοι, ἐκείνου δὲ ἦν ἀρχὴ Μελανδίται, καὶ θυνοί, καὶ  
Τρανίφαι. Ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ τὰ Ὀδρυσῶν  
πράγματα ἐνόησεν, ἐκπεσὼν ὁ πατήρ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνή-  
σκει νόσῳ· ἐγὼ δ' ἐξετράφημ ὀρφανὸς παρὰ Μηδόκῳ τῷ  
νῦν βασιλεῖ. 33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδυνά-  
μην ζῆν, εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων· καὶ ἐκθεζό-  
μην ἐνδίφριος αὐτῷ ἱκέτης, δοῦναί μοι, ὅπόσους δυνατὸς  
εἴη ἀνδρας, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἡμᾶς, εἴ τι δυναίμην,  
κακὸν ποιοίην, καὶ ζῶην, μὴ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τράπεζαν ἀπο-  
βλέπων ὥσπερ κύων. 34. Ἐκ τούτου μοι δίδωσι τοὺς  
ἀνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὗς ὑμεῖς ὤψεσθε, ἐπειδὴν ἡμέρα  
γένηται. Καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ζῶ τούτους ἔχων, ληϊζόμενος τὴν  
ἐμῆν πατρίαν χώραν. Εἰ δέ μοι ὑμεῖς παραγένοισθε,  
οἶμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ῥαδίως ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν.  
Ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃ ἐγὼ ὑμῶν δέομαι.

35. Τί ἂν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺ δύναιο, εἰ ἔλθοιμεν,  
τῇ τε στρατιᾷ δίδοναι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καὶ τοῖς στρατη-  
γοῖς; λέξον, ἵνα οὗτοι ἀπαγγέλλωσιν. 36. Ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο  
τῷ μὲν στρατιώτῃ κυζικηνόν, τῷ δὲ λοχαγῷ διμοιρίαν, τῷ  
δὲ στρατηγῷ τετραμοιρίαν, καὶ γῆν, ὅπόσῃν ἂν βούλωνται,  
καὶ ζεύγη, καὶ χωρίον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τετειχισμένον. 37.  
Ἐὰν δέ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ταῦτα πειρώμενοι, μὴ διαπράξωμεν,  
ἀλλὰ τις φόβος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ᾗ, δέξῃ εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ,

ἐὰν τις ἀπιέναι βούληται παρὰ σέ; 38. Ὁ δ' εἶπε, Καὶ  
ἀδελφούς γε ποιήσομαι, καὶ ἐνδιφρίους, καὶ ποινωνοὺς  
ἀπάντων, ὧν ἂν δυνώμεθα κτᾶσθαι. Σοὶ δέ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν,  
καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω, καὶ εἴ τις σοὶ ἔστι θυγάτηρ, ὠνήσομαι  
Θρακίῳ νόμῳ· καὶ Βισάνθην οἴκησιν δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ κάλ-  
λιστον χωρίον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.

## CHAPTER III.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ communicates to the Greeks the terms offered by Seuthes. They all, except Neon, who is absent, accept the conditions, and proceed to Seuthes, by whom they are hospitably entertained.

1. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, καὶ δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες  
ἀπήλαινον· καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ,  
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἕκαστοι τοῖς πέμψασιν. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα  
ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος πάλιν ἐκάλει τοὺς στρατηγοὺς  
καὶ λοχαγούς· τοῖς δ' ἔδοξε τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον  
ὁδὸν εἶσαι, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα συγκαλέσαι. Καὶ συνῆλθον  
πάντες, πλὴν οἱ Νέωνος· οὗτοι δὲ ἀπεῖχον ὥς δέκα στάδια.  
3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν εἶπε τάδε. Ἄν-  
δρες, διαπλεῖν μὲν, ἐνθα βουλόμεθα, Ἀρίσταρχος τριήρεις  
ἔχων κωλύει, ὥστε εἰς πλοῖα οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμβαίνειν· οὗτος  
δὲ αὐτὸς κελεύει εἰς Χερρόνησον βίᾳ διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὕδρους  
πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δέ, κρατήσαντες τούτου, ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν,  
οὔτε πωλήσειν ἔτι ὑμᾶς φησιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οὔτε  
ἐξαπατήσεσθαι ἔτι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λήψεσθαι μισθόν, οὔτε περι-  
όψεσθαι ἔτι, ὥσπερ νυνί, θεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. 4.  
Οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα λέγει· Σεύθης δὲ φησιν, ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνον  
ἴητε, εὐ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς. Νῦν οὖν σκέψασθε, πότερον ἐνθάδε  
μένοντες τοῦτο βουλευσέσθε, ἢ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπανελθ-  
όντες. 5. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἀργύριον  
ἔχομεν, ὥστε ἀγοράζειν, οὔτε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν  
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὰς κώμας, ὅθεν οἱ ἥττους  
ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν, ἐκεῖ ἔχοντας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἀκούοντας, ὅ-  
τι τις ὑμῶν δεῖται, αἰρεῖσθαι ὃ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δεκτὴν κρᾶτιστον

εἶναι. 6. Καὶ ὅτῳ, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἀράτῳ τὴν χεῖρα. Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Ἀπιόντες τοίνυν, ἔφη, συσκευάζεσθε, καὶ ἐπειδὴν παραγγέλλῃ τις, ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγούμενῳ.

7. Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δ' ἵποντο. Νέων δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀριστάρχου ἄλλοι ἐπειθον ἀποτρέπεσθαι· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίους προελήλυθσαν, ἅπαντ' Ἀεὺθης. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἰδὼν αὐτόν, προσελάσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστων ἀκούοντων εἴποι αὐτῷ, ἃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. 8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Ἡμεῖς πορευόμεθα, ὅπου μέλλει ἔξειν τὸ στράτευμα τροφήν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀκούοντες καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ, αἰρησόμεθα, ἃ ἂν κράτιστα δοκῇ εἶναι. Ἦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡγήσῃ, ὅπου πλείστα ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια, ὑπὸ σοῦ νομιούμεν ξενίζεσθαι. 9. Καὶ ὁ Σεύθης ἔφη· Ἀλλὰ οἶδα κώμας πολλὰς ἀθρόας, καὶ πάντα ἐχούσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἀπεχούσας ἡμῶν ὅσον διελθόντες ἂν ἡδέως ἀριστώγητε. Ἦγοῦ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν. 10. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δεΐλης, συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ εἶπε Σεύθης τοιαύδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοί· καὶ ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν δώσειν τοῖς στρατιώταις κυζικηνόν, λοχαγοῖς δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα· ἔξω δὲ τούτων, τὸν ἄξιον τιμήσω. Σίτα δὲ καὶ ποτά, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν, ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνοντες ἔχετε. Ὅποσα δ' ἂν ἀλίσκεται, ἀξιώσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν, ἵνα ταῦτα διατιθέμενος ὑμῖν τὸν μισθὸν πορίζω. 11. Καὶ τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἡμεῖς ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν. Ἄν δὲ τις ἀνθιστῇται, σὺν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι. 12. Ἐπήρετο ὁ Ξενοφῶν· Πόσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀξιώσεις συνέπεσθαί σοι τὸ στράτευμα; ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐδαμῇ πλεῖον ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν, μείον δὲ πολλαχῇ.

13. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδίδото λέγειν τῷ βουλομένῳ· καὶ ἔλεγον πολλοὶ κατὰ ταῦτά, ὅτι παντὸς ἄξια λέγοι Σεύθης· χειμῶν γὰρ εἴη, καὶ οὔτε οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν τῷ τούτῳ βουλομένῳ δυνατόν εἴη, διαγενέσθαι τε ἐν φιλίᾳ οὐχ οἶόν τ' εἶη, εἰ δέοι ὠνουμένους ζῆν· ἐν δὲ τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίβειν

καὶ τρέφεσθαι ἀσφαλέστερον μετὰ Σεύθου, ἢ μόνους, ὄντων ἀγαθῶν τοσούτων· εἰ δὲ μισθὸν προσλήψοιντο, εὖρημα ἐδόκει εἶναι. 14. Ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Εἴ τις ἀντιλέγει, λεγέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐπιψηφίζετω ταῦτα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, ἐπεψήφισε, καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα. Εὐθύς δὲ Σεύθῃ εἶπε ταῦτα, ὅτι συστρατεύσονται αὐτῷ.

15. Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐσκήνησαν, στρατηγοὺς δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σεύθης ἐκάλεσε, πλησίον κώμην ἔχων. 16. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν, ὥς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον παριόντες, ἦν τις Ἡρακλείδης Μαρωνείτης· οὗτος προσίων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ, οὔστινας ᾤετο ἔχειν τι δοῦναι Σεύθῃ, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς Παριανούς τινας, οἱ παρήσαν φιλίαν διαπραξόμενοι πρὸς Μήδοκον, τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα, καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Μήδοκος μὲν ἄνω εἴη δώδεκα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὁδόν, Σεύθης δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο εἴληφεν, ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. 17. Γείτων οὖν ὢν, ἱκανώτατος ἔσται ὑμᾶς καὶ εὐ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν. Ἦν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τούτῳ δώσετε, ὃ τι ἂν αἰτῇται, καὶ ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται, ἢ ἂν Μηδόκῳ τῷ πρόσω οἰκοῦντι δώτε. 18. Τούτους μὲν οὕτως ἐπειθεν. Αὐθις δὲ Τιμασίῳνι τῷ Δαρδανεῖ προσελθὼν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ ταπίδας βαρβαρικὰς, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι νομίζοιτο, ὅποτε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσαιτο Σεύθης, δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τοὺς κληθέντας. Οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας ἐνθάδε γένηται, ἱκανὸς ἔσται, σε καὶ οἴκαδε καταγαγεῖν, καὶ ἐνθάδε πλούσιον ποιῆσαι. Τοιαῦτα προῦμνᾶτο, ἐκάστῳ προσίων. 19. Προσελθὼν δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι ἔλεγε· Σὺ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης εἶ, καὶ παρὰ Σεύθῃ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα μεγιστόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἰσως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τείχη λαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔλαβον, καὶ χώραν· ἄξιον οὖν σοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα τιμῆσαι Σεύθην. 20. Εὐνους δὲ σοι ὢν παραινῶ· εὐ οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι, ὅσω ἂν μείζω τούτῳ δωρήσῃ, τοσούτῳ μείζω ὑπὸ τούτου ἀγαθὰ πείσῃ. Ἀκούων ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν ἠπόρει· οὐ γὰρ δὴ διαβεβήκει ἔχων ἐκ Παρίου, εἰ μὴ παῖδα καὶ ὅσον ἐφόδιον.



21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τῶν τε Θρακῶν οὐκ ἀκράτιστοι τῶν παρόντων, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ εἴ τις πρεσβεία παρῆν ἀπὸ πόλεως, τὸ δεῖπνον μὲν ἦν καθήμενοις κύκλῳ· ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰσ-  
 ηνέχθησαν πᾶσιν· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημέν-  
 ων, καὶ ἄρτοι ζυμῆται μεγάλοι προσπεπερονημένοι ἦσαν  
 πρὸς τοῖς κρέασι. 22. Μάλιστα δ' αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τοὺς  
 ξένους αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ ἦν. Καὶ πρῶτος τοῦτο  
 ἐποίει Σεύθης· ἀνελόμενος τοὺς ἑαυτῷ παρακειμένους ἄρ-  
 τούς, διέκλα κατὰ μικρόν, καὶ διέρριπτεν, οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει·  
 καὶ τὰ κρέα ὡσαύτως, ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυτῷ κατα-  
 λιπών. 23. Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, καθ' οὗς  
 αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο. Ἀρκᾶς δέ τις, Ἀρύστας ὄνομα, φα-  
 γεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρρίπτειν εἰς χαίρειν, λαβὼν δὲ εἰς  
 τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον ἄρτον, καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ  
 γόνατα, ἐδείπνει. 24. Κέρατα δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον, καὶ  
 πάντες ἐδέχοντο. Ὁ δ' Ἀρύστας, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων  
 τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἦκεν, εἶπεν, ἰδὼν τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐ-  
 κέτι δειπνοῦντα, Ἐκείνῳ, ἔφη, δός· σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη,  
 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέπω. 25. Ἀκούσας Σεύθης τὴν φωνὴν ἡρώτα  
 τὸν οἰνοχόον τί λέγει. Ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος εἶπεν· ἑλληνίζειν  
 γὰρ ἠπίστατο. Ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο.

26. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ προὔχῳρι ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θραξ,  
 ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν· καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν εἶπε· Προ-  
 πίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι, ἔφ' οὗ  
 καὶ διώκων, ὃν ἂν θέλῃς, αἰρήσεις, καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ  
 δείσης τὸν πολέμον. 27. Ἄλλος, παῖδα εἰσάγαγών, οὐ-  
 τως ἐδωρήσατο προπίνων, καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί.  
 Καὶ Τιμασίῳ προπίνων ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ  
 ταπίδα ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. 28. Γνήσιππος δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος  
 ἀναστὰς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἴη νόμος κάλλιστος, τοὺς μὲν  
 ἔχοντας δίδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι  
 δίδόναι τὸν βασιλέα· ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἔχω σοι δωρεῖσθαι  
 καὶ τιμᾶν. 29. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἠπορεῖτο, ὅ τι ποιήσει·  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν, ὥς τιμώμενος, ἐν τῷ πλησιαιτάτῳ

δίφρῳ Σεύθῃ καθήμενος. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ  
 τὸ κέρας ὀρέξαι τὸν οἰνοχόον. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, (ἤδη γὰρ  
 ὑποπεπωκώς ἐτύγχανεν,) ἀνέστη, θαρράλῳς δεξάμενος τὸ  
 κέρας, καὶ εἶπεν· 30. Ἐγὼ δέ σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, δίδωμι ἑμαν-  
 τὸν καὶ τοὺς ἑμούςς τούτους ἐταίρους, φίλους εἶναι πιστούς,  
 καὶ οὐδένα ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ πάντας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐμοῦ σοι βου-  
 λομένους φίλους εἶναι. 31. Καὶ νῦν πάρεισιν οὐδέν σε  
 προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προϊέμενοι, καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ  
 καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες· μεθ' ὧν, ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι,  
 πολλὴν χώραν τὴν μὲν ἀπολήψῃ, πατρώαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ  
 κτήσῃ· πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, καὶ γυναῖ-  
 κας καλὰς κτήσῃ, οὗς οὐ λήϊζεσθαι δεήσει, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ φέ-  
 ροντες παρέσονται πρὸς σε δῶρα. 32. Ἀναστὰς ὁ Σεύθης  
 συνεξέπιε, καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κέρας.  
 Μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε, οἷσις σημαίνουσιν, αὐ-  
 λούντες καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοδοῖναις, ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἶον  
 μαγάδι σαλπίζοντες. 33. Καὶ αὐτὸς Σεύθης ἀναστὰς ἀνέ-  
 κραγέ τε πολεμικόν, καὶ ἐξήλατο, ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττό-  
 μενος, μάλα ἐλαφρῶς. Εἰσῆσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί.

34. Ὡς δ' ἦν ἡλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες,  
 καὶ εἶπον, ὅτι ὥρα νυκτοφύλακας καθιστάναι, καὶ σύνθημα  
 παραδιδόναι. Καὶ Σεύθῃν ἐκέλευον παραγγεῖλαι, ὅπως  
 εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στρατόπεδα μηδεὶς τῶν Θρακῶν εἰσέλθῃ  
 νυκτός· οἱ τε γὰρ πολέμοι Θραῖκες ὑμῖν, καὶ ἡμῖν οἱ φίλοι.  
 35. Ὡς δ' ἐξήσαν, συνανέστη ὁ Σεύθης, οὐδέν ἔτι μεθύ-  
 οντι ἐοικώς. Ἐξελθὼν δ' εἶπεν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς  
 ἀποκαλέσας, Ὡς ἄνδρες, οἱ πολέμοι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἴσασι πῶ τὴν  
 ὑμετέραν συμμαχίαν· ἦν οὖν ἔλθωμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, πρὶν  
 φυλάξασθαι, ὥστε μὴ ληφθῆναι, ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὥστε  
 ἀμύνασθαι, μάλιστα ἂν λάβοιμεν καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρή-  
 ματα. 36. Συνεπήνουν ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι  
 ἐκέλευον. Ὁ δ' εἶπε· Παρασκευασάμενοι ἀναμένετε· ἐγὼ  
 δὲ ὁπόταν καιρὸς ᾗ, ἤξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς  
 καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἡγήσομαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. 37. Καὶ ὁ  
 Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Σεέψαι τοίνυν, εἴπερ νυκτὸς πορευσόμεθα.

εἰ δ' Ἑλληνικὸς νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει· μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν γάρ, ἐν ταῖς πορείαις, ἡγεῖται τοῦ στρατεύματος ὅποιον ἂν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν συμφέρῃ, εἴαν τε ὀπλιτικόν, εἴαν τε πελταστικόν, εἴαν τε ἱππικόν· νύκτωρ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐστὶ τὸ βραδύτατον. 38. Οὕτω γὰρ ἡκιστα διασπᾶται τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ ἡκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ δὲ διασπασθέντες πολλάκις καὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες κακῶς ποιοῦσι καὶ πάσχουσιν. 39. Εἶπεν οὖν Σεύθης· Ὅρθῳς τε λέγετε, καὶ ἐγὼ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πείσομαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡγεμόνας δώσω, τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῆς χώρας, αὐτὸς δ' ἐφέψομαι τελευταῖος, τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἔχων· ταχὺ γὰρ πρῶτος, ἂν δέῃ, παρέσομαι. Σύνθημα δ' εἶπον Ἀθηναίαν κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. Ταῦτ' εἰπόντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

40. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας, παρῆν Σεύθης, ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας τεθωρακισμένους, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. Καὶ ἐπεὶ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ εἶποντο, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς ὠπισθοφυλάκουν. 41. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ Σεύθης παρήλανεν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, καὶ ἐπήνεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον· πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη νύκτωρ αὐτός, καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευόμενος, ἀποσπασθῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν· νῦν δέ, ὥσπερ δεῖ, ἀθρόοι πάντες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινόμεθα. Ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν περιμένετε αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ σκεψάμενός τι ἤξω. 42. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνε δι' ὁροὺς, ὁδὸν τινα λαβὼν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς χιόνα πολλήν, ἐσκέφατο εἰ εἴη ἱχνη ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρόσω ἡγούμενα ἢ ἐναντία. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀτριβῇ ἑώρα τὴν ὁδόν, ἦκε ταχὺ πάλιν καὶ ἔλεγεν· 43. Ἄνδρες, καλῶς ἔσται, ἦν θεὸς θέλῃ· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λήσομεν ἐπιπεσόντες. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγήσομαι τοῖς ἱπποῖς, ὅπως, ἂν τινα ἴδωμεν, μὴ διαφυγῶν σήμνην τοῖς πολεμίοις· ὑμεῖς δ' ἔπεσθε· κὰν λειφθῇτε, τῷ στίβῳ τῶν ἱππῶν ἔπεσθε. Ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὰ ὄρη ἤξομεν εἰς κώμας πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας.

44. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις, καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς κώμας, ἦκεν ἐλαύνων πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ἀφήσω ἤδη καταθεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας. Ἀλλ' ἔπεσθε ὥς ἂν δύνησθε τάχιστα, ὅπως, εἴαν τις ὑφιστῇται, ἀλέξησθε. 45. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν κατέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱππου. Καὶ δὲ ἤρετο· Τί καταβαίνεις, ἐπεὶ σπεύδειν δεῖ; Οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνου δέῃ· οἱ δ' ὀπλῖται θάπτον δραμοῦνται καὶ ἡδίον, εἴαν καὶ ἐγὼ πεζὸς ἡγῶμαι. 46. Μετὰ ταῦτα ὤχετο, καὶ Τιμασίῳ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱππέας ὥς τετταράκοντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρηγγύησε τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη παριέναι ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων εὐζώνους. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτρόχαζε, τούτους ἔχων· Κλεάνωρ δ' ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. 47. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἦσαν, Σεύθης, ἔχων ὅσον τριάκοντα ἱππέας, προσελάσας εἶπε· Τάδε δὴ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἃ σὺ ἔλεγες· ἔχονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔρημοι οἱ ἱππεῖς οἰχονταί μοι, ἄλλος ἄλλη διώκων· καὶ δέδοικα, μὴ συστάντες ἀθρόοι πονεῖν κακὸν τι ἐργάσωνται οἱ πολέμοι· δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμας καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμῶν· μεσταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. 48. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺν οἷς ἔχω, τὰ ἄκρα καταλήψομαι· σὺ δὲ Κλεάνωρα κέλευε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου παρατεῖναι τὴν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὰς κώμας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, συνηλίσθησαν ἀνδράποδα μὲν ὥς χίλια, βόες δὲ δις χίλιοι, καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα μύρια. Τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἠυλίσθησαν.

## CHAPTER IV.

NEXT day they march against his enemies, and get much booty. Seuthes burns the villages and kills the prisoners. Some of the fugitives descend from the mountains, under pretense of making a truce, and having thus observed the camp, return at night, and attack the Greeks, by whom they are repulsed. On submission to Seuthes, their lives are spared.

1. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ κατακαύσας ὁ Σεύθης τὰς κώμας παντελῶς καὶ οἰκίαν οὐδεμίαν λιπών, ὅπως φόβον ἐνθείη καὶ



τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷα πείσονται, ἂν μὴ πείθωνται, ἀπῆει πάλιν. 2. Καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἀπέπεμψε διατίθεσθαι Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Πέρινθον, ὅπως ἂν μισθὸς γένηται τοῖς στρατιώταις· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἀνὰ τὸ Θυνῶν πεδῖον. Οἱ δ' ἐκλιπόντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ ὄρη. 3. Ἦν δὲ χιῶν πολλή, καὶ ψυχὸς οὕτως, ὥστε τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἐπήγνυτο, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν καὶ ῥίνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ ὦτα. 4. Καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο, οὐ ἔνεκα οἱ Θρᾶκες τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὠσί, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ ζειράς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας. 5. Ἀφιεῖς δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σεύθης εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται καὶ πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει, καὶ τούτων τὰς κώμας καὶ τὸν σῆτον, καὶ ἀπολοῦνται τῷ λιμῷ. Ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινον καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κώμαις ἠϋλίζοντο. 6. Καὶ ὁ Σεύθης καταμαθὼν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς νεωτάτους λαβόντα συνεπιπέσθαι. Καὶ ἀναστάντες τῆς νυκτός, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν εἰς τὰς κώμας. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον· (πλησίον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὄρος) ὅσους δὲ ἔλαβε κατηκόντισεν ἀφειδῶς Σεύθης.

7. Ἐπισθένης δ' ἦν τις Ὀλύμπιος παιδεραστής, ὃς ἰδὼ παῖδα καλὸν ἠθάσκοντα ἄρτι, πέλτην ἔχοντα, μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν, προσδραμὼν Ξενοφῶντα ἰκέτευσε βοηθῆσαι παιδὶ καλῷ. 8. Καὶ ὃς προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ, δεῖτα, μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν παῖδα· καὶ τοῦ Ἐπισθένου διηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι λόχον ἵπποτε συνελέξατο, σκοπῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ εἰ τινες εἴεν καλοί, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. 9. Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἤρετο· Ἡ καὶ θέλοις ἂν, ὦ Ἐπισθένης, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀποθανεῖν; ὃ δ' εἶπεν ἀνατείνας τὸν τράχηλον, Παῖε, ἔφη, εἰ κελεύει ὁ παῖς, καὶ μέλλει χάριν εἰδέναι. 10. Ἐπήρετο ὁ Σεύθης τὸν παῖδα, εἰ παῖσειεν αὐτὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Οὐκ εἶα ὁ παῖς, ἀλλ' ἰκέτευε ὑπε-

τερον κατακαίνειν. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἐπισθένης, περιλαβὼν τὸν παῖδα, εἶπεν, ὦρα σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, περὶ τοῦδέ μοι διαμάχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μεθήσω τὸν παῖδα. 11. Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης γελῶν, ταῦτα μὲν εἶα· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ ἀνλίσθηται, ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τούτων τῶν κωμῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τρέφοντο. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑποκαταβὰς ἐσκήνου· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους, ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἀνωτάτῳ κώμῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς ὄρεινοῖς καλουμένοις Θραξὶ πλησίον κατεσκήνησαν.

12. Ἐκ τούτου ἡμέραι οὐ πολλαὶ διετρίβοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Θρᾶκες, καταβαίνοντες πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην, περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ὁμήρων διεπράττοντο. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν ἔλεγε τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅτι ἐν πονηροῖς τόποις σκηνῶεν, καὶ πλησίον εἴεν οἱ πολέμοι· ἥδιόν τ' ἂν ἔξω ἀνλίζεσθαι ἔφη ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις μάλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς στεγνοῖς ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι. 13. Ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἔδειξεν ὁμήρους παρόντα αὐτῷ. Ἐδέοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καταβαίνοντές τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους συμπράξαι σφισι τὰς σπονδάς. Ὁ δ' ὠμολόγει, καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἡγγυᾶτο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς κακὸν πείσεσθαι πειθομένους Σεύθῃ. Οἱ δ' ἄρα ταῦτ' ἔλεγον κατασκοπῆς ἔνεκα.

14. Ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐπιτίθενται ἐλθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί. Καὶ ἡγεμῶν μὲν ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἐκάστης τῆς οἰκίας· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως τὰς οἰκίας σκότους ὄντος ἀνευρίσκειν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι κύκλῳ περιεσταύρωντο μεγάλους σταυροῖς τῶν προβάτων ἔνεκα. 15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας ἐκάστου τοῦ οἰκήματος, οἱ μὲν εἰσηκόντιζον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἐβαλλον, ἃ ἔχειν ἔφασαν ὥς ἀποκόφοντες τῶν δοράτων τὰς λόγχας, οἱ δ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ὀνομαστὶ καλοῦντες, ἐξόντα ἐκέλευον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ ἔφασαν κατακαυθήσεσθαι αὐτόν. 16. Καὶ ἤδη τε διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐφαίνετο πῦρ, καὶ ἐντεθωρακισμένοι οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἀσπίδας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ κράνη ἔχοντες, καὶ Σιλανὸς Μακίστιος, ἐτῶν ἤδη ὡς

ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὧν, σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπη-  
δῶσιν ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκηνωμά-  
των. 17. Οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες φεύγουσιν, ὥσπερ δὴ τρόπος ἦν  
αὐτοῖς, ὀπισθεν περιβαλλόμενοι τὰς πέλτας· καὶ αὐτῶν  
ὑπεραλλομένων τοὺς σταυροὺς ἐλήφθησαν τινες κρεμασθέν-  
τες, ἐνεχομένων τῶν πελτῶν τοῖς σταυροῖς. Οἱ δὲ καὶ  
ἀπέθανον, διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἐξόδων· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐδί-  
ωκον ἔξω τῆς κώμης. 18. Τῶν δὲ Θυνῶν ὑποστραφέντες  
τινὲς ἐν τῷ σκότει, τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καιο-  
μένην ἠκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔτρωσαν  
Ἱερῶννμόν τε καὶ Εὐδοέα λοχαγόν, καὶ Θεογένην Λοκρὸν  
λοχαγόν· ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς· κατεκαύθη μέντοι καὶ ἐσθῆς  
τινων καὶ σκεύη. 19. Σεύθης δὲ ἦκε βοηθήσων σὺν ἑπτὰ  
ἵππεῦσι τοῖς πρώτοις, καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἔχων τὸν Θρά-  
κιον. Καὶ ἐπεὶ περ ἦσθετο, ὅσον περ χρόνον ἐβόηθει, τοσού-  
τον καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον  
συμπαρέσχε τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν, ἐδεξιούτο τε  
καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οἶοιτο τεθνεῶτας πολλοὺς εὐρήσειν.

20. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ξενοφῶν δεῖται τοὺς ὁμήρους τε αὐτῷ  
παραδοῦναι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, εἰ βούλεται, συστρατεύεσθαι·  
εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἑᾶσαι. 21. Τῇ οὖν ὑστεραία παραδίδωσιν  
ὁ Σεύθης τοὺς ὁμήρους, πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἤδη, τοὺς  
κρατίστους, ὡς ἔφασαν, τῶν ὀρεινῶν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχεται  
σὺν τῇ δυνάμει. Ἦδη δὲ εἶχε καὶ τριπλασίαν δύναμιν ὁ  
Σεύθης· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν, ἀκούοντες ἃ πράττοι ὁ  
Σεύθης, πολλοὶ κατέβαινον συστρατευσόμενοι. 22. Οἱ δὲ  
Θυνοί, ἐπεὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολ-  
λοὺς δὲ πελταστάς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππεις, καταβάντες ἱκέτευσον  
σπεύσασθαι· καὶ πάντα ὡμολόγουν ποιῆσειν, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ  
λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον. 23. Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης, καλέσας τὸν Ξε-  
νοφῶντα, ἐπεδείκνυνεν ἃ λέγοιεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφη σπεύσασθαι, εἰ  
Ξενοφῶν βούλοιτο τιμωρῆσασθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιθέσεως.  
24. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' ἐγωγε ἱκανὴν νομίζω καὶ νῦν δίκην  
ἔχειν, εἰ οὗτοι δοῦλοι ἔσονται ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων. Συμβου-  
λεύειν μέντοι ἔφη αὐτῷ, τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν τοὺς

δυνατωτάτους κακόν τι ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντας οἴκοι ἑᾶν  
Οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτη πάντες δὴ προσῶμολόγουν.

## CHAPTER V.

THOUGH they had hitherto received no pay, the Greeks continue to fight  
for Seuthes. At length they direct all their complaints, for the non-per-  
formance of the conditions, against Xenophon.

1. Ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾶκας  
εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον· αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μρισά-  
δου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρύσου, ἀρχαίου τινός. 2. Καὶ ὁ  
Ἡρακλείδης ἐνταῦθα ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λείας παρῆν.  
Καὶ Σεύθης, ἐξαγαγὼν ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ τρία, (οὐ γὰρ ἦν  
πλείω,) τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοϊκά, καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα ἐκέλευε  
λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διανεῖμαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς.  
3. Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ἀρκεῖ καὶ αὐθις  
λαβεῖν· τούτοις δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς δωροῦ, οἳ σὺν ἐμ-  
ῇκολούθησαν, καὶ λοχαγοῖς. 4. Καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν λαμβάνε  
ἐν μὲν Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεύς, ἐν δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομέν-  
ιος, ἐν δὲ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιός· τὰ δὲ βοϊκὰ ζεύγη τοῖς  
λοχαγοῖς κατεμερίσθη. Τὸν δὲ μισθὸν ἀποδίδωσιν, ἐξελη-  
λυθότος ἤδη τοῦ μηνός, εἴκοσι μόνον ἡμερῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρα-  
κλείδης ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐ πλείον ἐμπολήσαι. 5. Ὁ οὖν Ξενο-  
φῶν ἀχθεσθεὶς εἶπεν ἐπομόσας, Δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη,  
οὐχ ὥς δεῖ κήδεσθαι Σεύθου· εἰ γὰρ ἐκήδον, ἦκες ἂν φέρων  
πλήρη τὸν μισθόν, καὶ προσδανεισάμενος, εἰ μὴ ἄλλως  
ἐδύνω, καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ σαντοῦ ἱμάτια.

6. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἠχθέσθη τε, καὶ ἔδεισε, μὴ  
ἐκ τῆς Σεύθου φιλίας ἐκβληθεῖη· καί, ὅ τι ἐδύνατο ἀπὸ  
ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας Ξενοφῶντα διέβαλλε πρὸς Σεύθην. 7.  
Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται Ξενοφῶντι ἐνεκάλουν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον  
τὸν μισθόν· Σεύθης δὲ ἠχθετο αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐντόνως τοῖς  
στρατιώταις ἀπήτει τὸν μισθόν. 8. Καὶ τέως μὲν αἰεὶ  
ἐμέμνητο, ὥς, ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπέλθῃ, παραδώσει  
αὐτῷ Βισάνθην, καὶ Γάνον καὶ Νέον τεῖχος· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ-



του τοῦ χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔτι τούτων ἐμέννητο. Ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τοῦτο διεβεβλήκει, ὥς εὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶη τεῖχῃ παραδιδόναι ἀνδρὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντι.

9. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐβουλεύετο, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι· ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης, εἰσαγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς πρὸς Σεύθην, λέγειν τε ἐκέλευεν αὐτούς, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον οφείας ἀγάγοιεν τὴν στρατίαν, ἢ Ξενοφῶν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἑκπλεων παρέσεσθαι δυοῖν μηνῶν, καὶ συστρατεύεσθαι ἐκέλευε. 10. Καὶ ὁ Τιμασίωv εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν οὐδ', ἂν πέντε μηνῶν μισθὸς μέλλῃ εἶναι, στρατευσάμην ἂν ἄνευ Ξενοφῶντος. Καὶ ὁ Φρυνίσκος καὶ ὁ Κλεάνωρ συνωμολόγουν τῷ Τιμασίωv.

11. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Σεύθης ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡρακλείδην, ὅτι οὐ παρεκάλει καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν μόνον. Ὁ δέ, γνοὺς τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τὴν πανουργίαν, ὅτι βούλοιτο αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς, παρέρχεται λαβὼν τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς πάντας καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς. 12. Καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπείσθησαν, συνεστρατεύοντο, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον, διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρακῶν εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν· ἐνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεουσῶν νεῶν πολλὰὶ ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάμπῳ τῆς θαλάττης. 13. Καὶ οἱ Θρᾶκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες, στήλας ὀρισάμενοι, τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντα ἕκαστοι ληΐζονται· τέως δὲ ἔλεγον, πρὶν ὀρίσασθαι, ἀρπάζοντας πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθνήσκειν. 14. Ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκονται πολλὰὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλὰὶ δὲ βίβλοι γεγραμμέναι, καὶ τᾶλλα πολλὰ, ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν. Ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι, ἀπήεσαν πάλιν. 15. Ἐνθα δὲ Σεύθης εἶχε στράτευμα ἤδη πλεόν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· Ἐκ τε γὰρ Ὀδρυσῶν πολὺ ἔτι πλείους καταβεβήκεσαν, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ πεσθόμενοι συνεστρατεύοντο. Κατηνλίσθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ Σηλυβρίας, ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες τῆς

θαλάττης. 16. Καὶ μισθὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς πῶ ἐφαίνετο· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οἱ τε στρατιῶται παγχαλέπως εἶχον, ὅτε Σεύθης οὐκέτι οἰκείως διέκειτο, ἀλλ' ὁπότε συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἔλθοι, πολλὰὶ ἤδη ἀσχολίαι ἐφαίνοντο.

## CHAPTER VI.

XENOPHON defends himself against all charges and suspicions. His defense is approved of by two Lacedæmonians, who had come to engage the army against Tissaphernes. Xenophon is requested by Seuthes to remain with him, though the army had resolved to go to Asia; but, on consulting the omens, he resolves to accompany the Greeks.

1. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ σχεδὸν ἤδη δύο μηνῶν ὄντων, ἀφικνοῦνται Χαρμῖνός τε ὁ Λάκων καὶ Πολύνικος παρὰ Θίβρωνος, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρην, καὶ Θίβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν ὥς πολεμήσων, καὶ δεῖται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ λέγει, ὅτι δαρεϊκὸς ἕκαστῳ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός, καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς διμοιρία, τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς τετραμοιρία. 2. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πυθόμενος ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἤκουσι, λέγει τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅτι κάλλιστον γεγένηται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέονται τοῦ στρατεύματος, σὺ δὲ οὐκέτι δέη· ἀποδιδούς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα χαριεῖ αὐτοῖς, σὲ δὲ οὐκέτι ἀπαιτήσουσι τὸν μισθόν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας. 3. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κελεύει παράγειν· καὶ ἐπεὶ εἶπον, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἤκουσιν, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα ἀποδίδωσι, φίλος τε καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι βούλεται· καλεῖ τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ, καὶ ἐξένιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Ξενοφῶντα δὲ οὐκ ἐκάλει, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὐδένα. 4. Ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τίς ἀνὴρ εἶη Ξενοφῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶη οὐ κακός, φιλοστρατιώτης δέ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ. Καὶ οἱ εἶπον· Ἀλλ' ἢ δημαγωγεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς ἀνδρας; καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, Πάνν μὲν αὖν, ἔφη. 5. Ἀρ' οὖν, ἔφασαν, μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται

περὶ τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς; Ἄλλ' ἦν ὑμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, συλλέξαντες αὐτοὺς ὑποσχῆσθε τὸν μισθόν, ὀλίγον ἐκείνῳ προσσχόντες ἀποδραμοῦνται σὺν ὑμῖν. 6. Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν συλλεγεῖεν; Λύριον ὑμᾶς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πρῶτ' ἄξιμεν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐπειδὰν ὑμᾶς ἰδωσιν, ἄσμενοι συνδραμοῦνται. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτως ἔληξε.

7. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς Λάκωνας Σεύθης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ συλλέγεται ἡ στρατία. Τῷ δὲ Λάκωνε ἐλεγέτην, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ πολεμεῖν Τισσαφέρνει, τῷ ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσαντι· ἦν οὖν ἴητε σὺν ἡμῖν, τόν τε ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσεσθε, καὶ δαρεϊκὸν ἕκαστος οἴσει τοῦ μηνὸς ὑμῶν, λοχαγὸς δὲ τὸ διπλοῦν, στρατηγὸς δὲ το τετραπλοῦν. 8. Καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἄσμενοί τε ἤκουσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνίσταται τις τῶν Ἀρκάδων, τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος κατηγορήσων. Παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σεύθης, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι τί πραχθήσεται· καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ εἰστήκει, ἔχων ἐρμηνέα· ξυνίει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλληνιστὶ τὰ πλείστα. 9. Ἐνθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρκάς· Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ πάλοι ἂν ἦμεν παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πείσας ἀπήγαγεν, ἐνθα δὴ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν δεινὸν χειμῶνα στρατεύόμενοι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν πεπαύμεθα· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους πόνους ἔχει· καὶ Σεύθης ἐκείνον μὲν ἰδίᾳ πεπλούτικεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀποστερεῖ τὸν μισθόν. 10. Ὡς τε ὁ γε πρῶτος λέγων ἐγὼ μὲν, εἰ τοῦτον ἰδοίμι καταλευσθέντα, καὶ δόντα δίκην ὧν ἡμᾶς περιεῖλκε, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεποννημένοις ἄχθεσθαι. Μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλος. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

11. Ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἀνθρωπὸν ὄντα προσδοκᾷ δεῖ, ὅποτε γε καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω, ἐν ᾧ πλείστην προθυμίαν ἐμαυτῷ γε δοκῶ συνειδέναι περὶ ὑμᾶς παρεσχημένος. Ἀπετραπόμην μὲν γε ἤδη οἴκαδε ὠρμημένος, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία οὔτοι πυνθανόμενος ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀκούων ἐν ἀπόροις εἶναι, ὥς ὠφελήσων εἴ τι δυναίμην.

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον, Σεύθου τουτουὶ πολλοὺς ἀγγέλους ποδὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπισχνουμένου μοι, εἰ πείσαιμι ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησα ποιεῖν, ὥς αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε· ἦγον δὲ ὁθεν φόμην τάχιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι. Ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ βέλτιστα ἐνόμιζον ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡδεῖν βουλομένους. 13. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀρίσταρχος, ἐλθὼν σὺν τριήρεσιν, ἐκώλυνε διαπλεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τούτου, ὅπερ εἰκὸς δήπου ἦν, συνέλεξα ὑμᾶς, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. 14. Οὐκ οὖν ὑμεῖς, ἀκούοντες μὲν Ἀριστάρχου ἐπιτάττοντος ὑμῖν εἰς Χερρόνησον πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούοντες δὲ Σεύθου πείθοντος ἑαυτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι, πάντες μὲν ἐλέγετε σὺν Σεύθῃ ἵεναι, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσασθε ταῦτα; τί οὖν ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα ἡδίκησα, ἀγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἐνθα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει; 15. Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἤρξατο Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ αὐτόν, δικαίως ἂν με καὶ αἰτιῶσθε καὶ μισοῖτε· εἰ δέ, πρόσθεν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα φίλος ὢν, νῦν πάντων διαφορώτατός εἰμι, πῶς ἂν ἔτι δικαίως, ὑμᾶς αἰρούμενος ἀντὶ Σεύθου, ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίαν ἔχοιμι, περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοῦτον διαφέρομαι; 16. Ἄλλ' εἵποιτε ἂν, ὅτι ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθου τεχνάζειν. Οὐκ οὖν δήλον τοῦτό γε, ὅτι, εἴπερ ἐμοὶ ἐτέλει τι Σεύθης, οὐχ οὕτως ἐτέλει δήπου, ὥς ὧν τε ἐμοὶ δοίη στεροῖτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀποτίσειεν; ἀλλ' οἶμαι, εἰ ἐδίδον, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν ἐδίδον, ὅπως, ἐμοὶ δοὺς μείον, μὴ ἀποδοίῃ ὑμῖν τὸ πλεῖον. 17. Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν οἴεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ματαιάν ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν πράττητε αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. Δήλον γάρ, ὅτι Σεύθης, εἰ ἔχω τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπαιτήσῃ με, καὶ ἀπαιτήσῃ μέντοι δικαίως, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτῷ, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐδωροδόκουν. 18. Ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ μοι δοκῶ δεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν· ὁμνύω γὰρ ὑμῖν θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, μηδέ, ἃ ἐμοὶ ἰδίᾳ ὑπέσχετο Σεύθης, ἔχειν· πάρεστι δὲ καὶ αὐτός, καὶ, ἀκούων σύνοιδέ μοι, εἰ ἐπιorkῶ. 19. Ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον θαυμάσητε, συνετόμνυμι, μηδέ, ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἔλαβον, εἰληφέναι, μὴ



τοινυν μηδὲ ὅσα τῶν λοχαγῶν ἐνιοι. 20. Καὶ τί δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν; ὦμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅσω μᾶλλον συμφέροισι τούτῳ τὴν τότε πενίαν, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν φίλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὁπότε δυνασθεῖη. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἅμα τε αὐτὸν ὁρῶ εὖ πράττοντα, καὶ γινώσκω δὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην. 21. Εἴποι δὴ τις ἂν· οὐκ οὖν αἰσχύνη οὕτω μωρῶς ἐξαπατῶμενος; ναὶ μὰ Δία ἡσχυνόμην μέντοι, εἰ ὑπὸ πολέμιον γε ὄντος ἐξαπατήθην· φίλῳ δὲ ὄντι ἐξαπατᾶν αἰσχύον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. 22. Ἐπεὶ, εἰ γε πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακή, πᾶσαν οἶδα ὑμᾶς φυλαξαμένους, ὥς μὴ παρασχεῖν τούτῳ πρόφασιν δικαίαν, μὴ ἀποδιδόναι ὑμῖν, ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδίκησαμεν τοῦτον οὐδέν, οὔτε κατεβλακεύσαμεν τὰ τούτου, οὔτε μὴν κατεδειλιάσαμεν οὐδέν, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἡμᾶς οὗτος παρεκάλεσεν. 23. Ἀλλά, φαίητε ἂν, ἔδει τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, ὥς μηδέ, εἰ ἐβούλετο, ἐδύνατο ἐξαπατᾶν. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσατε, ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἶπον τούτου ἐναντίον, εἰ μὴ μοι παντάπασιν ἀγνώμονες ἐδοκεῖτε εἶναι, ἢ λίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀχάριστοι. 24. Ἀναμνήσθητε γάρ, ἐν ποίοις τισὶ πράγμασιν ὄντες ἐτυγχάνετε, ἐξ ὧν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον πρὸς Σεύθην. Οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον πρόςητε πόλιν, Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ὑμᾶς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος οὐκ εἶα εἰσιέναι, ἀποκλείσας τὰς πύλας; ὑπαίθριοι δ' ἐξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε; μέσος δὲ χειμῶν ἦν; ἀγορᾷ δὲ ἐχρῆσθε, σπάνια μὲν ὁρῶντες τὰ ὦνια, σπάνια δ' ἔχοντες ὅτων ὠνήσεσθε; 25. Ἀνάγκη δὲ ἦν μένειν ἐπὶ Θράκης· (τριήρεις γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσαι ἐκώλυον διαπλεῖν·) εἰ δὲ μένοι τις, ἐν πολεμίᾳ εἶναι, ἐνθα πολλοὶ μὲν ἱππεῖς ἦσαν ἐναντίοι, πολλοὶ δὲ πελτασταί. 26. Ἡμῖν δὲ ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν ἦν, ὧ, ἄθρόοι μὲν λόντες ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας, ἴσως ἂν ἐδυνάμεθα σῖτον λαμβάνειν οὐδέν τι ἀφθονον· ὅτῳ δὲ διώκοντες ἂν ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἢ πρόβατα κατελαμβάνομεν, οὐκ ἦν ἡμῖν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἱππικὸν οὔτε πελταστικὸν ἔτι ἐγὼ συνεστηκὸς κατέλαβον παρ' ὑμῖν. 27. Εἰ οὖν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ὄντων ὑμῶν, μηδ' ὄντιναοῦν μισθὸν προσαιτήσας, Σεύθην σύμμαχον ὑμῖν προσέλαβον ἔχοντα καὶ ἱππέας καὶ πελταστάς, ὧν ὑμεῖς προσεδεῖσθε, ἢ

κακῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν ὑμῖν βεβουλεῦσθαι πρὸ ὑμῶν; 28. Τούτων γὰρ δῆπου κοινωνήσαντες, καὶ σῖτον ἀφθονώτερον ἐν ταῖς κώμας εὐρίσκετε, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς Θρᾶκας κατὰ σπονδὴν μᾶλλον φεύγειν, καὶ προβάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων μᾶλλον μετέσχετε. 29. Καὶ πολέμιον οὐκέτι οὐδένα ἐωρῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἱππικὸν ἡμῖν προσεγένετο· τέως δὲ θαρράλως ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἱππικῶ καὶ πελταστικῶ, κωλύοντες μηδαμῇ κατ' ὀλίγους ἀποσκεδαννυμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονώτερα ἡμᾶς πορίζεσθαι.

30. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαρέχων ὑμῖν ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ πάνυ πολὺν μισθὸν προσετέλει τῆς ἀσφαλείας, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σχέτλιον πάθημα; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ οἴεσθε χρῆναι ζῶντα ἐμὲ ἀνεῖναι; 31. Νῦν δὲ δὴ πῶς ἀπέρχεσθε; οὐ διαχειμάσαντες μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, περιττὸν δ' ἔχοντες τοῦτο, εἰ τι ἐλάβετε παρὰ Σεύθου; τὰ γὰρ τῶν πολέμιων ἐδαπανᾶτε. Καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες, οὔτε ἄνδρας ἐπείδετε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας, οὔτε ζῶντας ἀπεβάλετε. 32. Εἰ δὲ τι καλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους ἐπέπρακτο ὑμῖν, οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖνο σὼν ἔχετε, καὶ τρὸς ἐκείνοις νῦν ἄλλην εὐκλειαν προσειλήφατε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Θρᾶκας, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεύσασθε, κρατήσαντες; ἔγω μὲν ὑμᾶς φημι δικαίως ἂν, ὧν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι, ὥς ἀγαθῶν. 33. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα τοιαῦτα. Ἄγετε δέ, πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ \* σκέψασθε ὥς ἔχει. Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὅτε μὲν πρότερον ἀπῆα οἴκαδε, ἔχων μὲν ἔπαινον πολὺν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπεπορευόμην, ἔχων δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὐκλειαν. Ἐπιστενύομην δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν με ἔπεμπον πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. 34. Νῦν δὲ ἀπέρχομαι, πρὸς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑφ' ὑμῶν διαβεβλημένος, Σεύθῃ δὲ ἀπηχθιμένος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὃν ἡλπιζον εὖ ποιήσας μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἀποστοοφῆν καὶ ἐμοὶ καλὴν καὶ παισίν, εἰ γένοιντο, καταθήσεσθαι. 35. Ὑμεῖς δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἀπήχθημαί τε πλεῖστα, καὶ ταῦτα πολὺν κρεῖττοσιν ἐμαντοῦ, πραγματευόμενός τε οὐδὲ νῦν πῶ πέπανμαι ὃ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν, τοιαύτην

ἔχετε γνώμην περὶ ἐμοῦ! 36. Ἀλλ' ἔχετε μὲν με, οὔτε φεύγοντα λαβόντες, οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκοντα· ἦν δὲ ποιήσητε ἂν λέγετε, ἴστε, ὅτι ἄνδρα κατακανόντες ἔσεσθε πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸ ὑμῶν ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος, θεῶν δ' ἰλεων ὄντων, καὶ τρόπαια βαρβάρων πολλὰ δὴ σὺν ὑμῖν στησάμενον· ὅπως δέ γε μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολέμοι γένοισθε, πᾶν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς διατεινόμενον. 37. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι, ὅπη ἂν ἔλησθε, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅτε πολλὴ ὑμῖν εὐπορία φαίνεται, καὶ πλεῖτε ἐνθα δὴ ἐπιθυμεῖτε πάλαι, δέονται τε ὑμῶν οἱ μέγιστον δυνάμενοι, μισθὸς δὲ φαίνεται, ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἡκουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ κράτιστοι νομιζόμενοι εἶναι, νῦν δὴ καιρὸς ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι ὥς τάχιστα ἐμὲ κατακανεῖν; 38. Οὐ μὴν ὅτε γε ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις ἤμεν, ὧ πάντων μνημονικώτατοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτε, καὶ αἰὲ ὥς εὐεργέτου μεμνησθαι ὑπισχνείσθε. Οὐ μέντοι ἀγνώμονες οὐδὲ οὗτοί εἰσιν, οἱ νῦν ἡκοντες ἐφ' ὑμᾶς· ὥστε, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδὲ τούτοις δοκεῖτε βελτίονες εἶναι, τοιοῦτοι ὄντες περὶ ἐμὲ Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

39. Χαρμῖνος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν. Ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐμοὶ μέντοι, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐ δικαίως δοκεῖτε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ χαλεπαίνειν· ἔχω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι. Σεύθης γάρ, ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ Πολυνίκου περὶ Ξενοφώντος, τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε μέμψασθαι, ἄγαν δὲ φιλοστρατιώτην ἔφη αὐτὸν εἶναι· διὸ καὶ χειρὸν αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς ἡμῶν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. 40. Ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιάτης Ἀρκὰς εἶπε· Καὶ δοκεῖ γέ μοι, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν στρατηγῆσαι, παρὰ Σεύθου ἡμῖν τὸν μισθὸν ἀναπρᾶξαι ἢ ἐκόντος, ἢ ἄκοντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν. 41. Πολυκράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν ἀναστὰς ὑπὲρ Ξενοφώντος· Ὅρῳ γε μήν, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ἐνταῦθα παρόντα, ὃς παραλαβὼν τὰ χρή-

ματα, ἃ ἡμεῖς ἐπονέσαμεν, ταῦτα ἀποδόμενος, οὗ ε Σεύθῃ ἀπέδωκεν οὔτε ἡμῖν τὰ γινόμενα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κλέψα, πέπαται. Ἦν οὖν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξόμεθα αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὗτός γε, ἔφη, Θράξ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' Ἑλλήν ὢν Ἑλληναι ἀδικεῖ.

42. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλείδης μᾶλλον ἐξεπλάγη καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ λέγει· Ἡμεῖς, ἦν σωφρονῶμε ἄπιμεν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας. Καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὥχοντο ἀπελαύνοντες εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῶν στρατόπεδον. 43. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης πέμπει Ἀδρὸζέλμην τὸν ἐαυτοῦ ἐρμηνέα πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν καταμεῖναι παρ' ἐαυτῷ, ἔχοντα χιλίους ὀπλίτας καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται αὐτῷ ἀποδώσειν τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, καὶ τᾶλλα, ἃ ὑπέσχετο. Καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιησάμενος λέγει, ὅτι ἀκήκοε Πολυνίκον, ὥς, εἰ ὑποχείριος ἔστα Λακεδαιμονίοις, σαφῶς ἀποθανοῖτο ὑπὸ Θίβρωνος. 44. Ἐπέστελλον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὥς διαβεβλημένος εἴη, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δέοι. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα, δύο ἱερεῖα λαβὼν, ἔθνε τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, πότερά οἱ λῶον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη μένειν παρὰ Σεύθῃ, ἐφ' οἷς Σεύθης λέγει, ἢ ἀπιέναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι. Ἀναίρει δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι.

## CHAPTER VII.

A THRACIAN, named Medosades, to whom Seuthes had given the villages in which the Greeks were encamped, complains of the injury done him. Xenophon shows the absurdity of this charge; and the two Lacedæmonians refuse to lead the army away till Seuthes has paid them. Xenophon is sent to Seuthes, from whom he at last obtains payment of the arrears, which he hands over to the Lacedæmonians to be given to the army.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης μὲν ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο προσωτέρω· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν ἔμελλον πλεῖστα ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤξειν. Αἱ δὲ κῶμαι αὗται ἦσαν δεδομέναι ὑπὸ Σεύθου Μηδοσάδῃ. 2. Ὅρῳ



οὖν ὁ Μηδοσάδης δαπανώμενα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· καὶ λαβὼν ἄνδρα Ὀδρύσην, δυνατώτατον τῶν ἄνωθεν καταβεθηκότων, καὶ ἱππέας ὅσον τριάκοντα, ἔρχεται, καὶ προκαλεῖται Ξενοφῶντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ ὅς, λαβὼν τινὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, προσέρχεται. 3. Ἐνθα δὴ λέγει Μηδοσάδης· Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τὰς ἡμετέρας κώμας πορθοῦντες. Προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν, ἐγώ τε ὑπὲρ Σεύθου, καὶ ὁδε ὁ ἀνὴρ, παρὰ Μηδόκου ἥκων τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἐπιτρέφομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ', ἐὰν ποιῇτε κακῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, ὡς πολεμίους ἀλεξόμεθα.

4. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγουσι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι χαλεπὸν· τοῦδε δ' ἔνεκα τοῦ νεανισκῶν λέξω, ἵν' εἰδῇ, οἷοί τε ὑμεῖς ἐστε, καὶ οἷοι ἡμεῖς. 5. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, πρὶν ὑμῖν φίλοι γενέσθαι, ἐπορευόμεθα διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ὅποι ἐβουλόμεθα, ἦν μὲν ἐθέλοισμεν πορθοῦντες, ἦν δ' ἐθέλοισμεν καίοντες. 6. Καὶ σύ, ὅποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλθοις πρεσβεύων, ἠυλίξου παρ' ἡμῖν, οὐδένα φοβούμενος τῶν πολεμίων· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἦτε εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν, ἢ, εἰ ποτε ἔλθοιτε, ὡς ἐν κρειττόνων χώρα ἠυλίξεσθε ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις τοῖς ἵπποις. 7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν φίλοι ἐγένεσθε, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς σὺν θεοῖς ἔχετε τήνδε τὴν χώραν, νῦν δὴ ἐξελαύνετε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆςδε τῆς χώρας, ἦν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐχόντων κατὰ κράτος παρελάβετε· ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, οἱ πολέμοι οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνειν. 8. Καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοὺς καὶ εὖ ποιήσας, ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθες, ἀξιοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποπορευομένους ἡμᾶς οὐδ' ἐναυλισθῆναι, ὅσον δύνασαι, ἐπιτρέπεις. 9. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων, οὔτε θεοὺς αἰσχύνη, οὔτε τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα ὅς νῦν μὲν σε ὁρᾷ πλουτοῦντα, πρὶν δὲ ἡμῖν φίλον γενέσθαι, ἀπὸ ληστείας τὸν βίον ἔχοντα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφησθα. 10. Ἀτὰρ τί καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγεις ταῦτα; ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ· ἔτι ἄρχω, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε τὸ στρατεύμα ἀταγαγεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐμὲ παρακαλέσαντες, ὦ

θαυμαστότατοι, ὅπως, ὥσπερ ἀπηχθανόμην αὐτοῖς, ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦγον, οὕτω καὶ χαρισαίμην νῦν ἀποδιδούς.

- 11. Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ὀδρύσης, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἀκούων ταῦτα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πρόσθεν ἠπιστάμην, οὐδ' ἂν συνηκολούθησά σοι· καὶ νῦν ἄπειμι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Μήδοκός με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελαύνοιμι τοὺς εὐεργέτας. 12. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλαυνε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς, πλὴν τεττάρων ἢ πέντε. Ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης, (ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορθουμένη,) ἐκέλευε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καλέσαι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ. 13. Καὶ ὅς, λαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους, προσῆλθε τῷ Χαρμίνῳ καὶ Πολυνίκῳ, καὶ ἔλεξεν, ὅτι καλεῖ αὐτοὺς Μηδοσάδης, προερχομένων ἀπὸ αὐτῶν, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. 14. Οἶμαι ἂν οὖν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν, εἰ εἴποιτε, ὅτι δεδῆται ὑμῶν ἡ στρατιὰ συναναπράξαι τὸν μισθὸν ἢ παρ' ἐκόντος ἢ παρ' ἄκοντος Σεύθου, καὶ ὅτι τούτων τυχόντες προθυμῶς ἂν συνέπεσθαι ὑμῖν φασι, καὶ ὅτι δίκαια ὑμῖν δοκοῦσι λέγειν, καὶ ὅτι ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς τότε ἀπιέναι, ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται. 15. Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα, ἔφασαν ἐρεῖν, καὶ ἄλλα, ὅποια ἂν δύνωνται κράτιστα· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε Χαρμῖνος· Εἰ μὲν σύ τι ἔχεις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς πρὸς σὲ ἔχομεν. 16. Ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης μάλα δὴ ὑφειμένως, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν λέγω, ἔφη, καὶ Σεύθης τὰ αὐτά, ὅτι ἀξιούμεν τοὺς φίλους ἡμῖν γεγεννημένους μὴ κακῶς πᾶσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ὁ τι γὰρ ἂν τούτους κακῶς ποιῇτε, ἡμᾶς ἤδη ποιεῖτε· ἡμέτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν. 17. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφασαν οἱ Λάκωνες, ἀπίοιμεν ἂν, ὅποτε τὸν μισθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν καταπράξαντες· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχόμεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν βοηθήσοντες τούτοις, καὶ τιμωρησόμενοι ἄνδρας, οἱ τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἠδίκησαν. Ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε, ἐνθένδε ἀρξόμεθα τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνειν. 18. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἐθέλοιτε δ' ἂν τούτοις, ὦ Μηδόσα-

δες, ἐπιτρέψαι, (ἐπειδὴ φίλους ἔφατε εἶναι ὑμῖν,) ἐν ὧν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσμέν, ὁπότῃρα ἂν ψηφίσωνται, εἴθ' ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπιέναι, εἴτε ἡμᾶς; 19. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔφη· ἐκέλευε δὲ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Λάκωνε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Σεύθην περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ οἶεσθαι ἂν Σεύθην πείσαι· εἰ δὲ μή, Ξενοφῶντα σὺν αὐτῷ πέμπειν, καὶ συμπράξαι ὑπισχνεῖτο. Ἐδεῖτο δὲ τὰς κώμας μὴ καίειν.

20. Ἐντεῦθεν πέμπουσι Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδειότατοι εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν λέγει πρὸς Σεύθην· 21. Οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσων, ὦ Σεύθη, πάρειμι, ἀλλὰ διδάξων, ἣν δύνωμαι, ὥς οὐ δικαίως μοι ἡχθέσθης, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπῆτουν σε προθύμως, ἃ ὑπέσχου αὐτοῖς· σοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐχ ἥττον ἐνόμιζον συμφέρον εἶναι ἀποδύνασθαι, ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπολαβεῖν. 22. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὸ φανερόν σε τούτους καταστήσαντας, ἐπειγε βασιλέα σε ἐποίησαν πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε οὐχ οἷόν τέ σοι λανθάνειν, οὔτε ἦν τι καλόν, οὔτε ἦν τι αἰσχρὸν ποιήσης. 23. Τοιούτῳ δὲ ὄντι ἀνδρὶ μέγα μὲν μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι μὴ δοκεῖν ἀχαρίστως ἀποπέμψασθαι ἀνδρας εὐεργέτας, μέγα δέ, εὖ ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἑξακισχιλίων ἀνθρώπων· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, μηδαμῶς ἀπιστον σαντὸν καταστῆσαι, ὃ τι λέγοις. 24. Ὅρῳ γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀπίστων ματαίους καὶ ἀδυνάτους καὶ ἀτίμους τοὺς λόγους πλανωμένους· οἱ δ' ἂν φανεροὶ ὦσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦντες, τούτων οἱ λόγοι, ἦν τι δέωνται, οὐδὲν μείον δύνανται ἀνύσασθαι, ἢ ἄλλων ἢ βία· ἦν τέ τινος σωφρονίζειν βούλωνται, γιγνώσκω τὰς τούτων ἀπειλὰς οὐχ ἥττον σωφρονιζούσας, ἢ ἄλλων τὰς ἡδὴ κολάσεις· ἦν τέ τῷ τι ὑπισχνῶνται οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν μείον διαπράττονται, ἢ ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα διδόντες. 25. Ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ καὶ σύ, τί προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες. Οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν, ἃ ἔλεγες, ἐπῆρας τοσούτους ἀνθρώπους συστρατεύσασθαι τε, καὶ συγκατεργάσασθαι σοὶ ἀρχὴν, οὐ τριάκοντα μόνον ἀξίαν ταλάντων, ὅσα οἴονται δεῖν οὗτοι νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλαπλασίων. 26. Οὐκ οὖν

τούτο μὲν πρῶτον, τὸ πιστεύεσθαι σε, τὸ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σοὶ κατεργασάμενον, τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ σου πιπράσκειται; 27. Ἴθι δὴ, ἀναμνήσθητι, πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ τότε καταπράξασθαι, ἃ νῦν καταστρεψάμενος ἔχεις. Ἐγὼ μὲν εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι εὖξω ἂν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα μᾶλλον σοὶ καταπραχθῆναι, ἢ πολλαπλάσια τούτων τῶν χρημάτων γενέσθαι. 28. Ἐμοὶ τοίνυν μείζον βλάβος καὶ αἰσχίον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ταῦτα νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν, ἢ τότε μὴ λαβεῖν, ὅσῳ περ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ πλουσίου πένητα γενέσθαι, ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ πλουτῆσαι, καὶ ὅσῳ λυπηρότερον ἐκ βασιλέως ιδιώτην φανῆναι, ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ βασιλεῦσαι. 29. Οὐκ οὖν ἐπίστασαι μὲν, ὅτι οἱ νῦν σοὶ ὑπήκοοι γενόμενοι οὐ φιλία τῇ σῇ ἐπέισθησαν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἄρχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, καὶ ὅτι ἐπιχειροῖεν ἂν πάλιν ἐλεύθεροι γίγνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς φόβος κατέχοι; 30. Ποτέρως οὖν οἶει μᾶλλον ἂν φοβεῖσθαι τε αὐτούς, καὶ σωφρονεῖν τὰ πρὸς σέ, εἰ ὀρῶέν σοι τοὺς στρατιώτας οὕτω διακειμένους, ὥς νῦν τε μένοντας ἂν, εἰ σὺ κελεύεις, αὐθὶς τ' ἂν ταχὺ ἐλθόντας, εἰ δέοι, ἄλλους τε τούτων περὶ σοῦ ἀκούοντας πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, ταχὺ ἂν σοι, ὁπότε βούλοιτο, παραγενέσθαι· ἢ εἰ καταδοξάσειαν μὴτ' ἂν ἄλλους σοὶ ἐλθεῖν δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐκ τῶν νῦν γεγεννημένων, τούτους τε αὐτοῖς εὐνουστέρους εἶναι ἢ σοί; 31. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, οὐδὲ πλήθει γε ἡμῶν λειφθέντες ὑπεῖξάν σοι, ἀλλὰ προστατῶν ἀπορία. Οὐκ οὖν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος, μὴ λάβωσι προστατάς αὐτῶν τινὰς τούτων, οἱ νομίζουσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ τούτων κρείττονας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐὰν οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ὑπισχνῶνται προθυμότερον αὐτοῖς συστρατεύεσθαι, ἂν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ νῦν ἀναπράξωσιν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς, συναινέσωσιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα; 32. Ὅτι γε μὴν οἱ νῦν ὑπὸ σοὶ Θρᾶκες γενόμενοι πολὺ ἂν προθυμότερον ἴοιεν ἐπὶ σε ἢ σὺν σοι, οὐκ ἄδηλον· σοῦ μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦντος, δουλεία ὑπάρχει αὐτοῖς, κρατουμένου δέ σου, ἐλευθερία. 33. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας προνοεῖσθαι ἤδη τι δεῖ, ὥς σῆς οὔσης, ποτέρως, ἂν οἶει ἀπαθὴ κακῶν μᾶλλον αὐτὴν εἶναι,



εἰ αὐτοὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, ἀπολαβόντες ἂ ἐγκαλοῦσιν, εἰρήνην καταλιπόντες οἴχονται, ἢ εἰ οὗτοί τε μένοιεν ὡς ἐν πολεμίᾳ, σὺ τε ἄλλους πειρῶο πλείονας τούτων ἔχων ἀντιστρατοπεδεύεσθαι, δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων; 34. Ἀργύριον δὲ ποτέρως ἂν πλεῖον ἀναλωθείη, εἰ τοῦτο τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδοθείη, ἢ εἰ ταῦτά τε ὀφείλοιντο, ἄλλους τε κρείττονας τούτων δέοι σε μισθοῦσθαι; 35. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδῃ, ὡς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐδήλουν, πάμπλου δοκεῖ ταῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον εἶναι. Ἡ μὲν πολὺ γέ ἐστιν ἔλαττον νῦν σοι καὶ λαβεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ἀποδοῦναι, ἢ, πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σε, δέκατον τούτου μέρος. 36. Οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρίζων τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τε ἀποδιδόντος καὶ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος. Σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσδοδος πλείων ἐσται, ἢ ἔμπροσθεν τὰ πάντα ἂ ἐκέκτησο. 37. Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Σεύθῃ, ταῦτα ὡς φίλου ὄντος σου προενοοῦμην, ὅπως σὺ τε ἄξιος δοκοίης εἶναι ὧν οἱ θεοὶ σοι ἔδωκαν ἀγαθῶν, ἐγὼ τε μὴ διαφθαρείην ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ. 38. Εὐ γὰρ ἴσθι, ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν βουλόμενος κακῶς ποιῆσαι δυνηθείην σὺν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ, οὐτ' ἂν, εἰ σοι πάλιν βουλοίμην βοηθῆσαι, ἱκανὸς ἂν γενοίμην. Οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἡ στρατιὰ διάκειται. 39. Καίτοι αὐτὸν σε μάρτυρα σὺν θεοῖς εἰδόσι ποιῶμαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐδέν, οὔτε ἤτησα πώποτε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὰ ἐκείνων, οὔτε ἂ ὑπέσχον μοι ἀπήτησα. 40. Ὁμνυμι δέ σοι, μηδὲ ἀποδιδόντος δέξασθαι ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐμελλον τὰ ἑαυτῶν συναπολαμβάνειν. Αἰσχροὺν γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ διαπεπράχθαι, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων περιμεδεῖν ἐμὲ κακῶς ἔχοντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. 41. Καίτοι Ἡρακλείδῃ γε λῆρος πάντα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου. Ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Σεύθῃ, οὐδὲν νομίζω ἀνδρὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχοντι, κάλλιον εἶναι κτῆμα, οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον, ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ γενναϊότητος. 42. Ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχων πλουτεῖ μὲν ὄντων φίλων πολλῶν, πλουτεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων βουλομένων γενέσθαι καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττων ἔχει τοὺς συνηθησομένους, ἔαν

δέ τι σφαλῇ, οὐ σπανίζει τῶν βοηθησόντων. 43. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων κατέμαθες, ὅτι σοι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς φίλος ἦν, μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων δύνασαι τοῦτο γινῶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγους πάντως κατανόησον· παρῆσθα γάρ, καὶ ἤκουες, ἂ ἔλεγον οἱ ψέγειν ἐμὲ βουλόμενοι. 44. Κατηγοροῦν γάρ μου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς σὲ περὶ πλείονος ποιόμην ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους· αὐτοὶ δ' ἐνεκάλουν ἐμοί, ὡς μᾶλλον μέλοι μοι, ὅπως τὰ σὰ καλῶς ἔχοι, ἢ ὅπως τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἔφασαν δέ με καὶ δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ. 45. Καίτοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα πότερον οἶει αὐτούς, κακόνοιάν τινα ἐνιδόντας μοι πρὸς σέ, αἰτιάσθαι με ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ, ἢ προθυμίαν πολλὴν περὶ σέ κατανοήσαντας; 46. Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους νομίζειν, εὐνοίαν δεῖν ἀποκεῖσθαι τούτῳ, παρ' οὗ ἂν δῶρά τις λαμβάνῃ. Σὺ δέ, πρὶν μὲν ὑπηρετῆσαι τί σοι ἐμέ, ἐδέξω ἡδέως καὶ ὁμμασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ξενίοις, καὶ ὅσα ἔσοιτο ὑπισχνούμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλασο· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπραξας ἂ ἐβούλουν, καὶ γεγένησαι, ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην, μέγιστος, νῦν οὕτω με ἄτιμον ὄντα ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις τολμᾶς περιορᾶν; 47. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἴτι σοι δόξει ἀποδοῦναι, πιστεύω, καὶ τὸν χρόνον διδάξει σε, καὶ αὐτόν γέ σε οὐχὶ ἀνέξεσθαι τοὺς σοὶ προεμένους, εὐεργεσίαν ὁρῶντά σοι ἐγκαλοῦντας. Δέομαι οὖν σοῦ ἵταν ἀποδιδῶς, προθυμεῖσθαι ἐμὲ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοιοῦτον ποιῆσαι, οἷον περ καὶ παρέλαβες.

48. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθῃς κατηράσατο τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῖ μὴ πάλαι ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸν μισθόν· (καὶ πάντες Ἡρακλείδην τοῦτον ὑπώπτεισαν εἶναι·) ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οὔτε διανοήθην πώποτε ἀποστερῆσαι, ἀποδώσω τε. 49. Ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν διανοῇ ἀποδιδόναι, νῦν ἐγὼ σου δέομαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ μὴ περιμεδεῖν με διὰ σέ ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ νῦν τε, καὶ ὅτε πρὸς σέ ἀφικόμεθα. 50. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔση δι' ἐμὲ ἀτιμότερος, ἂν τε μένης παρ' ἐμοὶ χιλίους μόνους ὀπλίτας ἔχων, ἐγὼ σοι τὰ τε χωρία ἀποδώσω καὶ τᾶλλα ἂ ὑπεσχόμην. 51. Ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπε·

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἷόν τε· ἀπόπεμπε δὲ ἡμᾶς·  
Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Σεύθης, καὶ ἀσφαλέστερόν γε σοι οἶδα ὄν  
παρ' ἐμοὶ μένειν ἢ ἀπιέναι. 52. Ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ  
τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινῶ. Ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἷόν  
τε· Ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐντιμότερος ὦ, νόμιζε καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο  
ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι. 53. Ἐντεῦθεν λέγει Σεύθης· Ἀργύριον  
μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἢ μικρόν τι, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι, τάλαντον·  
βοῦς δὲ ἑξακοσίους, καὶ πρόβατα εἰς τετρακισχί-  
λια, καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Ταῦτα λαβὼν,  
καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους προσλαβὼν ἄπιθι.  
54. Γελάσας ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἦν οὖν μὴ ἐξικνῆται ταῦτα  
εἰς τὸν μισθόν, τίνας τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν; ἄρ' οὐκ, ἐπει-  
δὴ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν μοι ἔστιν, ἀπιόντά γε ἄμεινον φυλάτ-  
τεσθαι πέτρους; ἤκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς. Τότε μὲν δὴ  
αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε.

55. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέδωκε τε αὐτοῖς, ἃ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ  
τοὺς ταῦτα ἐλάσσοντας συνέπεμψεν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται  
τέως μὲν ἔλεγον, ὥς Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο ὥς Σεύθην οἰκήσων,  
καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ἀποληψόμενος· Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν  
ἤκοντα εἶδον ἡσθησάν τε καὶ προσέθεον. 56. Ξενοφῶν δ',  
ἐπεὶ εἶδε Χαρμίνον τε καὶ Πολύνικον, Ταῦτα, ἔφη, καὶ  
σέσωσται δι' ὑμᾶς τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ παραδίδωμι αὐτὰ ἐγὼ  
ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ διαθέμενοι διάδοτε τῇ στρατιᾷ. Οἱ μὲν  
οὖν, παραλαβόντες καὶ λαφυροπώλας καταστήσαντες, ἐπώ-  
λουν, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν. 57. Ξενοφῶν δὲ οὐ προσ-  
ῆει, ἀλλὰ φανερός ἦν οἴκαδε παρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γάρ πω  
ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. Προσελθόντες  
δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐπιτήδαιοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἀπελθ-  
εῖν, πρὶν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ Θίβρωνι παραδοίη.

## CHAPTER VIII.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ himself receives no pay. On crossing with the army to Lampsacus, he is obliged to sell his horse, which is redeemed for him by some friends. At Pergamus he is hospitably received by Hellas, the wife of Gongylus, by whose advice he attacks the castle of Asidates, a wealthy Persian, but without success. On the following day, however, he makes Asidates prisoner, and seizes all his property. Thibron, the Lacedæmonian commander, arrives, and incorporates the army with the forces already levied against Tissaphernes.

1. Ἐντεῦθεν διέπλευσαν εἰς Λάμψακον· καὶ ἀπαντὰ  
τῷ Ξενοφῶντι Εὐκλείδης, μάντις Φλιάσιος, ὁ Κλεαγόρου  
υἱός, τοῦ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος. Οὗτος συνή-  
δετο τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὅτι ἐσέσωστο, καὶ ἡρώτα αὐτὸν πόσον  
χρυσίον ἔχει. 2. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπομόσας εἶπεν, ἢ μὴν ἔσεσθαι  
μηδὲ ἐφόδιον ἱκανὸν οἴκαδε ἀπιόντι, εἰ μὴ ἀπόδοιτο τὸν  
ἵππον, καὶ ἃ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐπίστευεν.  
3. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεμψαν Λαμψακηνοὶ ξένια τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ  
ἔθνε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, παρεστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην· ἰδὼν δὲ  
τὰ ἱερεῖα ὁ Εὐκλείδης εἶπεν, ὅτι πείθοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ εἶναι  
χρήματα. Ἀλλ' οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ μέλλῃ ποτὲ ἔσεσθαι  
φαίνεται τι ἐμπόδιον, εἰ μὴ μὲν ἄλλο, σὺ σαυτῷ. Συνω-  
μολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. 4. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐμπόδιον γάρ  
σοι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιός ἐστι· καὶ ἐπήρετο, εἰ ἤδη ποτὲ θύ-  
σειεν, ὥς περ οἴκοι, ἔφη, εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι, καὶ ὀλο-  
καυτεῖν. Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφη, ἐξ ὅτου ἀπεδήμησε, τεθυκέναι  
τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. Συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ θύεσθαι καθὰ  
εἰώθει, καὶ ἔφη συνοίσειεν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. 5. Τῇ δὲ ὑστε-  
ραίᾳ ὁ Ξενοφῶν προελθὼν εἰς Ὀφρύνιον ἐθύετο, καὶ ὠλο-  
καύτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλιέρει. 6. Καὶ  
ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφικνεῖται Βίτων καὶ ἄμα Εὐκλείδης, χρή-  
ματα δώσοντες τῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ ξενοῦνταί τε τῷ Ξε-  
νοφῶντι, καὶ ἵππον, ὃν ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἀπέδοτο πεντηκοντα-  
δαιρικῶν, ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτὸν δι' ἐνδειαν πεπρακεναι, ὅτι  
ἤκονον αὐτὸν ἡδεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ, λυσάμενοι ἀπέδοσαν, καὶ  
τὴν τιμὴν οὐκ ἠθέλον ἀπολαβεῖν.



7. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρωάδος, καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἰδὴν, εἰς Ἀντανδρον ἀφικνοῦνται πρῶτον· εἴτα παρὰ θάλατταν πορευόμενοι, τῆς Λυδίας εἰς Θήβης πεδίον.

8. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Ἀτραμυττίου καὶ Κερτωνοῦ ὁδεύσαντες, παρ' Ἀταρνέα εἰς Καϊκὸν πεδίον ἐλθόντες, Πέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ξενοῦται Ξενοφῶν παρ' Ἑλλάδι, τῇ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως γυναικὶ καὶ Γοργίωνος καὶ Γογγύλου μητρί. 9. Αὕτη δ' αὐτῷ φράζει, ὅτι Ἀσιδάτης ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· τοῦτον ἔφη αὐτόν, εἰ ἔλθοι τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσι, λαβεῖν αὐν καὶ αὐτόν, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖδας, καὶ τὰ χρήματα· εἶναι δὲ πολλὰ. Ταῦτα δὲ καθηγησομένους ἐπεμψε τὸν τε αὐτῆς ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Δαφναγόραν, ὃν περὶ πλείστον ἐποιεῖτο. 10. Ἐχων οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τουτοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἐθύετο. Καὶ Βασίης ὁ Ἡλεῖος, μάντις, παρὼν εἶπεν, ὅτι κάλλιστα εἴη τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλώσιμος εἴη. 11. Δειπνήσας οὖν ἐποσεύετο, τοὺς τε λοχαγοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα φίλους λαβὼν καὶ πιστοὺς γεγεννημένους διὰ παντός, ὅπως εὖ ποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς. Συνεξέρχονται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι βιασάμενοι εἰς ἑξακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλαννον, ἵνα μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ μέρος ὡς ἐτοίμων δὴ χρημάτων.

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, τὰ μὲν περίεθοντα ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος καὶ χρήματα τὰ πλείστα ἀπέδρα αὐτούς, παραμελοῦντας ὡς τὸν Ἀσιδάτην αὐτὸν λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου. 13. Πυργομαχοῦντες δὲ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὴν τύρσιν, (ὑψηλὴ γὰρ ἦν, καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ προμαχεῶνας καὶ ἀνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ μαχίμους ἔχουσα,) διορύττειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὸν πύργον. Ὁ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπ' ὀκτῶ πλίνθων γηίνων τὸ εὖρος. 14. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωρώρυκτο· καὶ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον διεφάνη, ἐπάταξεν ἔνδοθεν βουπόρῳ τις ὀδελίσκῳ διαμπερὲς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ ἐγγυτάτω τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐποιοῦν μὴδὲ παριέναι ἐτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι. 15. Κεκραγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πυρσευόντων, ἐκβοηθοῦσιν Ἰταμβέλεσις μὲν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐκ

Κομανίας δὲ ὀπλίζεται Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι ἱππεῖς, καὶ οὗτοι βασιλέως μισθοφόροι, ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίους· ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ Παρθενίου, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίον χωρίων καὶ ἱππεῖς.

16. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥρα ἦν σκοπεῖν, πῶς ἔσται ἡ ἀφοδος· καὶ λαβόντες, ὅσοι ἦσαν βόες καὶ πρόβατα, ἤλαννον, καὶ ἀνδράποδα, ἐντὸς πλαισίου ποιησάμενοι· οὐ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὕτω προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φυγὴ εἴη ἡ ἀφοδος, εἰ καταλιπόντες τὰ χρήματα ἀπίοιεν, καὶ οἱ τε πολέμοι θρασύτεροι εἶεν, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀθυμότεροι· νῦν δὲ ἀπήεσαν ὡς περὶ τῶν χρημάτων μαχοῦμενοι. 17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα Γογγύλος ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βία τῆς μητρὸς, ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, βουλόμενος συμμετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου· συνεβοήθει δὲ καὶ Προκλῆς, ἐξ Ἀλισάρνης καὶ Τευθρανίας, ὁ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου. 18. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ πάννῃ ἤδη ἐπιέζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ σφενδονῶν, πορευόμενοι κύκλῳ, ὅπως τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, μόλις διαβαίνουσι τὸν Καϊκὸν ποταμόν, τετρωμένοι ἐγγὺς οἱ ἡμίσεις. 19. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς τιτρώσκεται, τὸν πάντα χρόνον μαχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Καὶ διασώζονται, ἀνδράποδα ὡς διακόσια ἔχοντες καὶ πρόβατα ὅσον θύματα.

20. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐξάγει νύκτωρ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως ὅτι μακροτάτην ἔλθοι τῆς Λυδίας εἰς τὸ μὴ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφυλακτεῖν. 21. Ὁ δὲ Ἀσιδάτης, ἀκούσας, ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἴη Ξενοφῶν, καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἤξει, ἐξανλίζεται εἰς κώμας ὑπὸ τὸ Παρθένιον πόλισμα ἔχουσας. 22. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα συντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν, καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ παῖδας, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα· καὶ οὕτω τὰ πρότερα ἱερὰ ἀπέβη. 23. Ἐπειτα πάλιν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Πέργαμον. Ἐνταῦθα τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἠτιάσατο ὁ Ξενοφῶν· συνέπραττον γὰρ καὶ

οἱ Λάκωνες, καὶ οἱ λοχαγοί, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, ὥστ' ἐξαίρετα λαμβάνειν καὶ ἵππους, καὶ ζεύγη, καὶ τᾶλλα· ὥστε ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλον ἤδη εὖ ποιεῖν.

24. Ἐν τούτῳ Θίβρων παραγενόμενος παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα, καί, συμμίσας τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλληνικῷ, ἐπολέμει πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.

25. [Ἄρχοντες δὲ οἶδε τῆς βασιλέως χώρας, ὅσῃν ἐπήλθομεν. Λυδίας Ἀρτίμας, Φρυγίας Ἀρτακάμας, Λυκαονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας Μιθριδάτης, Κιλικίας Συνέννεσις, Φοινίκης καὶ Ἀραβίας Δέρνης, Συρίας καὶ Ἀσσυρίας Βέλεσος, Βαβυλῶνος Ῥωπάρας, Μηδίας Ἀρβάκας, Φασιανῶν καὶ Ἑσπεριτῶν Τηρίδαζος· (Καρδοῦχοι δὲ καὶ Χάλυβες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Κόλχοι καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ αὐτόνομοι·) Παφλαγονίας Κορύλας, Βιθυνῶν Φαρνάβαζος, τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Θρακῶν Σεύθης. 26. Ἀριθμὸς δὲ συμπάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως σταθμοὶ διακόσιοι δεκαπέντε, παρασάγγαι χίλιοι ἑκατὸν τευτήκοντα πέντε, στάδια τριςμύρια τετρακισχίλια ἑξακόσια πεντήκοντα. Χρόνου πλήθος τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως ἑνιαυτὸς καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες.]

## NOTES.



## NOTES.

Ξενοφώντος Κύρου ἀνάβασις. "*Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus into Upper Asia.*" By the term ἀνάβασις is literally meant "a going up." It is here applied to the expedition made by Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, up from the sea-coast, toward Central Asia, and which was arrested by the defeat at Cunaxa, a short distance this side of Babylon. The present work gives an account not only of the march upward, and the death of Cyrus, who fell in the conflict, but also of the retreat of the Greeks who had accompanied him. The first book contains the march of Cyrus from Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia, to the neighborhood of Babylon, and ends with his death at the battle of Cunaxa. The six remaining books describe the retreat of the "Ten thousand," as the Greek army is often called. The work is written in an easy, agreeable style, and is full of interest, as being a minute detail, by an eye-witness, of the hazards and adventures of the army in their difficult march through an unknown and hostile country. The impression which it makes is favorable to the writer's veracity and his practical good sense; but, as a history of military operations, it is much inferior to the only work of antiquity with which it can be compared, the "Commentaries" of Cæsar, as the writer himself falls short of the lofty genius of the great Roman commander.

The expedition here narrated is remarkable as being the first long march of which we possess a detailed account, and also the oldest extant document that gave to Europeans any tolerably precise notions of the countries watered by the Upper Tigris and Euphrates. This attempt, moreover, of an ambitious young prince to usurp his brother's throne, led ultimately to the greatest results, for by it the path into the centre of the Persian Empire was laid open to the Greeks, and the way was prepared for the conquests of Alexander. The character of Cyrus is drawn by Xenophon in the brightest colors. It is enough to say, that his ambition was gilded by all those brilliant qualities which win men's hearts.

Xenophon at first held no military command among the Greek mercenaries who accompanied Cyrus: he went apparently as a

mere spectator, and only took command after the death of most of the generals, these having been entrapped and cut off by Tissaphernes. The whole distance traveled, both on the Expedition and the Retreat, comprised 215 days' march, of 1155 parasangs, or 34,650 stadia; about 3465 geographical miles. The time employed was a year and three months. (*Penny Cyclopaedia*, vol. xxvii., p. 623.—*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr.*, &c., p. 924.)

## BOOK I.

## CHAPTER I.

## § 1.

Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος, κ. τ. λ. "Of Darius and Parysatis are born two sons." Observe here the employment of the present tense for the past. In order to give animation to a narrative, past events are spoken of as present, and thus brought more vividly before the mind. The tense thus employed is called the historical present.—Δαρείου. The Darius here meant was the second of the name, and ascended the Persian throne B.C. 424–423. His original name, in its Greek form, was *Ochus* (Ὀχος); in Persian, probably, *Ochi*, or *Achi*, which he changed, on his accession, into *Darius*, thus becoming Darius II. The Greek writers generally give him the surname of *Nothus* (Δαρεῖος ὁ Νόθος), in allusion to his illegitimacy, he having been a natural son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, who made him satrap of Hyrcania, and gave him Parysatis, his own (Artaxerxes') sister, in marriage.—Παρυσάτιδος. Parysatis was daughter of Xerxes I., and sister of Artaxerxes Longimanus, as just stated. She is represented as a woman of cruel and vindictive spirit, and as exercising a powerful control over her husband (*Ctes.*, *Pers.*, 49.)

παῖδες δύο. Xenophon, having occasion to mention only the two rivals, speaks here as if Darius had no other children by Parysatis. There were, however, two younger brothers, Ostanes and Oxathres, and also two daughters, Amistis and Artosta, or Atossa. (*Plut.*, *Vit. Artax.*, 1.—*Ctes.*, l. c.)—Ἀπραξέπτης. Another, but probably less correct form of this name is Ἀπροξέπτης. (*Bähr*, *ad Ctes.*, p. 186.) The Artaxerxes here meant is the one whom the Greeks distinguished by the epithet of *Mnemōn* (Μνήμων), on account of his strong memory.—Κῦρος. The Cyrus here meant is generally called "the Younger," to distinguish him from the more ancient Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy.

ἐκεῖ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρεῖος. "Now when Darius began to be feeble in health." Observe the force of the imperfect.—παρεῖναι. "To be with him," i. e., at Babylon, where, according to Ctesias (c. 57), he died. It was customary, however, with the kings of Persia, to spend the summer in the cool, mountainous country of Ecbatana, the spring months at Susa; and the autumn and winter at Babylon, the climate being warmer there than elsewhere. (*Xen.*, *Cyrop.*, viii., 6, 22.)

## § 2, 3.

παρὼν ἐτύγχανε. "Happened to be present." In Latin, *forte aderat*. Observe that the Greeks sometimes put as a participle that which, according to the sense, would be the principal verb, and then make this depend on another verb, which, in this way, often supplies the place of an adverb. Such verbs are *τύγχανω*, *λανθάνω*, &c. So here we may either say, "happened to be present," or, adverbially, "by chance was present."—μεταπέμπεται. "He sends for." Observe the force of the middle: "He sends for Cyrus to come unto him;" or, more literally, "He sends after Cyrus for himself."

ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κ. τ. λ. "From the government of which he had made him satrap." Observe here the employment of the aorist in a pluperfect sense. The pluperfect itself would have expressed a more exact reference to past time than the narrative required, and therefore the indefinite tense is substituted.—ἀρχῆς. The government or satrapy of the younger Cyrus comprehended Lydia, the greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia. He obtained this appointment B.C. 407.—σατράπης. By a satrap is meant the governor of a province of the Persian Empire. The word is of Persian origin; but its original form and its etymology are altogether uncertain. (Consult *Pott*, *Etymol. Forsch.*, i., p. 67, seq.)

Καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε. "And he had appointed him commander also." The aorist again for the pluperfect. Observe, also, the employment of καὶ . . . δέ, to introduce a new particular into the narrative, enlarging on what precedes, and equivalent, in effect, to οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καί. The new particular here brought in is the investing of Cyrus with military authority; for the office of satrap was, strictly speaking, a civil one; the governors of garrisons and commanders of troops being independent of his authority, and responsible to the king alone. In later times, however, it became customary to appoint the satraps to the command of the forces also, especially if they were members of the royal family, and if their provinces were frontier ones. (Compare *Heeren*, *Ideen*, vol. i., p. 504.)



εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. "Muster in the plain of Castolus," i. e., are accustomed to march into the plain of Castolus and muster there. Observe the employment of εἰς with the accusative to denote motion into a place previously to the assembling in that place. In each of the Persian provinces there appears to have been a general gathering-place, usually a large plain, in which the troops of the province were wont to muster, either for stated inspection, or in case of any sudden invasion or alarm. (*Heeren, Ideen*, vol. i., p. 505.) According to Stephanus Byzantinus, the plain of Castolus was in Lydia. The military command, therefore, of Cyrus would seem to have been over the forces of Lydia, and especially over the sea-coast of that province with its Grecian cities. The object of his parent in investing him with this command was to enable him to lend aid more effectually to the Lacedæmonians in their war against the Athenians. Cyrus himself, however, appears to have regarded the appointment as an actual step to the throne, and such, no doubt, was the view, also, of his mother, Parysatis.

λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην ὡς φίλον. Tissaphernes was at this time satrap of Caria. As he was secretly hostile to Cyrus, the latter seems to have taken him along with him under color of friendship, but in reality fearing to leave him behind, and not aware that he might prove a dangerous companion.—Καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ, κ. τ. λ. "And he went up, having also three hundred heavy-armed men of the Greeks." Observe here, again, the employment of καὶ . . . δέ. Cyrus seems to have taken with him this small Grecian force, less with a view to his immediate security, than to the effect which the report of the treatment they experienced might have in attracting other Greek mercenaries into his service.

ὀπλίτας. The heavy-armed soldiers were called ὀπλίται (ὀπλίται) because the term ὀπλία (ὀπλα) more especially denoted the defensive kind of armor, namely, the shield and corselet. By wearing these they were distinguished from the light-armed (ψιλοί, ἀνοπλοι, γυμνήται, γυμνήτες), who, instead of being defended by the shield and corselet, had a much slighter covering, consisting sometimes of skins, and sometimes of leather or cloth; and, instead of the lance or sword, they commonly fought with darts, stones, bows and arrows, or slings.—Παρθάσιον. "A Parrhasian," i. e., an Arcadian. The Parrhasii were a people of Arcadia, whose towns, as mentioned by Pausanias, all lay to the west and northwest of Megalopolis.

κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. "Was established in the kingdom." Observe here, again, the employment of εἰς with the accusative, after a verb denoting rest in a place. It is the same, therefore, as

saying, "had succeeded to the kingdom and established himself therein."—*βασιλείαν*. Parysatis had exerted all her influence to induce Darius to name Cyrus as his successor, and had urged, in behalf of her favorite son, the specious plea, which Xerxes, by the advice of Demaratus, had formerly employed, namely, that Artaxerxes was born while her husband was yet a subject, but Cyrus when he was a king. Darius, notwithstanding, appointed his eldest son his successor, who, on coming to the throne, changed his name, which had been previously Arsacas, or Arsicas, to Artaxerxes. There appears to be no foundation for Bähr's assertion (*Creuzer, Meletem*, iii., p. 13), that the order of succession adopted in the case of Xerxes was the law of the monarchy. (*Thirlwall's Greece*, vol. iv., p. 281, n.)

διαβάλλει. "Accuses."—ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. "How that he is plotting against him." The optative is here employed, like the subjunctive in Latin, to indicate merely the assertion or sentiments of the speaker, without their being vouched for by the writer himself, although they may be at the same time strictly true. It is, therefore, the same as saying, "is plotting against him, as he, Tissaphernes, asserts." Cyrus, it seems, accompanied Artaxerxes to Pasargadæ, where the Persian kings went through certain mystic ceremonies of inauguration; and Tissaphernes took this opportunity of charging him with a design against his brother's life. It would appear, from Plutarch's account, that one of the officiating priests was suborned to support the charge, though it is by no means certain that it was unfounded. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 283.)

ὡς ἀποκτενῶν. "With the intention of putting him to death." The participle of the future is here employed, as often elsewhere, to mark a purpose or intent, while the particle ὡς is appended to it to show that the action itself of the participle does not yet exist. (*Kühner*, § 690, *Obs.* 2, ed. *Jelf.*)—ἐξαίτησάμενη αὐτόν. "Having begged him off." More literally, "having begged him off for herself." Observe here the force of the middle. This voice is purposely employed, in the present instance, to show that the pardon of Cyrus was granted merely for his mother's sake. Plutarch relates, that Parysatis, on this occasion, clasped Cyrus in her arms, bound the tresses of her hair around him, held his neck to her own, and by her tears and passionate entreaties succeeded at length in procuring his forgiveness. The character of Artaxerxes, though weak and timid, seems not to have been naturally unamiable; and his mother, notwithstanding her undissembled predilection for her younger son, exercised a strong ascendancy over him.



## § 4.

ὡς ἀπῆλθε. "When he had departed," i. e., had returned to his government.—βουλευεται ὅπως μήποτε, κ. τ. λ. "Deliberates how he shall never any longer be dependent upon his brother," i. e., shall never any more be subject to his authority. Observe the force of ἐπὶ here with the dative, as denoting subordination to authority, or dependence upon another.—ἀντ' ἐκείνου. "In his stead."—Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ, κ. τ. λ. "Now Parysatis, indeed, the mother (of the two), was for Cyrus," i. e., favored the views of Cyrus. The verb ὑπάρχειν is sometimes used of states that stand by and lend aid to others. It is here employed in an analogous sense of individuals. (Compare B. v., 6, § 23, and Xen., Hist. Gr., vii., 5, 5.)

## § 5.

Ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο, κ. τ. λ. "Moreover, whosoever used to come unto him of those (sent) from the king." The reference is to all who passed between the court of Artaxerxes and his own. These Cyrus endeavored to corrupt by his affability and by presents.—πάντας. Observe here that the antecedent is in the plural, although the relative, ὅστις is in the singular number. The reason of this is, that the relative is used in an indefinite sense, without any particular designation of individuals. (Kühner, § 819, 2, β, ed. Jelf.)—οὕτω διατιθεῖς. "So disposing them in feeling."—Καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "And he took care also of the barbarians with him, that they should be," &c. The reference here is to the Asiatics about his own person, or, in other words, attached to his own service. Observe here the peculiar construction, the subject being, by a species of attraction, construed with the verb of the preceding proposition. The regular form of expression would have been, Καὶ ἐπιμελεῖτο δὲ ὧς οἱ βάρβαροι, κ. τ. λ.—Καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτόν. "And might be well disposed toward him." Adverbs are often put with the verb ἔχειν in the same sense as the adjectives corresponding to those adverbs, with the verb εἶναι. Thus, εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν is here the same as εὐνοικοὶ εἶσαν. The more literal translation, however, is "might have themselves well disposed." Supply αὐτούς.

## § 6.

Τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν. "His Grecian force." Cyrus's main object was to raise as strong a body of Greek troops as he could: for it was only with such aid that he could hope to overpower an adversary, who had the whole force of the empire at his command and he knew enough of the Greeks to believe that their superiority

over his own countrymen, in skill and courage, was sufficient to compensate for almost any inequality of numbers.—ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος. "Concealing (this movement) as much as he was able," i. e., doing this as secretly as possible. The particle ὡς is often employed to strengthen superlatives, but chiefly, as in the present instance, in the case of adverbs.—ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον "As unprepared as possible." Observe that ὅτι, like the Latin *quam* strengthens all superlatives, both adjectives and adverbs. Compare note on ὡς, immediately preceding.

Ὡς οὖν ἐποιεῖτο, κ. τ. λ. "In this way, then, did he make his levy." Observe the force of the middle: literally, "in this way, then, did he make the levy for himself."—ὅσας εἶχε φυλακὰς, κ. τ. λ. "As many garrisons as he had in the cities, he gave directions to each of the commanders (of these)," &c. The strict grammatical construction, however, will be as follows: παρήγγειλε ἐκάστοις τοῖς φρουράρχοις (τῶν φυλακῶν), ὅσας φυλακὰς εἶχεν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, κ. τ. λ.—ἀνδρας Πελοποννησίου. "Peloponnesian men." The Greeks of the Peloponnesus enjoyed at this time a high reputation for valor and military skill. The nations or communities occupying the Peloponnesus were the Achæans, Elians, Messenians, Laconians, Arcadians, and Argives. Of these, the most conspicuous, in a military point of view, were the Laconians and Arcadians.

ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος, κ. τ. λ. "As though Tissaphernes were plotting against these cities." More freely, "because, as he alleged, Tissaphernes was plotting," &c. The particle ὡς is joined to the simple participle, or with the genitive and accusative absolute, when the reference is not so much to any action really going on, as to the opinion, allegation, or assertion of another, with regard to the probability of such action. Cyrus made this alleged plotting, on the part of Tissaphernes, a mere pretense for procuring Grecian troops.—καὶ γάρ. "And (this appeared the more plausible), for." Analogous to the Latin *etenim*.—ἦσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον. "Formerly belonged," i. e., in the first instance, as regarded Tissaphernes and Cyrus.

αἱ Ἴωνικαὶ πόλεις. The Greek cities of Ionia are meant. The district of Ionia extended from the River Hermus, along the shores of the Ægean, to and including the city of Miletus. It took in, therefore, the whole sea-coast of Lydia, except a small portion north of the Hermus. Hence the feud between Tissaphernes (who claimed the government of these cities by virtue of the grant mentioned in the text) and Cyrus, who contended, probably, that they had been subjected to his authority by the general terms of his father's appointment, which constituted him, in fact, the governor of the sea-



coast.—ἀφιστήκεσαν πᾶσαι. "They had all revolted."—Μιλήτων. Miletus was the most celebrated of the cities of Ionia, and was situate on the southern shore of the bay into which the River Latmus emptied, on the northwestern coast of Caria.

## § 7.

προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ. "Having perceived beforehand (certain persons) planning these same things." Supply τινάς.—ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κύρον. "(Namely), to revolt unto Cyrus." This is intended as an explanation of the words τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, immediately preceding. Some editors mark the clause with brackets, regarding it as a superfluous addition. The simplicity of Xenophon's style, however, would seem to be in its favor.—τοὺς φεύγοντας. "The fugitives." The participle with the article has here the force of a noun. Literally, "those who were fleeing."—κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. "To restore those who had been driven out." The verb ἐκπίπτω denotes, properly, "to fall out or from a thing," i. e., to lose, to be deprived of, and hence, in particular, with an apparently passive force, "to be banished or driven out from one's country." Compare the Latin *excidere patriā*.—πρόφασις τοῦ ἀθροίζειν. "Pretence for collecting."

## § 8.

ἡξίου. "He requested."—ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ. "Since he was a brother of his." We have here a species of attraction, by which ἀδελφὸς ὢν are put in the nominative, after that implied in ἡξίου. The regular construction would be as follows: ἡξίου ταύτας τὰς πόλεις δοθῆναι οἱ ἀδελφῷ ὄντι αὐτοῦ.—δοθῆναι οἱ. "Might be given unto him," i. e., placed under his authority.—συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα. "Co-operated with him in these things." Literally, "did these things along with him."—τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. "The plot."—Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε, κ. τ. λ. "But thought that he was incurring expense about his forces because engaged in war with Tissaphernes."—ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο, κ. τ. λ. "So that he was in no respect disquieted at their being engaged in war." Artaxerxes was too well pleased with the quarrel, and with the expense in which it involved Cyrus, to interfere for the purpose of ending it, especially as his brother regularly transmitted the tribute due from the cities which he held to the royal treasury.

καὶ γὰρ. "And (the more especially) since."—τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμούς. "The accruing tribute," i. e., the tribute arising from the imposts established by the Persian government.—πόλεων ὢν. Attraction, for πόλεων, ἄς.—ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. "Happened to have

These cities, though wrested from Tissaphernes, were still nominally supposed to be held by him, as having been given him by the king. Hence the employment of the imperfect here as denoting continuance of action. Zeune is, therefore, in error here when he regards ἐτύγχανεν as having a pluperfect force. (Balfour, *ad loc.*)

## § 9.

ἐν Χερρόνῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας, κ. τ. λ. "In the Chersonesus, which lies over against Abydos." With τῇ supply κειμένη, or else the simple οὖσα. The term χερσόνησος (in Attic, χερρόνησος) means properly, "a land-island," i. e., a peninsula. At Athens, and among the Attic writers particularly, the long strip of Thrace that runs along the Hellespont was especially called the *Chersonese*, or *Peninsula*, and was celebrated as a grain country, whence the Athenians drew their chief supply of this article of subsistence.—Ἀβύδου. Abydos was situate directly on the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, in nearly the narrowest part of the strait. Its ruins are still to be seen on a projection of low land, called *Nagara Bornou*.—Κλέαρχος. A more detailed account of this individual is given in book ii., 6, 1.—τούτῳ συγγενόμενος. "Having become acquainted with this man."—ἡγάσθη τε αὐτόν. Cyrus, an excellent judge of character and abilities, soon discerned the value of the military talents of Clearchus, and his fearless and enterprising, though stern and imperious spirit.—μυριάους Δαρεικούς. "Ten thousand Darics." A little over \$35,000 of our currency. The Daric was a Persian coin of pure gold, stamped on one side with the figure of an archer, crowned and kneeling on one knee, and on the other side with a sort of *quadrata incusa*, or deep cleft, as in the following wood-cut. It is supposed to have derived its name from the first Darius, king of Persia and father of Xerxes, and was equal to about \$3 51.



τὸ χρυσίον. "The money." The term χρυσίον is applied to any thing made of gold, such as gold coin, gold utensils, &c.—ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων. "From these resources." Observe the employment of ἀπὸ here to denote the means or instruments for effecting an end. (Kühner, § 620, f.)—ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξί. "Began to wage war upon the Thracians." The dative of disadvantage.—ὑπὲρ Ἑλλησπόντου. "Above the Hellespont," i. e., to the north of the Hellespont and Chersonese. The ordinary text has ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον, which Matthiae renders "on the Hellespont," and Kühner "on the other side of the Hellespont." But the accusative, and these modes of explaining it here, are equally incorrect; and the text requires the genitive, with ὑπὲρ, as denoting *rest* in a place. Xenophon refers to the Thracian tribes, and particularly to the Apsynthii, who dwelt to the north, or above the Hellespont. It was to restrain the incursions of these barbarous communities that Miltiades had erected a wall across the neck of the Chersonese, from Cardia to Pactya. (Herod., vi., 36.) This was subsequently restored by Pericles (Plut., Vit. Per., 19); but, at the period mentioned in the text, it would seem, from the language of Xenophon in his Grecian History (iii., 2, 10), to have been again in ruins. The aid, therefore, which was lent by Clearchus at this juncture, must have proved of great importance to the Grecian settlers in the Chersonese, in protecting them against the inroads of the Thracians to the north. If Clearchus marched out of (ἐκ) the Chersonese, as the text informs us, for the purpose of attacking these Thracians, how could they be dwelling either on the Hellespont, or on the other side of it, when the waters of the Hellespont washed merely the shores of the Chersonese?

συνεβάλλοντο. "Contributed." Observe the force of the middle. They did this for their own advantage.—τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω, κ. τ. λ. "And in this way this army, too, was secretly maintained for him," i. e., was maintained in such a way as to leave the king in ignorance of its true destination. Compare note on πάρων ἐτύγχανε, i., 1, 2

## § 10.

Θεσσαλός. Thessaly lay to the south of Macedonia, and extended from the range of Mount Pindus on the west, to the shores of the Aegean on the east.—ξένος ὃν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ. "Happened to be connected with him by the ties of hospitality." By the term ξένος, as here employed, is meant a friend, with whom one has a league of hospitality, for one's self and heirs, confirmed by mutual presents, and by an appeal to Ζεὺς ξένιος, or Jove, the god of hospitality. In this sense, indeed, both parties are properly ξένοι, the one to the

other.—τῶν ἀντιτασσιωτῶν. "Those of the opposite faction."—καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς διςχιλίους, κ. τ. λ. "And asks of him pay for two thousand mercenaries, and for three months." The construction is μισθὸν εἰς διςχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν, and εἰς is employed with the accusative to denote the aim, object, or purpose. (Kühner, § 625, 3, ed. Jelf.) The ordinary mode of rendering this passage is, "and asks of him to the number of 2000 mercenaries, and three months' pay." This, however, cannot be correct, as plainly appears from what follows, namely, Ὁ δὲ Κύρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἑξ μηνῶν μισθόν. It is utterly incredible that Cyrus, whose great aim was to collect as many Grecian troops around him as possible, should have given Aristippus, on this occasion, the men themselves, and not merely the means of procuring them. Why, too, would he give double the number asked? And why would he send troops of so much value to himself on an expedition in which he was not at all interested, and where he ran the risk of losing some part, at least, if not all of their number? Every thing becomes plain, however, if we suppose that Cyrus merely gave Aristippus the means of raising troops, as he had already done in the case of Clearchus; and we perceive, also, why 4000 men and six months are substituted by Cyrus for 2000 men and three months; his object being to procure as many Greek troops as possible for his service, without exciting suspicion, and to make the time of service a long one, with reference to his intended expedition into Upper Asia. (Compare Jahrbuch. für. Philol. und Pädag., vol. xl., 2, p. 205.)

ξένος. Because the ξένος, or stranger, only became such by leaving his own home, the name was early given to one who left the house he was born in, and attached himself to another, usually for pay. It thus came to denote "a hireling." In Attic writers, however, ξένος meant, regularly, "a soldier who entered foreign service for pay," or, in other words, "a mercenary." The term is in fact, therefore, a euphemism, for the more invidious μισθωτός, orμισθοφόρος.—ὥς οὕτω περιγεγόμενος ἄν.—"As in this way likely to prove superior." More freely, "Since in this way, as he assured him, he would in all likelihood prove superior." Compare note on ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος, i., 1, 6.—εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, κ. τ. λ. Construe as above, μισθὸν εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἑξ μηνῶν.—καταλῦσαι. "To end the war." Supply τὸν πόλεμον, and compare book v., 7, 27 οὐτ' ἀνελεῖσθαι πόλεμον . . . οὐτε καταλῦσαι.—πρόσθεν . . . πρίν "Before that." Compare the analogous Latin usage in the case of prius . . . quam.



## § 11.

Βοιωτίων. Bœotia was a country of Greece Proper, or Greece without the Isthmus of Corinth, and lay to the northwest of Attica—ὡς εἰς Πισίδας, κ. τ. λ. "As if wishing to lead an army among the Pisidians." Compare note on ὡς ἐπιβουλεοντος, i., 1, 6. The ordinary text has ἐπί, "against," but the true reading is εἰς, and εἰς Πισίδας is only a more concise way of expressing εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Πισιδῶν.—Πισίδας. The true Greek form of the name of this people is Πισίδαί, not Πεισιδαί. The common text erroneously adopts the latter. Pisidia was a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the west and north by Phrygia, on the east by Isauria, and on the south by Pamphylia. It was a mountainous country, and occupied by a rugged and marauding race, hostile to the Persian monarchs, and whom it was frequently found necessary to curb by force of arms. Hence the pretext of Cyrus on the present occasion.—ὡς πράγματα παρ-  
χόντων, κ. τ. λ. "As though the Pisidians were affording trouble," &c., i. e., under the pretense that the Pisidians were affording, &c. The allusion is to marauding inroads into his satrapy.

Σοφαίνετον. The Sophænetus here mentioned is thought to have been the same with the one who also wrote a narrative of this same expedition, or an Ἀνάβασις Κύρου, and who is referred to by Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. Καρδοῦχοι and Τάοχοι.—Στυμφάλιον. Stymphalus was a town of Arcadia, to the northeast of Orchomenus, and near the confines of Achaia.—Ἀχαιῶν. Achaia was a country of the Peloponnesus, lying along the Sinus Corinthiacus, to the north of Elis and Arcadia.—ὡς πολεμήσων. "As though about to go to war," i. e., pretending that he was on the eve of a war.

## CHAPTER II.

## § 1.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει ἤδη, κ. τ. λ. "And when now it seemed good to him to march upward," i. e., when now all his arrangements had been made for his expedition into Upper Asia, against his brother, and it appeared to be a fitting time to commence his march. More than a year had been spent in preparations before Cyrus actually set out.—τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο. "He made his pretext, indeed (for so doing)." Observe that μὲν here stands without any thing opposed to it in the rest of the sentence, but still having an apodosis plainly implied in what follows, namely, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα ὁ στόλος ἦν. (Krüger, ad loc.) As regards the middle, ἐποιεῖτο, compare

note on ὡς οὖν ἐποιεῖτο, κ. τ. λ., chap. i., 7.—ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος, κ. τ. λ. His pretended object was to drive the Pisidians entirely out of their own country, and thus rid himself of troublesome neighbors; and to accomplish this a larger force than ordinary would be required.

καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους, κ. τ. λ. "And he assembles there (in his own satrapy) as if against these, both his barbarian and Grecian army." The construction of ἐνταῦθα in this passage has given rise to much difference of opinion among commentators. Zeune considers it equivalent in meaning to "illuc," and as referring to the quarter where the Pisidians were; but then the form ἐκείσε ought to have been employed in the text, not ἐνταῦθα. Schneider makes it a particle of time, and having the force of *tum*. Weiske explains it by "illic, in sua ditione," and refers it to the troops which Cyrus had already in his satrapy, and which he was now drawing more closely together. If this, however, had been the meaning intended to be expressed, Xenophon would have written τὸ ἐνταῦθα. Dindorf, it is true, actually adopts this reading, τὸ ἐνταῦθα, in the text of his larger edition, on Schneider's conjecture, but the MSS. furnish no authority whatever for the insertion of the article; and, besides this, even τὸ ἐνταῦθα itself is open to very serious objection. The meaning which we ourselves have given to ἐνταῦθα here, although apparently a very natural one, is yet by no means safe from attack. In the first place, it is exposed to the charge of abruptness, since nothing, in fact, precedes to which it can plainly refer; and in the next place, its position in the Greek text is extremely awkward, on account of the distance between it and the verb which it qualifies. The truth is, the text here appears to be corrupt; and since one of the Vatican MSS. omits both στράτευμα and καί, it has been well conjectured by Bornemann and others that Xenophon wrote as follows: Καὶ ἀθροίζει, ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους, τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Ἐνταῦθα παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ, κ. τ. λ.

λαβόντι ἤκειν. Attraction for ἤκειν λαβόντα, which latter form occurs lower down in speaking of Xenias.—συναλλαγέντι πρὸς, κ. τ. λ. "To come to terms with those at home and send away," &c.—δ' εἶχε στράτευμα. "What force he had." The antecedent is very often omitted in its own clause, and is then subjoined to the other clause, and put in the same case with the relative. The ordinary arrangement would have been, ἀποπέμψαι τὸ στράτευμα δ' εἶχε. Aristippus did not come in person with the troops, but sent Menon as the commander. Compare § 6.—ὃς αὐτῷ προσεσθήκει. "Who had been commanding for him."—τοῦ ξενικοῦ. Supply στρατεύματος.—ἱκανοὶ

ἦσαν. The indicative is here employed, because the writer speaks in his own person. The optative, εἴησαν, which some editions exhibit, would be spoken in the person of Cyrus, as giving his directions.

## § 2.

τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκούντας. Compare i., 1, 7.—ἐκέλευσε. "He urged." Observe that κελεύω has here its softer meaning, "to urge or exhort," not that of "to order," which would be clearly out of place. Compare the German version of Halbkart, "Er munterte die Vertriebenen auf."—εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν, κ. τ. λ. "If he should successfully accomplish the purposes for which he was going on the expedition." Supply τὰ πράγματα.—μὴ παύσασθαι. "Not to cease." Verbs of promising, hoping, and the like, whose object may be conceived of as future, take the infinitive of either the present, future, or aorist, according as the speaker regards the action, either as simply continuing, or continuing in future time, or has no regard either to its continuance or its time, but only to its completion. The aorist, therefore, is the true reading here, and not the future, as some give. (Kühner, § 405, Obs. 2, ed. Jelf.)—παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεϊς. "Came to Sardis." Observe here the peculiar employment of παρῆμι, with a clause denoting motion to a place. It is in fact, however, a concise form of expression for "were present, having come unto Sardis." This city, the ancient capital of Lydia, and the residence at this time of Cyrus, as satrap, was situate at the foot of the northern slope of Mount Tmolus, on the River Pactolus, which ran through the place. The ruins of Sardis are now called *Sart*. The Ionic forms of the ancient name are αἱ Σάρδις and Σάρδιες; the Attic form is Σάρδεϊς. The Latin writers use *Sardis* in the singular, or, more frequently, in the plural, *Sardes*.

## § 3.

Ξένιας μὲν δὴ. "Xenias accordingly."—τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. "The (forces) from the cities." We would naturally expect here τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι; but frequently, where ἐν ought regularly to be employed, the principal verb of the proposition is referred to by a species of attraction, and ἐκ and ἀπό are used when it admits of the construction with these prepositions. The full and regular form of expression would be, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβόν.—παρεγένετο. "Came."—εἰς τετρακισχίλους. "To the number of four thousand." Observe that εἰς with numerals has not, as is commonly stated, the signification of "about," but "up to," i. e., "as many as."—γυμνήτας. "Light-armed." Consult note on ὀπλίτας, i., 1, 2

ὡς πεντακοσίους. "About five hundred." The particle ὡς, when joined with numerals, marks that they are to be taken as a round number, and is to be translated "about," or "nearly."—ὁ Μεγαρεύς. "The Megarean." Megaris was a small country of Greece Proper, lying to the west and northwest of Attica.

εἰς ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ἄνδρας. We have given here the ordinary reading, with Krüger, Bornemann, Lion, Halbkart, and others, making Pasion to have brought 700 men, and supposing these to have been heavy-armed. It is not, it must be confessed, Xenophon's usual mode of speaking, since he generally specifies the description of troops that are brought, and it might, therefore, be improved by the omission of ἄνδρας, since ὀπλίτας could then be inferred from the previous clause as understood after ἑπτακοσίους. Still, however, by adopting this reading, and also τριακοσίους in § 9, when speaking of Socrates (or Sosias) the Syracusan, the sum total will be found to agree in a remarkable manner with that given by Xenophon. Schneider, Dindorf, and others, following certain MSS., give εἰς ἑξακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων; but this will be found to clash with Xenophon's estimate of the entire force, as already alluded to. Consult note on ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, i., 2, 9.—τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. "Of the number of those who were serving around Miletus," i. e., who were engaged in the investment of Miletus. Observe that τῶν is here the genitive of part.

## § 4.

Οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεϊς, κ. τ. λ. The troops thus far enumerated formed the whole of the Grecian force that came to Sardis, and with which Cyrus began his march from that city. Other bodies of Greeks, however, subsequently joined him. (Compare i. 6 and § 9.)—Τισσαφέρνης δὲ. According to Ephorus, as quoted by Diodorus Siculus (xiv., 11), Alcibiades first discovered the real design of Cyrus, and imparted the information to the satrap Pharnabazus. But the latter, wishing to appropriate to himself the benefit to be derived from communicating this intelligence to the king, put Alcibiades to death, and sent trusty persons to court with the news about Cyrus. But compare book ii., 3; 19, of the present work, where Tissaphernes expressly states that he first announced the movement of Cyrus. Consult, also, the remarks of Thirlwall on the death of Alcibiades, and on the manly and open character of Pharnabazus. (*Hist. of Greece*, iv., p. 197.)

μεῖζονα ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ. "Greater than as if against," i. e., on too large a scale to be intended for. When the comparative refers to a rela-



tion or proportion, it is followed by *ἢ πρὸς* or *ἢ κατὰ*, or by *ἢ ὥστε* or *ἢ ὥς*. After *ἢ ὥστε* the infinitive is found, and after *ἢ ὥς* most commonly the optative, with *ἄν*. Here, however, *ἢ ὥς* is employed without any following verb. (Kühner, § 783, *Obs.*, ed. Jelf.)—ὥς βασιλέα. "To the king." Observe here the employment of *ὥς* as a sort of preposition with the accusative. Usage has, for the most part, limited this *ὥς* to cases where the object is a person, not a place or thing; whereas *ὡς*, when joined with a preposition (*πρὸς*, *εἰς*, *ἐπὶ*), is usually employed of things rather than persons.—*ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα*.—"By the route along which he could (go) most quickly," i. e., the quickest way he could. The full form of expression would be *τῇ ὁδῷ ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι*.

## § 5.

*τὸν στόλον*.—"The armament."—*ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο*.—"Began to prepare himself in turn." Observe the force of the middle.—*ὦν εἰσηκα*. Full form, *τοὺς οὗς εἰσηκα*.—*ὥρμᾶτο*.—"Began his march." Observe that *ὥρμᾶω*, in the active, is "to set another in motion," "to urge on another;" in the middle, "to set one's self in motion," "to advance." There is no reference here, however, to any hurried movement on the part of Cyrus, which would be quite at variance with the previous part of the narrative, but simply to an active demonstration after a period of comparative repose. When once the march had commenced, however, then the movements of the prince were as rapid as circumstances would admit. For it must be borne in mind that, previously to his taking the direct route toward Babylon, his marches must be supposed to have been directed partly with a view to deceive the king, in respect of the Pisidian expedition, but more to collect his detachments of troops, since upward of 5000 of his Grecian auxiliaries joined him after he had crossed the Mæander into Phrygia. (Rennell, *Geogr. Anab.*, p. 20.—*ἀπὸ Σάρδεων*. Cyrus's march from Sardis took place, as is commonly supposed, about the 6th of March, B.C. 401.

*ἐξελαύνει*.—"He advances." Xenophon uses *ἐξελαύνω* here, and elsewhere in the *Anabasis*, in an absolute sense, as if it were an intransitive verb. Strictly speaking, however, the verb is a transitive one, and *τὸν στρατὸν* is here understood, so that the literal meaning is, "he leads forth his army."—*σταθμούς τρεῖς*, κ. τ. λ.—"Three days' march, twenty-two parasangs." Literally, "three stations." The term *σταθμός*, as here employed, means, properly, "a station," "a halting-place," for travelers or soldiers. Hence, in the *Anabasis*, every time the army halts for the night, or for a longer

stay, the preceding march is reckoned a station.—*παρασάγγας*. The parasang was a Persian measure of length, frequently mentioned by the Greek writers. It is still used by the Persians, who call it *ferseng*, which has been changed in Arabic into *farsakh*. According to Herodotus, the parasang was equal to thirty Greek stadia. Modern English travelers estimate it variously at from three and a half to four English miles, which nearly agrees with the calculation of Herodotus. Some writers, however, insist that Xenophon's parasangs were only the Oriental hours, varying in length according to the difficulties or facilities of the way. (Williams, *Essay on the Geography of the Anabasis*, p. 82.)

*Μαίανδρον ποταμόν*. The Mæander rose near Celænæ, in Phrygia, and, after forming the common boundary between Lydia and Caria fell into the Ægean below the promontory of Mycale. It was remarkable for its winding course. The modern name is *Minder*.—*τὸ εὖρος*. Supply *ἦν*.—*δύο πλέθρα*.—"Two plethra." The *πλέθρον*, as a measure of length, was 100 Greek, or 101 English feet. The term is also employed, not, however, in the *Anabasis*, to indicate a square measure, containing 10,000 square feet.—*γέφυρα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ*, κ. τ. λ.—"And there was a bridge over it, connected together by seven boats," i. e., formed of seven boats connected together.

## § 6.

*τοῦτον διαβάς*. The army appear to have crossed the Mæander above, or north of the junction of the Lycus. (Ainsworth, p. 13.)—*Κολοσσάς*. Colossæ was a large and flourishing city of Phrygia, in an angle formed by the rivers Lycus and Mæander. Its ruins are to be seen near the modern village of *Chorros*.—*πόλιν οἰκουμένην*, κ. τ. λ.—"An inhabited city, flourishing and large." The expression *πόλιν οἰκουμένην* is employed in contradistinction to desert cities, afterward met with on the march.—*καὶ ἦκε Μένων*, κ. τ. λ. Menon was sent by Aristippus, who, it would seem, could only spare a portion of the force he had with him; for Cyrus supplied him with the means of raising 4000 men, and he sent only 1700 by Menon.

*πελταστές*.—"Targeteers." The *πελτασταί* were an intermediate class of troops between the heavy-armed (*ὀπλίται*) and the light armed (*ψιλοί*, or *γυμνήτες*). They were armed nearly in the same manner as the *hoplitæ*, but their corselets were of linen, instead of bronze or iron; their spears were short, and they carried small round bucklers or targes, called *peltæ* (*πέλται*), whence their name of *πελτασταί*.—*Δόλοπας, καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας*, κ. τ. λ.—"Dolopians, and Æni-  
anians, and Olynthians." The Dolopians and Ænianians were Thes-

salian tribes. The former dwelt in that southeastern angle of Thessaly formed by the chain of Mount Pindus, or rather Tymphrestus, on one side, and Mount Othrys, branching out of it, on the other. The Ænianians occupied the upper valley of the Sperchius, and were separated from the Dolopians by Mount Othrys. The Olynthians were inhabitants of Olynthus, a powerful city of Macedonia, in the district of Chalcidice, at the head of the Sinus Toronaicus.

## § 7.

Κελαινάς. "Celænæ." A city of Phrygia, in the southwest, near the sources of the Mæander.—ἐνταῦθα Κύρου βασιλεία ἦν. Cyrus had a palace, or viceregal residence, in this city. But Ainsworth (p. 18) is in error when he calls Celænæ, from this circumstance, the capital of his government. That capital was Sardis, because nearer the sea.—παράδεισος μέγας. "A large park." The Greeks gave the name of παράδεισος to the parks or pleasure-grounds which surrounded the country residences of the Persian kings and satraps. They were generally stocked with animals for the chase, were full of all kinds of trees, watered by numerous streams, and enclosed with walls. These parks were frequently of great extent: thus Cyrus, on the present occasion, reviewed the Greek army in this one at Celænæ; and on another occasion, as we will see in the course of the narrative (ii., 4, 16), the Greeks were alarmed by a report that there was a great army in a neighboring παράδεισος. (Dict. Ant., p. 729, Am. ed.) Pollux says that παράδεισος was a Persian word, and there can be no doubt that the Greeks obtained it from the Persians; the word, however, seems to have been used by other Eastern nations, and not to have been peculiar to the Persians. It occurs in Hebrew, under the form *paredés*, as early as the time of Solomon (Eccles., ii., 5.—Cant., iv., 13); and is also found in Arabic (*firdaus*) and in Armenian (*pardes*). Consult Dict. Ant., s. v.

ἐθάρμεν ἀπὸ ἵππων. "Used to hunt on horseback." Observe here the employment of ἀπὸ with the genitive to indicate the direction of an action from one quarter to another.—ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο. "Whenever he wished to exercise." The optative is here used instead of the indicative, to express what took place from time to time, or customarily. The idea of uncertainty connected with this mood serves, in such instances, merely to prevent them from being understood as referring to particular definite cases.—αὶ δὲ πηγαί, κ. τ. λ. "And its springs flow from the palace." Observe here the em-

ployment of the substantive verb with a preposition, indicating motion from out of a place. It is the same, in fact, as saying, αὶ δὲ πηγαί εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ ἐκ τούτων ῥέουσι. Livy speaks of the Mæander as flowing "ex arce summâ Celanarum" (xxxviii., 13); but he probably confounds the Mæander with the Marsyas. Consult note on ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς, § 8.

## § 8.

μεγάλου βασιλέως. "Of the great king." The King of Persia was called μέγας βασιλεύς by the Greek historians, both on account of the vast extent of his dominions, and the number of other kings who were subject to him.—ἐρυμνά. "Well fortified." The structure referred to would be what we should term a castle.—ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς. "At the sources." From Arrian (i., 29) and Quintus Curtius (iii., 1) we learn, that the citadel of Celænæ was upon a lofty, precipitous hill, and that the Marsyas fell from its fountains over the rocks with a great noise. From Herodotus (vii., 26) it appears that the same river was from this circumstance called Καταβράκτης, or, as he gives it in the Ionic form, Καταβρήκτης. Strabo, again, states that a lake on the mountain above Celænæ was the reputed source of both the Marsyas and the Mæander. (Strab., xii., p. 578.)—ἐμβάλλει. "Empties." Literally, "throws (itself)." Supply εἰς αὐτόν, and compare note on ἐξελαύνει, § 7.

ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν. "To have flayed Marsyas." The reference is to the well-known story of Apollo and the satyr Marsyas, and their contest for the palm in musical skill. Apollo performed on the lyre, accompanying it with his voice; and Marsyas on the newly-invented pipe. The Muses were the umpires. After three trials Marsyas was declared the loser, and Apollo flayed him for his temerity, and hung up his skin in the cave whence flow the springs of the river hence called after the name of the satyr.—περὶ σοφίας. "Respecting musical skill." Observe that σοφία, properly speaking, is a general term for skill in any art or employment. The context will always, as in the present instance, determine the special reference.—ὅθεν αὶ πηγαί. Supply εἰσι.

## § 9.

ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ. "After having been defeated in the (memorable) fight." Observe the force of the article. The reference is to the battle of Salamis.—ἡμέρας τριάκοντα. This long delay was occasioned by his waiting for the troops of Clearchus, as well as other reinforcements.—τοξότας Κρήτας. The Cretan soldiers were held



in great estimation as light troops, and especially archers, and readily offered their services for hire to such states, whether Greek or barbarian, as needed them.—*ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης παρῆν.* "At the same time, also, arrived Socrates." The editions differ here as to the form of the proper name. The common text has *Σωκράτης*. Dindorf, on the other hand, prefers *Σώσις*, as a more Sicilian form, following the authority of Burmann (*ad Dorvil. Sic.*, p. 504, 553). *Σωκράτης*, however, rests on good MS. authority. Schneider retains the reading here of the common text, namely, *ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους*, making Socrates to have brought 1000 heavy-armed men. This, however, will clash with the final enumeration, and we have not hesitated, therefore, to adopt *τριακοσίους*, with Dindorf and others.—*Σοφαινετός δ' Ἀρκάς.* Not to be confounded with the Stymphalian of the same name. Krüger, however, thinks that we ought here to read *Κλεάνωρ* (*de Authent.*, p. 40).

*ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμόν.* "A review and enumeration." By *ἐξέτασις* is meant, in fact, a military inspection of the condition, equipments, &c., of the troops. Compare Pollux, i., 176.—*ἔγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες.* "There were in all." Observe that the article joined to *πάντες*, *ἅπαντες*, or *σύμπαντες*, gives these adjectives, when connected with numerals, the force of "all together," or "in all." (*Matth.*, § 266.)—*ὀπλίται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, κ. τ. λ.* Schneider has devoted one of his long and elaborate notes to a computation and critical examination of the numbers which compose the sum mentioned here; with what success and profit to his readers may be inferred from the fact, that he has altogether omitted to take into the account the 1000 heavy infantry and 500 targeteers commanded by Menon. According to the readings which he himself adopts in his text for the numbers assigned to Pasion and Socrates, there would be an excess of 300 over the 11,000, and of 100 over the 2000. This would, perhaps, agree very well with Xenophon's expression as to the latter number (*ἀμφὶ τοὺς διεχιλίους*); but it is not probable that he would have stated the other number without any such qualifying proposition, if he had been aware that it was short by 300 of the precise amount. But in his list Schneider adopts the readings which he has rejected in his text, giving 700 men to Pasion, and 300 to Socrates, and thus makes the whole amount of the heavy infantry to be 10,000, which, with the addition of Menon's 1000, is exactly Xenophon's number. And, according to the same readings, if the Cretan bowmen are included among the targeteers, their sum will likewise be just 2000. The computation, therefore, of the Greek force present at Celænæ will be as follows: namely, there were with

Xenias	4000	ὀπλίται.
Proxenus	1500	"
Sophænetus the Stymphalian	1000	"
Socrates the Achaian	500	"
Pasion	700	"
Menon	1000	"
Clearchus	1000	"
Socrates the Syracusan	300	"
Sophænetus the Arcadian	1000	"
		11,000 ὀπλίται.

Menon	500	πελτασταί.
Proxenus	500	"
Clearchus	1000	"
		2000 πελτασταί.

Yet Schneider exclaims, in the same note, "*Miror equidem interpretes, qui sedere ad rationes noluerint.*" (*Thirlwall's Greece*, iv., p. 289, n.)

## § 10.

*Πέλται.* Peltæ was a city of Phrygia, southeast of Cotyæum. We must look for its site to the north of the Mæander, and probably in the valley and plain formed by the western branch of that river, now called *Askli-tchai*, but formerly Glaucus. There are few early notices respecting this place. It appears, however, to have preserved a certain degree of importance after the Christian era, and we find it mentioned as an episcopate. The march of Cyrus, as will appear from an inspection of the map, becomes retrograde from Celænæ to Peltæ, and then takes a wide circuit from this last city to the market of the Ceramians, the next place in his route. This was done, most probably, as Rennell and others suppose, for the purpose of increasing his numbers, and laying the richer towns under contribution. He may be said to have commenced his undeviating route toward his brother's capital only at the market of the Ceramians, for the road by Peltæ and the market of the Ceramians was the high-road to the Hellespont and Thrace.—*τὰ Λύκαια ἑθνε.* "Solemnized the Lycæan rites," i. e., celebrated the festival of Lycean Jove. Observe that *θύω* has here the meaning of "to celebrate with sacrifices or offerings," and that with *τὰ Λύκαια* we must supply *ιερά*. The *Λύκαια* was a festival with contests, celebrated by the Arcadians in honor of Jupiter, surnamed *Λυκαῖος*.

Plutarch informs us, that its celebration resembled in some degree that of the Roman Lupercalia. (*Vit. Cas.*, c. 61.)—καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐθηκε. "And instituted a contest," i. e., games, or trials of skill in gymnastic exercises. The term ἀγών is here employed in a generic sense, as comprehending several species of gymnastic encounters.

στλεγγίδες χρυσαί. "Golden flesh-scrapers." The στλεγγίς (rarely στελγίς or στελεγγίς) was a sort of scraper, answering to the Latin *strigil*, and used to remove the oil and dirt from the skin in the bath, or after the exercises of the palaestra, much in the same way as we are accustomed to scrape the sweat off a horse, with a piece of iron hoop, after he has run a heat, or comes in from violent exercise. Some specimens of these instruments may be seen in the wood-cut at the end of this note. Schneider understands by στλεγγίδες, in this passage, a species of ornament for the head, which Böckh explains as formed of a thin metal plate (probably tiara-shaped), lined with leather, fashioned like a comb (*kammähnlich*), and worn around the head by women, and by θεωροί sent to an oracle or a solemn festival. They were secured behind by bands, and hence are sometimes called *ραυρίδια*. (*Staatshaush. der Athener*, Bd. ii., p. 330, seq.) Böckh refers to Schweighäuser (*ad. Athen.*, xiii., p. 605, b), who describes it as "*bracteam qua caput redimunt mulieres*." But how, it may well be asked, would such appendages be of any value in the eyes of hardy soldiers! whereas bath-scrapers would be in direct accordance with their national habits. A scholium, moreover, in one of the Vatican MSS., favors the interpretation we have given, namely, Στλεγγίς ἡ ξύστρον, κ. τ. λ.



Κεραμῶν ἀγορά. "The market of the Ceramians." The term ἀγορά, as here employed, is evidently meant to indicate a place of considerable traffic, but the particular site is altogether unknown. Rennell seeks to identify it with *Kütahiyeh*, and Hamilton with *Ushák*. Ainsworth, however, as will appear from his map, differs

from both.—ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρα. "The last (in the province, and) immediately adjacent to the Mysian territory." This is well explained by Hamilton as "the last town on the road to Mysia, before reaching the frontiers." (*Researches in Asia Minor*, vol. ii., p. 204.) Strabo tells us that, according to some writers, Mysia extended as far as Cadi, the modern *Ghiediz* (*Strab.*, xii., p. 576), so that the market of the Ceramians would be the last place before arriving at the city of Cadi. Hamilton states that *Ushák* is separated from *Ghiediz* by a mountainous and uninhabited district, and therefore, as above stated, makes *Ushák* correspond to the market of the Ceramians.

## § 11.

Καὶστρου πεδῖον. "The plain of Caÿstrus," i. e., the plain in which stood the city of Caÿstrus. (*Rennell*, p. 31.) The name and position of this place are both very obscure, it being very singular to call a city by the term πεδῖον. Rennell places Caÿstrus at the present site of *Isháklí*; but this has been shown by Hamilton and Ainsworth to be the position of Thymbrium, mentioned further on. Hamilton, by his system of admeasurements, causes Caÿstrus to correspond to *Chai-köi*, a village on the south side of the marshy plain of *Bilâvâdîr*. Ainsworth, on the contrary, is in favor of the plain of *Sürmench*, a high and arid upland, and thinks, not unreasonably, that the ancient name has some reference to the *burned* (καίω) and barren appearance of the locality. Leake, led astray by the ancient name, thought that it must be the same plain as that watered by the River Caÿster, to the south of Mount Tmolus, an idea altogether irreconcilable with the statements and distances given by Xenophon. (*Ainsworth*, p. 28.) And, finally, Mannert conjectures the true reading to be Κέστρου πεδῖον, which would make the place in question the same with Sagalassus, in Pisidia, situate on the River Cestrus. But (not to speak of the improbability of its being so described) if Cyrus had really invaded Pisidia, which was the avowed object of his hostility, Xenophon could scarcely have failed to make at least some such remark as he does afterward about Lycaonia. (*Thirlwall's Greece*, iv., p. 290, n.)

μισθὸς πλείων ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν. "More than three months' pay." The comparatives "more," "less," πλείων, μείων, &c., are often put as epithets with substantives of the masculine and feminine gender, and plural number, in the neuter singular or plural, and in the accusative, although the substantive be in the nominative, genitive, or dative. Compare *Xen.*, *Cyrop.*, ii., 1, 5: ἱπποὺς μὲν ἄξει οὐ μείων



δυσμυρίων; and again, § 6: ἱππέας μὲν ἡμῖν εἶναι μείον ἢ τὸ μίρον υἱός. (Matthias, § 437, Obs. 2.)—ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. "Unto his gates," i. e. unto his quarters.—ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε. "He, however, kept giving them hopes," i. e., of soon receiving their pay. Observe that διάγω, διατελέω, &c., are often used with the participle, in the sense of "to continue, to go on doing." The writers on ellipsis supply τὸν χρόνον here, so that the literal meaning will be, "he, however, passed the time speaking hopes."—καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος. "And was evidently distressed." Literally, "and was evident being distressed." Such adjectives as δῆλος, φανερός, &c., by a species of attraction, take after them the succeeding verb as a participle—πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπον. "In conformity with Cyrus's turn of character." Literally, "from Cyrus's turn," i. e., emanating from it as a natural quality.—ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. Supply αὐτόν before ἀποδιδόναι, and with which ἔχοντα agrees.

## § 12.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται, κ. τ. λ. The visit of Epyaxa, the Cilician queen, to Cyrus in this quarter, is satisfactorily explained, as far as locality is concerned, if we bear in mind that the Persian prince had now entered Phrygia Paroreius, and was approaching the borders of Lycaonia, and that he was consequently reaching that part of Asia Minor which, by means of numerous passes, easily communicated with Cilicia and the country about Aspendus. (Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 204.)—Συεννέσιος. The name Syennesis appears to have been common to the native princes of Cilicia, both before their subjugation by the Persians, and after they had become tributary to them. (Bähr ad Herod., i., 74.) It has been supposed by some that Syennesis, on the present occasion, having divined the real intention of Cyrus, and being desirous of remaining neutral, sent his wife on a secret mission to the latter. It is more probable, however, as Xenophon appears to intimate, that she was attracted by the personal qualities of the prince.—τῶν Κιλικίων. Cilicia was a country of Asia Minor, on the sea-coast, south of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, and to the east of Pamphylia.—Ἀσπενδίους. Aspendus was a city of Pamphylia, lying for the most part on a rocky precipice, on the banks of the River Eurymedon.—συγγενέσθαι. "Was intimate with."

## § 13.

Θύμβριον. Hamilton and Ainsworth agree in making the ancient Thymbrium correspond to the modern Ishaklı, situate at the foot

of a mountain called the Sullân Tâgh.—παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν. "Flowing along the road-side." Observe that παρὰ has here, as usual, with the accusative, the accompanying idea of motion. The dative, on the other hand, would imply rest. The reference appears to be to a fountain near the road-side, the waters of which flow for some distance parallel with the line of the road. Hamilton thinks that he has discovered the fountain to which Xenophon alludes, at Olan Bounar Debrant ("the pass of the great fountain"), which he describes as a copious spring of cold and sparkling water, gushing up from under the rocks close to the road, and at once forming a considerable stream. (Researches, vol. ii., p. 184.)—ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη. "Called Midas's." Literally, "called that of Midas." Supply κρήνη for the government of Μίδου. For an account of the different legends respecting Midas, consult Class. Dict., s. v.—ἐφ' ἣ. "At which." The preposition ἐπὶ here with the dative expresses proximity. (Matth. § 586.)—τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι, κ. τ. λ. "To have caught the Satyr, having mixed it with wine," i. e., having poured wine into it. The Satyr here alluded to was Silenus, who became intoxicated on drinking of the fountain, and was thus captured. Midas, when he had him in his power, and sobriety had returned put various questions to him respecting the origin of things and the events of the past.

## § 14.

Τυραῖον. Some editions give the name as Τυριαῖον. Tyræum, or Tyriæum, was a city of Phrygia, near the borders of Lycaonia. Hamilton identifies it with Ilghûri. Mannert, less correctly, seeks to make it correspond to Akshêhr.—ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται. "He makes a review." Compare note on § 9. Observe the force of the middle in ποιεῖται, as indicating the natural feeling of pride which Cyrus sought to gratify by this exhibition of his forces.

## § 15.

ὥς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, κ. τ. λ. "So to arrange themselves as was their custom (to be arranged) for battle, and to stand (in this order)," i. e., to stand drawn up in battle array. Supply ἦν after νόμος, and ταχθῆναι after μάχην. We have placed a comma after μάχην, with Weise and Bornemann, thus materially improving the sense. The common text has a comma after αὐτοῖς, and none after μάχην.—συντάξει δὲ ἑκαστον, κ. τ. λ. "And that each (general) form his own men." With ἑκαστον supply στρατηγόν.—ἐπὶ τεττάρων "Four deep," i. e., resting on four files or ranks. This arrangement

would give a more extended front, and would cause the Grecian army to present a more imposing appearance. When, as in the present instance, the phalanx was drawn up so that its front exceeded its depth, it had the name of *πλινθιον*; on the other hand, when it advanced in column, or on a front narrower than its depth, it was called *πύργος*.—*τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν*. "The right wing." Supply *κέρας*.—*τὸ μέσον*. "The centre." Observe that *τὸ μέσον* is here used substantively.

## § 16.

*ἰθεύρει*. "Reviewed."—*παρήλαννον*. "Marched past him."—*κατὰ ἵλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις*. "In troops and in companies," i. e., in troops of horse and companies of foot. By *ἵλη* is meant a troop of horse, consisting strictly of 64 men, though here, and also elsewhere, employed in a general sense, without any definite reference to number. The *τάξις*, on the other hand, is a body of infantry, usually 128 men; Xenophon, however, in the *Cyropædia* (ii., 1, 4), makes it consist of 100 men. Here, again, the term is employed in a general sense.—*Ἑλλήνας*. Depending on *ἰθεύρει*, supposed to be understood.—*παρελαύνων*. "Riding by them."—*ἐφ' ὁρμαμάξης*. "In a covered carriage." By *ὁρμάμαξα* is meant a sort of Eastern carriage, with a cover, intended especially for women and children. It was, in its construction, very like the Roman *carpentum*, being covered over head and inclosed with curtains, so as to be used at night as well as by day. As persons might lie in it at length, and it was made as commodious as possible, it was used also by the kings of Persia, and by men of high rank, in traveling by night, or in any other circumstances when they wished to consult their ease and pleasure. (*Dict. Antiq.*, p. 487, a.)

*χιτῶνας φοινικοῦς*. "Scarlet tunics." Scarlet or crimson appears to have been the general color of the Greek uniform, at least in the days of Xenophon.—*κνημίδας*. "Greaves." The greave covered the leg in front, from the knee to the ankle. They were made of bronze, brass, tin, silver, or gold, with a lining probably of leather, felt, or cloth. (Consult *Dict. Ant.*, s. v. *Ocrea*.)—*καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας*. "And their shields uncovered," i. e., taken from their cases and appearing bright to the view. The Greek and Roman soldiers kept their shields in leather cases until they were required for use, in order that their lustre might not be tarnished. On the present occasion, these coverings, which had been worn during the previous march, are removed, for the purpose of making a brilliant display. Some editors read *ἐκκεκαθαυμένας*, "burnished,"

not perceiving that this very idea is implied in the reading of the ordinary text, *ἐκκεκαλυμμένας*. Observe, moreover, that *ἀσπίδας* alone has here the article connected with it, the shields being the most important part of the equipments of the soldiers, and calculated to make the most striking appearance on an occasion like the present.

## § 17.

*πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος*. "In front of the line." The term *φάλαγξ* is here employed in the sense of the Latin *acies*, to denote a body of men drawn up in battle array.—*ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, κ. τ. λ.* "He gave orders (for the soldiers) to bring their arms to the front, and the whole line to advance." We have adopted here the punctuation of Poppo, namely, a comma after *ὅπλα*, which is more in accordance with the usual manner of Xenophon. By *ὅπλα* are meant here both the shield and spear, not the former merely; and the meaning of the order given by Cyrus was this, namely, to couch or level their spears, and at the same time cover themselves with their shields, preparatory to a charge. Hence the peculiar force of the middle in *προβαλέσθαι*, "to thrust or put forward in front of themselves." As regards the particular meaning of *ὅπλα* here, consult *Sturz*, *Lex. Xen.*, s. v.—*ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα*. The object of the order was to represent a movement upon an enemy in sham fight.

*ταῦτα προεῖπον*. "Notified these things."—*ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε*. "When the trumpet sounded." Literally, "when (the trumpeter) sounded the trumpet;" so that, in fact, *ὁ σαλπικτής* is understood. The word denoting the subject is commonly omitted, when the verb itself expresses the customary action of the subject.—*ἐκ δὲ τούτου θῦσσον προϊόντων*. "And upon this, as they kept moving onward more and more quickly." Genitive absolute, *αὐτῶν* being understood. Observe, moreover, the peculiar force of the comparative in *θῦσσον*.—*ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου*. "Of their own accord."—*ὁρμός ἐγένετο, κ. τ. λ.* The advancing line, actuated by a sportive spirit, broke at last into a run, and the Greeks returned, laughing, to their quarters, as is stated in the next section. Zeune very strangely takes *ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς* to refer to the Persian tents. But the tents of the Greeks themselves are meant, as Krüger correctly remarks, and as appears most plainly from *ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον* in the next section. Had Xenophon intended to have conveyed Zeuno's meaning (absurd enough in itself), he would have written, in this last-mentioned section, *ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν σκηνάς ἀπῆλθον*.



## § 18.

τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων, κ. τ. λ. "Thereupon there was much fear both unto others of the barbarians, and, in particular, the Cilician queen fled out of her covered carriage." We have followed here what appears to be the most natural construction. Krüger makes βαρβάρων depend on φόβος, and regards ἄλλοις as a nearer definition of the former. This, however, is extremely harsh. With φόβος supply ἐγένετο.—ἐκ τῆς ἡμαμάξης. Zeune, Weiske, and Krüger regard ἐκ here as equivalent to ἐπὶ. This, however, has been successfully refuted by Bornemann (*ad loc.*) and Sintenis (*Jahrb. für Philol. und Pæd.*, Bd. xlv., p. 152). Lion's explanation (adopted by Bornemann and Poppo) appears to be the true one; namely, that the queen's *harmamaxa* was probably drawn by oxen and mules, and its movements, therefore, on the present occasion, appeared to her to be too slow; so that, in her alarm, she leaped out of the vehicle, in order to make a more rapid escape.

καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, κ. τ. λ. "The people, also, (in the market), having left behind them the things exposed to sale, fled out of it." The reference is to the victualers and others, who had, as usual, established a market near the camp of Cyrus for the supply of the soldiery. The full form of expression here is οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς . . . . ἐφυγον. Compare the note on τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβόν, i., 2, 3.—τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν. "The brilliant appearance and the discipline."—ἡσθη. Cyrus was delighted at what took place, since it afforded him a convincing proof of the superiority of his Greek auxiliaries over the barbarians, and gave him a cheering presage of success in the approaching encounter with his brother.—ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους. "Struck by the Greeks into the barbarians." More literally, "(proceeding) from out of the Greeks into the barbarians."

## § 19.

Ἰκόνιον. Iconium was a very ancient city of Asia Minor, and during the Persian dominion the easternmost city of Phrygia. At a later period, however, it became and continued the capital of Lycaonia. It answers to the modern *Köniyah*.—Λυκαονίας. Lycaonia formed, in fact, the southeastern quarter of Phrygia. Toward the east it bordered on Cappadocia, from which it was separated by the River Halys; while on the south it was bounded by Pamphylia and Cilicia. Cyrus gave up the whole country to be plundered, and thus won favor with his army.—ὡς πολεμῶν οὖσαν. "As being that of an enemy." Like the Pisidians, the Lycaonians were a hardy

mountain race, who owned no subjection to the Persian king, but lived by plunder and foray.

## § 20.

τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς Κιλικίαν, κ. τ. λ. According to Ainsworth, as will appear from an inspection of his map, Cyrus, on leaving Iconium, conducted the queen as far as the entrance of the central pass in Taurus, whence he forwarded her with an escort across the mountains into Cilicia. The pass in question led to Soli or Pompeiopolis, the modern *Mezelli*, and to Tarsus. It is the shortest and most direct of the three passes through Taurus, but presents great difficulties to an army; and hence, probably, the loss of the two λόχοι of Menon's force, as subsequently mentioned.—καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας, κ. τ. λ. This detachment, besides guarding the queen, was intended, also, to march to Tarsus, the capital of the Cilician king, so as to effect a diversion in Cyrus's favor, the king being occupied in putting the Cilician gates into a state of defense.—καὶ αὐτόν. "And Menon himself." Supply Μένωνα.

Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, κ. τ. λ. The route of Cyrus's army, as will be perceived from the map, now turns off again from the chain of Mount Taurus, and is directed toward Tyana, which Hamilton, Ainsworth, and Rennell make to be identical with Xenophon's Dana. The modern name of Tyana is *Kiz Hissar*. The march to Tyana was probably made with the view of allowing time for the troops under Menon to arrive at Tarsus, and thus compel Syennesis to quit the Cilician gates. Hence, too, we may account for the length of time, three days, that Cyrus remained at Tyana.—ἐν ᾧ "During which time." Supply χρόνῳ.—φοινικιστὴν βασιλείον. "A royal purple-wearer," i. e., a wearer of royal purple. By this expression is meant a nobleman of the highest rank. With the Persians "a wearer of purple" meant the same as an individual of the highest rank; whereas the *παλαουργεῖς*, who were of lower rank, wore only facings of purple. We have here given what appears to be the best explanation of the disputed term *φοινικιστής*. There are other, but inferior modes of interpreting it. Thus, in the *Lexicon* of Zonaras, it is made equivalent to βαφεύς, and hence some translate *φοινικιστὴν βασιλείον*, "a royal dyer of purple," i. e., a king's dyer, supposing that there was a certain degree of authority connected with such an office. Larcher, on the other hand, interprets *φοινικιστὴν* by "a bearer of the red standard," deriving it at once from *φοινικίς*.—καὶ ἑτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην. "And a certain other powerful individual of the chief officers," i. e., a person high in

command in the barbarian army. By *ὑπαρχος* is meant a subordinate officer of the highest class; one who is not, indeed, a satrap himself, but who governs some part of a province, or holds some important command under a satrap. Thus, Ariæus is called *ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος* further on. (i., 8, 5.—Compare Poppo, *Inl. Græc. ad Xen., Anab.*, s. v.)

## § 21.

*ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν, κ. τ. λ.* "Thence they endeavored to penetrate into Cilicia." Literally, "to throw (their army) into Cilicia." Supply *τὸν στρατὸν*, or, what is equivalent, *ἐαυτούς*. The army marched from Tyana to the Cilician gates, with the view of entering Cilicia by means of this pass.—*ἡ δὲ εἰσβολή, κ. τ. λ.* "But the entrance was a wagon-road," i. e., just broad enough for a single wagon to pass. Xenophon is now describing the famous pass through Mount Taurus into Cilicia, called by the ancients "the Cilician gates" (*Πύλαι τῆς Κιλικίας, Pylæ Ciliciæ*), and by the Turks at the present day, *Gölek Bôghâz*. It is decidedly the most remarkable of the three passes through Taurus in these regions, the other two leading, one to Seleucia, in Pisidia, and the other (Menon's route) to Tarsus, by the way of Pompeiopolis. According to Ainsworth, the Cilician gates are at first wide enough to permit the passage of three chariots; but the narrowest and most difficult portion of the road, which is the point to which Xenophon's description applies, is a deep gorge or fissure, in a lofty ridge of limestone rocks, just broad enough for a chariot to pass, and that with great difficulty. This part of the road bears evident marks of ancient chiseling, and must have been widened and repaired by various successive invaders; but large masses of rock have fallen down into the stony bed of the waters, and the road is perhaps less feasible, at the present day, than it was in the time of Xenophon or Alexander. (Ainsworth, p. 45.)—*ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι*. "Impracticable to enter for an army." This construction falls under the general head of attraction. According to the regular form of expression, the adjective would be in the neuter, and the clause would be as follows: *ἦν ἀμήχανον ἦν εἰσελθεῖν*. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)

*λελοιπὸς εἶη*. "Had left." Observe here the employment of the optative, like the subjunctive in Latin, to show that the writer does not speak in his own person, but in that of the messenger who brought the tidings. Compare note on *ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ*, i., 1, 3.—*ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο ὅτι, κ. τ. λ.* We have adopted here the reading of Dindorf. The common text has *ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο τὸ τε Μένωνος στρατεύματι*.

*ὅτι ᾔδη, κ. τ. λ.*, but the authority of the MSS. is decidedly in favor of the former. Cyrus's stratagem, it may be here remarked, had completely succeeded; for Syennesis quitted the heights as soon as he learned that Menon's detachment had entered Cilicia and were about to manœuvre in his rear, and also that the combined naval force of Cyrus and the Lacedæmonians was coming round from Ionia to Cilicia, under the orders of Tamos.—*εἰσω τῶν ὀρέων*. "Within the mountains," i. e., this side of Mount Taurus, having crossed the range and got into Cilicia.

*καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε, κ. τ. λ.* According to Krüger, the construction is as follows: *καὶ ὅτι ἤκουε Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τριήρεις, τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου περιπλεούσας ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν*. The objection, however, to this arrangement is, as Poppo correctly remarks, that Syennesis did not abandon the heights because he heard that Tamos had the vessels under his command, but because the vessels themselves were actually sailing around. Poppo thinks that we have here a *confusio locutionum*, and refers to a parallel passage in Thucydides (iii., 26); but his own explanation is not more satisfactory than Krüger's. Weiske, again, is of opinion, that the words from *Ταμῶν* to *Κύρου*, both inclusive, are a mere interpolation, and ought to be thrown out; an opinion which Schneider also favors; and yet the words in question were certainly in the text in the time of Demetrius Phalereus, since he actually cites them in his treatise *περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, § 198, p. 80. The best, and certainly the most natural way, is to regard *Ταμῶν ἔχοντα* as a parenthetical clause, depending on *ἤκουε* in common with *τριήρεις*, &c., and therefore to place a comma both before and after these words. The meaning will then be as follows: "and because he heard of triremes sailing around from Ionia to Cilicia, of Tamos commanding them, which were those of the Lacedæmonians and of Cyrus himself." Tamos, who is here spoken of, was an Egyptian, a native of Memphis, and had previously held a command under Tissaphernes in Ionia. (Thucyd., viii., 31, 87.) According to Diodorus Siculus, he fled to Egypt with his fleet, after the death of Cyrus, but was there put to death, together with his children, by King Psammitichus.

## § 22.

*καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνὰς, κ. τ. λ.* "And saw the tents where the Cilicians were guarding." We have retained *εἶδε*, the reading of the ordinary text, with Poppo, Bornemann, and Dindorf. Muretus, however, objects to it as conveying a superfluous meaning, since Cyrus must,



as he remarks, have seen the Cilician encampment as a matter of course, unless he closed his eyes. In place of εἶδε, therefore, Muretus conjectures εἶλε, "took possession of," and he is followed by Weiske, Schneider, and others, some of whom, moreover, as, for example, Weiske, give the imperfect ἐφύλαττον the force of a pluperfect, "had been guarding." No change, however, of any kind is required in the text, and the explanation of Lion is sufficiently satisfactory. He supposes that Syennesis had retired only to a short distance, and had merely left that part of the mountains unobstructed along which Cyrus would have to ascend, in order that he might avoid any actual collision with him. Cyrus, therefore, as he passed along, beheld not far off the tents of the Cilicians, where they were still keeping up an *appearance* of guarding. (Compare, also, *Larcher, ad loc.*) Some commentators render ἐφύλαττεν, "used to guard;" but if a permanent guard were kept here, a fortress, or at least more substantial dwellings, would be required; and, besides, what need of a permanent guard in time of peace?

πεδῖον μέγα καὶ καλόν. The plain of Cilicia Campestris, according to Ainsworth, is still almost every where remarkable for its fertility and beauty, but especially in the valleys of the rivers Cydnus (the route of Cyrus on the present occasion), Sarus, and Pyramus. —ἐπιήρπυτον. "Well-watered." Literally, "flowed upon," and taken here in a passive sense. Cilicia Campestris was watered by the Cydnus, Sarus, and Pyramus, already mentioned. —ἐμπλεων. "Full." Accusative singular neuter of ἐμπλεως, ὦν, Attic form for ἐμπλεος, α, ον, and agreeing with πεδῖον. —σήσαμον, καὶ μελίην, καὶ κέγχρον. "Sesame, and panic, and millet." By σήσαμον is meant an Eastern leguminous annual plant, known from a very ancient period, and very interesting on account of the economical purposes to which it is applied. The seeds are boiled and eaten like rice; and, besides this, they yield an oil not unlike or inferior to oil of almonds, which in Japan, China, and Cochin China, where they have no butter, is employed as a substitute for it in cookery, and is also applied elsewhere to many useful purposes. —μελίην. A plant of the genus *panicum*. It is at present cultivated in some parts of Europe for bread. The grain resembles millet. —κέγχρον. Millet is a plant of the genus *millium*, of which there are several species. That cultivated for food is called *panicum Italicum*. It yields an abundance of small grains, set around a compact spike at the top of the stalk. In the East, millet is used as food for men; but in Europe, though it is sometimes made into loaves and cakes, and frequently into puddings, it is mostly used for feeding poultry and domestic animals (*Penny Cyclop.*, s. v.)

φέρει. Ainsworth says that the various productions mentioned here by Xenophon are still yielded at the present day, but that to them is added a considerable cultivation of cotton, rice, and sugar. —ὄρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρόν, κ. τ. λ. "Moreover, a strongly-defended and lofty mountain range surrounds it on all sides from sea to sea." By ὄρος ὄχυρόν is meant a mountain range defended by both nature and art. Under the description here given of the μέγα πεδῖον, we have, in fact, one of Cilicia Campestris in general, which is inclosed on all sides by the sea and the mountain belts of Taurus and Amanus. —ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. The reference here is to the two points on the coast where the mountains meet the sea, namely, the range of Taurus toward the west, and that of Amanus toward the east, at the mouth of the Sinus Issicus, or the promontory of Rhodus.

## § 23.

Ταρσοῦς. "Tarsus." We have given here the plural form for consistency's sake, since we have τοὺς Ταρσοῦς in § 26. It is adopted, also, by Dindorf, Bornemann, and many others. Several good MSS., it is true, have the singular here; but this form would rather seem to have been employed by writers of a later date. So Xenophon, in § 24, has Ἰσσοῖς, where other and later writers use the singular. Tarsus was a city of Cilicia Campestris, on the River Cydnus, not far from its mouth. —ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασιλεία. "Here was the palace of Syennesis." Observe the employment of the neuter plural with a plural verb, although inanimate objects are referred to. This regularly takes place when the individuality or the plurality of the parts is to be signified. The plural verb, therefore, is here intended to be very graphic, and the palace of Syennesis to be depicted to the view as quite an extensive one, and consisting of several buildings. The meaning of the clause, therefore, is, in fact, as follows: "Here were the buildings forming the palace of Syennesis." (*Kühner*, § 385, b. — *Jahrb. für Philol. und Päd.*, Bd. xxxix., p. 26.) Compare i., 7, 17.

Κύδνος ὄνομα. The Cydnus rose in the chain of Mount Taurus, and fell into the sea a little below Tarsus. It is now the *Terssoos*. —εὖρος δύο πλέθρων. "Of two plethra in breadth." Observe that εὖρος, like ὄνομα preceding it, is the accusative of nearer definition, and that πλέθρων depends not on εὖρος, but on ποταμός. —πλέθρων. Consult note on i., 2, 5.

## § 24.

εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρόν. "For a strong-hold." Observe the construction of ἐξέλαιον with the preposition εἰς. Frequently a verb, which

of itself signifies only removal from a place, has the preposition *εἰς* connected with it in construction, in order to express the accompanying idea of motion to a place. In the present instance, therefore, we may freely render *εἰς*, "in order to go to," but we are not to suppose any actual ellipsis of a verb; neither are we, with Leunclavius, to supply *φυγόντες* in the text after *δρυρόν*, nor, as Stephens thinks, *ἐλθόντες* or *καταπεφυγότες*.—*πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχοντες*. "Except those that kept the public houses." These, of course, would remain behind for the sake of gain. The full construction is *πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχοντες οὐκ ἐξέλιπον*; so that the literal meaning of the clause is as follows: "save that those did not leave who kept the public houses."—*ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς*. "In Soli and in Issus." Soli, or Soloë, was a city of Cilicia Campestris, near the mouth of the River Lamus. It was founded, according to one account, by an Argive and Rhodian colony; according to another, by a colony of Athenians. By intermingling with the rude Cilicians, the inhabitants so far corrupted their own dialect as to give rise to the term *Σολοικισμός* (*solecism*), to denote any violation of the idiom of a language. The ruins of this place exist near the site now called *Mezelli*, on the coast. As regards the Latin form of the ancient name, it may be remarked, that, though Mannert pronounces *Soli* incorrect, yet the books vary between this form and *Soloë*, and the former is more in accordance with analogy than the latter. (Consult *Tzschucke, ad Pomp. Mel.*, i., 13, 2.)—*Ἰσσοῖς*. Xenophon here uses the plural; but the singular is much more common. (Compare note on *Ταρσοῦς*, § 23.) Issus lay at the foot of the main chain of Amanus, and nearly at the centre of the head of the gulf to which it gave name, Issicus Sinus. It was famous, at a later day, for the victory gained here by Alexander over Darius. The modern *Aiasse* corresponds to the site of the ancient town.

## § 25.

*προτέρα Κύρου, κ. τ. λ.* The Cilician queen, it will be remembered, had been sent on before to Cilicia, by the shortest route across the mountains, under the charge of Menon.—*ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, κ. τ. λ.* "In the passage, however, over the mountains that reach down to the plain," i. e., while descending the mountains into Cilicia. The troops referred to in the text were lost on the Cilician side of the mountains, and hence the retaliation inflicted by their comrades on the capital of the country, as is stated immediately after. An anonymous critic in the *Acta Eruditorum, Lips.*, 1749, p. 417, conjectures *τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον*, which would certainly give a clearer mean-

ing. With *τῶν*, after *δρυόν*, supply *καθηκόντων*.—*δύο λόχοι*. "Two companies." The numbers of the *λόχος* appear to have differed in different states, owing, probably, to the different divisions of regiments among them. Most usually, however, a *λόχος* contained about 100 men, and corresponds in this way to the Roman *centuria*. Hence *λοχαγός* is the same as *centurio*; and by *λοχίτης ἐκκλησία* is meant the Roman *comitia centuriata*. On the present occasion, the *λόχος*, as will be perceived, contains only fifty men; and hence Krüger conjectures that *ἐκαστος* has been dropped from the text, and that we ought to read *ἐκατὸν ἐκαστος ὀπλίται*. (Krüger, *de Authent.*, p. 41.)

*ἀρπάζοντάς τι*. "While plundering something," i. e., while engaged in some marauding affair.—*ὑπολειφθέντας*. "Having been left behind," i. e., having lagged behind. Often said of stragglers from an army, who lag behind *unperceived* by their comrades, and hence the employment of *ὑπό* with the verb.—*εἰτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι*. "Thereupon, wandering about, they perished," i. e., in this way perished while wandering about. Sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, when the participle is placed before the other verb on which it depends, the particle *οὕτως*, or *ἐπειτα*, or, also, *εἰτα*, is inserted between, or else appended to the two. (Buttmann, § 144, 6.)—*ἐκατὸν ὀπλίται*. Krüger, as already remarked, proposes to read *ἐκατὸν ἐκαστος ὀπλίται*. Compare iv., 8, 15, and *Matthias*, § 301, *Obs*

## § 26.

*καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ*. With the second *τά* supply *ὄντα*. *μετεπέμπετο τὸν Συέννησιν, κ. τ. λ.* "Sent for Syennesis to come unto him," i. e., summoned Syennesis into his presence. Observe that the middle verb is strengthened here by the addition of the reflexive pronoun with *εἰς*. This serves to impart more precision to the sentence, and to render it more graphic.—*ὁ δ' οὔτε πρότερον, κ. τ. λ.* "He, however, answered, that he had neither ever as yet before this, come into the hands of any person superior to himself, nor was he, on this occasion, willing to come into those of Cyrus," i. e., had never put himself into the power of any person, &c. With *Κύρῳ* supply *εἰς χεῖρας*. The phrase *εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἔλναι, συνιέναι τινί*, is more commonly employed of close fight: "to come to blows with one." (Xen., *Cyrop.*, viii., 8, 22. — *Thucyd.*, iv., 33, 72.) Observe the change of construction in the latter clause of this sentence, *οὔτε ἤθελε*, where we would expect the infinitive.—*πρὶν ἢ γυνῇ αὐτοῖς ἔπεισε*. The adverb *πρὶν* is used with the indicative, when the action which is defined and the event which limits it are both past, and are represented as past facts. (Kühner, § 848, p. 462, *ed. Jelf*.)



## § 27.

ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις. "When they met one another."—εἰς τὴν στρατίαν. "For his army." The preposition εἰς is here employed to mark the direct object or intent, and as indicative of apparent frankness and sincerity on the part of the giver. Syennesis even added, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, a large body of troops, under the command of one of his sons, to the army of Cyrus. His movements, however, were altogether insincere, and were dictated merely by a regard for his own interests, since, as Diodorus likewise states, being anxious to stand well with both sides, he sent another of his sons secretly to the king, with information respecting the amount of Cyrus's forces, adding, that he had joined the latter only through necessity, and was desirous of returning to his former allegiance. (Diod. Sic., xiv., 20.)

παρὰ βασιλεὶ τίμα. "Of value in the eyes of a king." Literally, "with a king."—χρυσοχάλινον. "With gold-studded bridle." Those who took delight in horsemanship bestowed the highest degree of splendor and elegance upon every part of the bridle. The ἵππος χρυσοχάλινος, however, usually applies to Persian customs.—στρεπτόν χρυσοῦν. "A twisted collar of gold." The term στρεπτός is properly an adjective, and in its present signification has κύκλος, in fact, understood. It denotes here an ornament, usually of gold, twisted spirally, and bent into a circular form, which was worn round the neck by men of distinction, among the Persians, the Gauls, and other Asiatic and northern nations. It answers to the Latin *torques* or *torquis*. The following wood-cut, taken from an antique, will give a correct idea of one.



ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν. "A golden short-sword." The term ἀκινάκης (in Latin, *acinaces*) is of Persian origin, and denotes a short and straight sword, used by that nation. It was worn on the right side of the body, whereas the Greeks and Romans usually had their swords suspended on the left side. The form of the *acinaces*, with the mode of wearing it, is illustrated by the following Persepolitan figures.



καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀφαρπάζεσθαι. "And that the country should no longer be plundered," i. e., and he granted, also, to the country of Cilicia, an exemption from any further plundering at the hands of the Greeks. The latter, it will be remembered, had just plundered Tarsus.—τὰ δὲ ἡρπασμένα, κ. τ. λ. "And to receive back," &c., i. e. and that he himself and his subjects should receive back—ἢν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν. "If they meet with them any where," i. e., wherever they, the Cilicians, may meet with them. Some, less correctly, make ἀνδράποδα the subject of ἐντυγχάνωσιν. Consult Bornemann, *ad loc.*

## CHAPTER III.

## § 1.

οὐκ ἔβασαν εἶναι τοῦ πρόσω. "Refused to go onward." The particle οὐ has with some words the power not merely of rendering them negative, but of giving them the directly contrary sense; that is, the negative and the word with which it is joined adhere so closely as to form together only one idea. Thus, οὐκ ἔβασαν be-

comes equivalent here to the Latin *negabant*. So οὐκ εἰώ, "I for bid;" οὐχ ὑπισχνούμαι, "I refuse;" οὐχ ὑποδέχομαι, "I decline." (Buttmann, § 148, note 2.—Matthiae, § 608, 1.)—τοῦ πρόσω. Every adjunct in itself indeclinable can be rendered declinable by the aid of the article. Hence adverbs are, without further change, converted into adjectives by simply prefixing the article. (Buttmann, § 125, 6.) As regards the case here employed, it is decidedly the simplest and best plan to view it as the genitive of part. Hence εἶναι τοῦ πρόσω will mean, in fact, "to go a part of the farther way," i. e., to go any part. (Buttmann, § 132, 4, c, note.)—ἐπὶ βασιλέα εἶναι. "That they were going against the king."—μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. "And they said that they had not been hired for this purpose." The remark made at the beginning of this section respecting the force of the negative does not apply here, but only where the negative and the word with which it is joined are in close juxtaposition.

ἐδιόχετο. "Endeavored to force." Since the imperfect always implies duration or continuance, that is, an action more or less incomplete, it is frequently employed to denote a mere endeavor to do a thing, as in the present instance.—αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον. "Began to throw stones at both him." More literally, "began to pelt both him." Supply λίθοις. Hence βάλλειν τινὰ λίθοις, "to throw stones at one," or, more literally, "to hit or pelt one with stones." Compare v., 7, 19, where the ellipsis is supplied.

## § 2.

μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε, κ. τ. λ. "Narrowly escaped being stoned to death." Observe that πετριθῆναι is simply "to be stoned;" but καταπετριθῆναι, "to be stoned to death." Hence, Poppo correctly renders the present clause by *viz effugit quin lapidibus interficeretur*. Observe, moreover, the employment of the negative μή with καταπετριθῆναι, and which Sturz (*Lex. Xen.*, s. v. ἐκφεύγειν, 3) erroneously regards as redundant here. Its presence is to be explained on the general principle of strengthening a negation. The Greeks were in general so accustomed to the rule that one negative only strengthens another, that frequently a verb like ἐξέφυγε, which in itself implies a negative, is still construed with another negative. (Buttmann, § 148, n. 9.)—τὸ μὴ καταπετριθῆναι. We have given here the accusative, with Dindorf, in place of the genitive, τοῦ καταπετριθῆναι, of the common text. The expression ἐκφεύγειν τινός means "to escape out of a thing," *effugere ex aliqua re*; whereas ἐκφεύγειν τι is "to escape a thing," *effugere rem*. Now, if we retain the genitive

in the text, καταπετριθῆναι can have no other meaning than "to be attacked with stones." But the presence of the negative μή directly opposes such a version, and shows that the verb means "to be stoned to death." The accusative, therefore, is alone correct (Poppo, *ad loc.*)

ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται. In oblique discourses, ὅτι and ὥς are usually followed by the optative; but even here the indicative enters when the reference is to something certain and positive, and about which there can be no doubt. The indicative δυνήσεται, therefore, is here employed to show that Clearchus now knew for certain that he would not be able to succeed by force.—ἐδάκρυε. Observe the continuance of action indicated here by the imperfect. So, again, in ἐθαύμαζον and ἐσιώπων which follow.—ἐθαύμαζον. The soldiers might well wonder at seeing tears shed by so stern and imperious a man as Clearchus.

## § 3.

ἄνδρες στρατιῶται. "Soldiers." Many personal nouns which express a station or profession are used as adjectives, and the word ἀνὴρ is added to them when the person is viewed as belonging to such a state or profession, or omitted when he is regarded as only performing the functions of such a state or profession. Thus, ἄνδρες στρατιῶται properly means "men who are by profession soldiers," and has, therefore, a kind of conciliating or complimentary force; whereas στρατιῶται alone would be "men who are acting as soldiers." (Compare Kühner, § 439, 1, *ed. Jelf.*)—ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω, κ. τ. λ. "That I am deeply grieved at the present state of affairs." Observe that χαλεπῶς φέρω has here an intransitive force. The dative is put, moreover, with many passives and neuters, where it expresses the cause, occasion, &c., of the action. (Matthiae, § 399, c.) Elsewhere, however, we find χαλεπῶς φέρω accompanied by ἐπὶ, as χαλεπῶς ἢ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις φέρονσα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. (*Xen., Hell.*, vii., 4, 21.)

τά τε ἄλλα. "Both in other respects."—καὶ ἔδωκε. "And, in particular, gave me." When we have τέ in the first clause and καὶ in the second, καὶ implies the greater emphasis of its own clause. This incessive force of καὶ is particularly seen when it connects the general and particular. Thus, we have τά τε ἄλλα in the previous clause followed here by καὶ ἔδωκε, κ. τ. λ.; and καὶ, in consequence, takes the meaning of "and in particular," or "and especially." In this way, moreover, has arisen the expression ἄλλως τε καὶ which is to be simply rendered "especially." (Kühner, § 758, 3, *ed*



*Jelf.*)—οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοί. "Laid not up for myself for my own use."—ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθηδυνάθησα, κ. τ. λ. "Nay, nor did I squander them in a life of luxury and pleasure, but I expended them on you." Observe here the elegant and forcible use of ἀλλά in ἀλλ' οὐδέ. A sudden thought suggests itself to the speaker, that, since many squander on luxury and pleasure money given them for other purposes, the same charge might be brought against himself, and he therefore abruptly anticipates this objection by ἀλλά. (*Weiske, de Pleonasm. Gr.*, p. 174, ed. *Oxon.*, p. 111. — Compare *Hartung, Lehre von den Partikeln*, ii., p. 37, 4.)—εἰς ὑμᾶς. Observe the force of εἰς here as referring to an express and direct object, and therefore equivalent, in fact, to "directly upon." Compare note on εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, chap. ii., § 27.

## § 4.

καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐτιμωρούμην, κ. τ. λ. "And with your assistance I sought vengeance in behalf of Greece," i. e., I sought to inflict punishment upon them, &c. The verb *τιμωρέω*, in the active voice, means properly, "to help, aid, or succor," and is followed by the dative of the person to whom aid is lent. Hence arises the meaning "to avenge;" and in full construction the person avenged is in the dative, but the person on whom vengeance is taken is in the accusative. Thus, *τιμωρεῖν τινι τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν φονέα*, "to avenge one on the murderer of his son." (*Xen., Cyrop.*, iv., 6, 8.) In the middle voice, on the other hand, this same verb signifies "to help one's self against one," i. e., to avenge one's self upon him, and hence "to punish or chastise;" and always with the accusative of the person punished; as *τιμωρεῖσθαι τινα*, "to take vengeance on one." The thing for which punishment is inflicted is expressed by the genitive or accusative, but more frequently the latter. Sometimes the verb occurs absolutely, as in the present instance, "to avenge one's self;" "to seek vengeance."

ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων. He means, in fact, checking their incursions into the Chersonesus, and driving them out whenever they had succeeded in making an inroad. Compare note on ὑπὲρ Ἑλλησπόντου, i., 1, 9.—ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, κ. τ. λ. "To take away their land from the Greeks who dwell therein," i. e., to deprive the Grecian colonists of their settlements in the Chersonese. Verbs which signify "to take away" are construed with two accusatives, one of the person and another of the thing taken away. Observe that from Homer downward the middle voice of ἀφαιρέω is more frequent than the active.—ἀνθ' ὧν εὐ ἐπαθον ὅπ' ἐκείνων.

"In return for the benefits I had received from him." Literally, "in return for (the things) with reference to which I had been well off through him." Observe that ἀνθ' ὧν is here equivalent to ἀντὶ τούτων &c., the genitive ὧν being an instance of the ordinary Attic attraction.

## § 5.

ἐπεὶ δέ. "Since, however."—συμπορεύεσθαι. "To go along with me." Supply μοί.—προδόντα. We would expect here *προδόντι*, but *προδόντα* is used instead, agreeing with ἐμέ understood, and which is to be supplied as an accusative before *χρησθαι*.—πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευδόμενον. "Having proved false to him," i. e., having broken my word to him.—μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι. "To side with you." Porson conjectured here *ἵεναι*, "to go," in place of *εἶναι*, and his conjecture has been adopted by Schneider, Dindorf, and others. The emendation, however, is quite unnecessary, since *εἶναι μετὰ τινος* is very frequently employed in the sense of "to act with one," "to side with one." Compare *Xen., Cyrop.*, ii., 4, 6: *μετὰ τοῦ ἡδικομένου ἔσεσθαι*; and consult Poppe's remarks on the present passage.—εἰ μὲν δὲ δίκαια ποιήσω. "Whether, indeed, I shall be doing just things," i. e., acting a just part. The particle *εἰ*, when it signifies "whether," is used in indirect questions with either the subjunctive, the optative, or the indicative. With the subjunctive, when the question is asked what any one should do; with the optative, in speaking of an action that is past; and with the future when any thing is represented as real. So the question here is not what Clearchus is to do, but whether the course which he is determined actually to pursue will be a just one or not.

αἰρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς. "Still, however, I will prefer you."—καὶ οὐποτε ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς. "And never shall any one say." In a negative proposition, all such general terms as "any one," "at any time," "any where," &c., are expressed by compound negatives, on the principle that an accumulation of negatives strengthens the negation. (*Matthiæ*, § 609.)—εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους. "Among the barbarians," i. e., into the land of the barbarians. Compare note on εἰς Τισίδας, i., 1, 11.

## § 6.

ὅν ὑμῖν ἐφομαι. Since the idea of direction lies at the foundation of the use of the dative, the verbs that signify "to follow" take the same case. But inasmuch as these verbs also express companionship, they are often construed with ὅν, ὑμᾶς, &c. (*Matthiæ*, § 403.)—καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἄν, κ. τ. λ. "And I think that with you I

shall, in all likelihood, be honored wherever I may chance to be." The future infinitive *εἰσεσθαι* would express, if here employed, something that is certain to happen; whereas *ἂν εἶναι* refers merely to what is probable, and likely to occur under certain circumstances. (Kühner, § 429, 3, *Obs.* 2, *ed. Jelf.*)—*τίμιος*. When the same person is both the subject and object of the verb, the nominative stands with the infinitive, not the accusative.—*οὐτ' ἂν φίλον ὠφελησαι*, κ. τ. λ. "Either to assist a friend or defend myself against an enemy." In the preceding clause we had the present infinitive *εἶναι*, because the reference was to a continued and frequently-repeated action, or one in which the beginning only was considered; here, however, the aorist is employed to designate merely a transient action, and one considered independently in its completion. (*Matthiae*, § 501.) Observe here, moreover, the repetition of the particle *ἂν*. It often occurs thus, being first employed with the finite verb at the beginning to denote the conditional nature of the whole sentence, and again with the part or parts of the sentence in which the conditional idea is carried out. In cases like the present, this is done for the sake of emphasis; in others, for that of perspicuity. (Kühner, § 432, *ed. Jelf.*)

*ὥς ἐμοῦ οὖν λόγος*, κ. τ. λ. "That I am going, then, whithersoever you (may) even (be going;) so hold to the opinion," i. e., think of me, then, as determined upon going whithersoever, &c. A singular use of the genitive absolute with *ὥς* occurs with the verbs *εἰδέναι*, *ἐπίστασθαι*, *νοεῖν*, *εἶναι*, *γνώμην*, and the like, where we should expect to find the accusative with the infinitive. The genitive signifies that the action of the participle is the cause of the state or action expressed by the verb. This relation is marked even in the position, as the genitive absolute almost always precedes the verb. The connection of the verb (as a consequence) with the genitive absolute is also generally marked by the addition of *οὕτω*. (Kühner, § 702, *ed. Jelf.*)

## § 7.

*καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι*. "As well as the rest," i. e., those under the command of the other generals.—*ὅτι οὐ φαίη*, κ. τ. λ. "Because he refused to march toward the king." Consult note on *οὐκ ἔφασαν*, § 1. Observe, moreover, that *πορεύεσθαι* is here neither the present, with the force of a future, as some maintain; nor the present aorist, as Krüger very strangely insists; but the simple infinitive present after *οὐ φαίη*, the latter being taken as a combined idea.—*παρὰ βασιλέα*. Observe that *ἐπὶ βασιλέα* would convey the idea of advancing against in order to attack; but that *παρὰ βασιλέα* implies merely a

going toward, or an approaching. Thus we have, ii., 2, 3, *εἶναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα*, and again, ii., 2, 4, *εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς Κύρου φίλοις*.—*παρὰ Ξενίου καὶ Πασίωνος*. "From Xenias and Pasion," i. e., having left those commanders. Some supply here *ἀπελθόντες*, but this is quite unnecessary, the idea being sufficiently conveyed by the preposition *παρὰ*.—*καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα*. "And their baggage." Literally, "and the beasts of burden that carried their baggage." Supply *κτῆνη*. These were mules, asses, and oxen, and are expressly distinguished from horses in another part of the work (iii., 3, 19). Some supply the ellipsis more fully by *κτῆνη τε καὶ ὀχήματα*, from Herodian (viii., 1), but this is not required. Compare *Bos*, *Ellips. Gr.*, s. v. *κτῆνη*, and *Schaefer*, *ad loc.*

## § 8.

*τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε*, κ. τ. λ. "Being both perplexed and grieved at these things." Weiske, following Zeune, reads *τούτων* here in place of *τούτοις*. But *ἀπορεῖν τινος* is "to be in want of any thing," whereas *ἀπορεῖν τινι* is "to be perplexed at any thing." Zeune maintains, moreover, that *ἀπορεῖν* is never joined with the dative. In this, however, he is contradicted by Xenophon himself, i., 5, 14, where we have *ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι*. He ought merely to have said that the construction with the dative is comparatively rare.—*ὁ δὲ εἶναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε*. "He, however, would not go."—*ὥς καταστησομένων*, κ. τ. λ. "Since these things would turn out favorably." Literally, "since these things would arrange themselves according to what was right." Observe here the employment of *ὥς* with the genitive absolute, as expressing the opinion or assertion of another; and compare note on *ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντος*, i., 1, 6.—*καταστησομένων*. Not the middle in a passive sense, as some insist, but the regular future participle of the middle voice, with a middle signification.—*μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν*, κ. τ. λ. "And he desired (Cyrus) to send for him; but (when this had been done) he himself refused to go," i. e., he himself, the very person who had desired Cyrus to send for him. This, of course, was all intended to keep up appearances. As regards the clause *αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη εἶναι*, the meaning of which has been often mistaken, compare the German version of Becker: "Dies geschah: allein Klearchos wollte auch jetzt nicht zu ihm gehn," and also the Latin one of Amasæus: "quo facto ille iterum se venturum negavit."

## § 9.

*τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ*. "Those who had come to him." The ref



erence is to those who had left Xenias and Pasion.—*Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται*. Krüger remarks, that this speech belongs to the class which the Latin rhetoricians termed "*orationes figuratae*," and the Greek, *λόγοι σχηματισμένοι*. This mode of addressing an audience is employed, when the speaker does not wish to express himself fully on certain points, but leaves these to the penetration of his hearers. So, on the present occasion, Clearchus does not tell his hearers, in so many words, that they are in a situation beset with difficulties, but he artfully expresses himself in such a way as to let them draw this conclusion of themselves. Compare Quintilian, ix., 2, 62, and *Ernesti, Lex. Technol. Gr. Rhet.*, s. v. *σχηματίζειν*.—*τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου, κ. τ. λ.* "It is evident that the affairs of Cyrus now are in the same position with regard to us, that ours are with regard to him," i. e., all obligation has ceased on both sides. Literally, "it is evident that the affairs of Cyrus have themselves so toward us as ours have themselves toward him." With *ἔχει* supply *ἑαυτά*, and with *τὰ ἡμέτερα* supply *ἔχει ἑαυτά*.—*ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ*. The meaning is this: since at least we are so far not his soldiers that we do not any longer march with him against the king, though in other respects we are still nominally his troops. Observe here the limiting power of *γέ*.—*οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἐτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης*. A most artful remark, and well calculated to produce uneasy feelings in his auditors.

## § 10.

*ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικοῦσθαι, κ. τ. λ.* "That he thinks, indeed, he is wrong fully dealt with by us, I am well aware."—*ἐλθεῖν*. "To come unto him."—*τὸ μὲν μέγιστον*. "Chiefly." Literally, "what is greatest." Observe that *τὸ μέγιστον* is here in apposition with what follows, and is equivalent, when resolved, to *ὁ μέγιστός ἐστι*. (*Matthia*, vol. ii., p. 710.)—*ὅτι σύννοια ἑμαυτῷ, κ. τ. λ.* "Because I am conscious unto myself of having proved false to him in all things." In verbs which have with them a reflexive pronoun, as *σύννοια ἑμαυτῷ*, the participle that follows can stand in either of the two cases connected with the verb; that is, either in the nominative (as in the present instance), because the same subject is contained in the person of the verb; or in the dative, as referring to the dative of the accompanying reflexive pronoun. Thus, we can say either *σύννοια ἑμαυτῷ ἐφυσμένος*, or *σύννοια ἑμαυτῷ ἐφυσμένῳ*. (*Matthia*, § 548, 2.)—*δίκην ἐπιθῆ ὧν*. "He may inflict punishment for the things in which." Literally, "with regard to which." Observe that *ὧν* is here, by attraction, for *ἃ*; the full construction being *δίκην τῶν ὧν*, *ε., ἃ*.

## § 11.

*ἐμοὶ οὖν*. "Unto me, then, I confess." Observe the force of the emphatic *ἐμοί*.—*καθεύδειν*. "To be slumbering," i. e., to be wasting the time in inaction.—*ἐκ τούτων*. "Next." Equivalent to *μετὰ ταῦτα*, i. e., "after these things." The preposition *ἐκ* is especially used of the immediate development of one thing from another; of the immediate succession in time, so that there is an unbroken connection between them. (*Kühner*, § 621, ed. *Jelf*.)—*καὶ ἕως γε μένομεν αὐτοῦ*. "And so long, at least, as we remain here." When the thing is uncertain, *ἕως* is joined with the subjunctive or optative; but when certain, with the indicative. Thus *ἕως ἂν μένομεν*, "until we may remain;" but *ἕως μένομεν*, "while we are actually remaining." (*Buttmann*, § 146, 3.)—*σκεπτέον εἶναι*. "To be a thing necessary to be considered (by us)," i. e., that we must consider. Verbals in *τέον* are used in Greek in the same way as the Latin gerund in *dum*, to express necessity.—*ἤδη ἀπιέναι*. "To depart at once."—*ἄπιμεν*. The present in a future sense. Observe that *εἰμι*, "to go," and its compounds, are almost always used in Attic, in the present tense, as regular futures, and only in later writers, as Pausanias and Plutarch, return to a present signification.—*ὄφελος οὐδέν*. "There is no advantage (to be derived)." Supply *ἐστί*.

## § 12.

*ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν, κ. τ. λ.* "Now the man is a valuable friend." Literally, "a friend worthy of much." The expression *ὁ ἀνὴρ* refers to Cyrus, and is a careless mode of designating him, purposely adopted here to mislead his hearers, as if implying that there was no longer any great cordiality between the prince and the speaker.—*ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν*. A much better reading than *ἐτι δὲ δύναμιν ἔχει*, which some editions give. The meaning of *ἐτι* has been strangely overlooked by some of those who prefer this latter lection. The clause will mean, "he still has, moreover," i. e., although we have left him. The signification "moreover," assigned here commonly to *ἐτι*, belongs, in fact, to *δέ*.—*καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω, κ. τ. λ.* "And (no wonder,) since we appear to me to be encamped here at no great distance indeed (from him)." The verb *δοκέω* is often, by an elegant Atticism, added to sentences where no uncertainty whatever is intended to be expressed, but where the speaker merely wishes to invest what he says with a garb of moderation and courteous reserve.—*ὅρα*. Supply *ἐστί*.—*ὅ τι τις γινώσκει, κ. τ. λ.* "What any one thinks to be best."

## § 13.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου. "Upon this, then." Observe that ἐκ τούτου is here equivalent to μετὰ τούτο, and consult Poppo, *Ind. Græc.*, s. v. ἐκ.—ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου. "Of their own accord."—λέγοντες ἃ ἐγίνωσκον. "For the purpose of stating what they thought." Observe here the employment of the future participle to express a purpose. (Buttmann, § 144, 3.)—καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐκέλευστοι. "Even (secretly) directed by him (so to do)." Weiske thinks that the idea of secrecy is conveyed by ἐκέλευστοι, but it is rather to be inferred from the whole context.—ἡ ἀπορία. "The utter impossibility." Observe that ἀπορία here implies a total want of means or resources.—ἀνεὺ τῆς γνώμης. "Without the consent."

## § 14.

εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε. "And then one (of the latter) recommended," i. e., one of the ἐκέλευστοι. The combination δὲ δὴ is often used to connect sentences, δὴ referring to what has gone before. (Kühner, § 721, 1, ed. Jelf.)—προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν. "Pretending to be desirous."—στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους. "That they choose other generals." Observe that ἐλέσθαι depends, in construction, on εἶπε that precedes. Some supply δεῖν before ἐλέσθαι; but if we give εἶπε the meaning of "recommended," this awkward ellipsis may easily be rejected. Weiske makes this whole speech an ironical one. Not so by any means. It is, on the contrary, an artful attempt to depict in strong colors the difficulties by which they are surrounded, while proposing, with apparent sincerity, certain modes of escaping from these.—εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος, κ. τ. λ. The Greeks often quote the words of another narratively, and yet suddenly change into the *oratio recta*, as if the person himself were speaking. Observe, moreover, that we have here the indicative (βούλεται), because the speaker has a strong persuasion, bordering on certainty, that Clearchus will be willing to lead them on their proposed return home. And hence the remark of Clearchus in reply to this (§ 15), ὥς μὲν στρατηγήσουντα, κ. τ. λ. (Hickie, *ad loc.*)—ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν, κ. τ. λ. "Now the market (for procuring these) was," &c. This clause is inserted parenthetically by Xenophon himself, for the purpose of showing how futile such an arrangement as the one here recommended must necessarily prove under existing circumstances. The speaker himself, too, knows this very well, but his object in proposing such a course is, in reality, as already remarked, to let the Greeks see how completely dependent they are upon the very prince whom they refuse any longer to serve." (Krüg., *ad loc.*)—καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι. "And that they pack up their baggage."

ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἰτεῖν, κ. τ. λ. "And that (some of their number) having gone (unto), ask Cyrus for vessels." Observe the double accusative with a verb of asking. With ἐλθόντας, moreover, supply τινάς, the reference being to a delegation to be sent for this purpose. Schaefer is wrong in supposing that ἐλθόντας is here redundant. (*ad Soph.*, *Aj.*, 1183.)—ἡγεμόνα. "A guide."—διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας. "Through the country (thus made) friendly toward them." The guide, he takes it for granted, will procure for them a friendly reception along the route which they may pursue on their return. Another artful remark; the fallacy of which his hearers would not be long in perceiving, but which would nevertheless remind them that they were now in the heart of an enemy's country, so that returning was as dangerous as advancing. The common text has ὥς before διὰ φιλίας, which we have rejected with Dindorf and others.—τῆς χώρας. Observe here the peculiar employment of the article. When, as in the present case, an adjective without the article stands in connection with a substantive which has the article, but not between the two, the object designated is thereby distinguished, not from other objects, but from itself in other circumstances. (Buttmann, § 125, n. 3.)

συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην. "That they marshal themselves instantly." With ταχίστην supply δόδον, and observe the employment of the accusative in an adverbial sense.—πέμψαι δὲ καί. Supply ἄνδρας οἱ τινάς.—προκαταληφθέντων. "To preoccupy." The future participle again employed to denote a purpose or aim.—ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι, κ. τ. λ. "In order that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians may anticipate us by having seized upon them." The verb φθάνω is joined with a participle of another verb, in the same manner as τυγχάνω, &c. Here, again, it is indirectly shown to the Greeks how easy it would be for Cyrus or the Cilicians to cut off their retreat by seizing upon the mountain passes in the range of Taurus.—χρήματα. "Effects."—ἔχομεν ἀνερπακότες. "We have in our possession, having obtained (them) by plundering." The verb ἔχω is often joined with a participle agreeing with the subject. This is not, as some suppose, a mere circumlocution for the simple verb, but is purposely employed to denote the continuance of the action or its effects. So, in Latin, we have *habere*, with a passive participle in the accusative; as, "*rem aliquam pertractatam habere*." (Kühner, § 692, ed. Jelf.)—ποσούτων. "Thus much (merely)." Supply μόνον. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)

## § 15.

ὥς μὲν στρατηγήσουντα ἐμὲ, κ. τ. λ. "Let no one of you say that I



intend to take upon myself this office of commander; for I see many things in it on account of which this must not be done by me; but (say rather) that I will obey the man whom you may have chosen (for that purpose), as much as is possible." In § 6 we have ὡς construed with the genitive absolute (ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος), where we should have expected the accusative with the infinitive. We have here a similar usage with the accusative absolute. (*Matthiæ*, § 569.)—στρατηγήσονται . . . στρατηγίαν. Observe here the accusative of the cognate noun, which is so much more frequent in Greek than in English and by which the Greek language avoids the enfeebling accumulation of such words as our *make, do, have, &c.* (*Buttmann*, § 131, 3.)—ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, κ. τ. λ. Observe here in ὡς the attraction for δὲ. As regards, moreover, the future πείσομαι, it is to be remarked that we would here expect πείσομενον, which would be the proper construction after στρατηγήσονται; but the form of the sentence is purposely varied in order to imitate the carelessness of familiar discourse. (*Jacobs*, ad *Achill. Tat.*, p. 704, seqq.) Observe, also, that before ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, κ. τ. λ., we must supply λέγετε, or λέγετε μᾶλλον. (*Poppo*, ad loc.)—καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. "(How) to submit to authority also." Literally, "to be commanded;" i. e., not only how to command, but also how to obey.—ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος, κ. τ. λ. "Even as much as any one else of men." Literally, "as even any one else of men especially (knows)." So that μάλιστα belongs, in fact, to ἐπίσταται understood.

## § 16.

ἄλλος ἀνέστη. Halbkart thinks that this speaker was Xenophon himself. He finds a strong argument in favor of this opinion in the Socratic tone pervading the discourse; and remarks also, not unaptly, that had the same judicious advice been given by any other one of the Greeks, Xenophon would certainly not have forgotten to mention his name. Bornemann inclines to the opinion of Halbkart, but Krüger opposes it.—ἐπιδεικνύς τὴν εὐήθειαν, κ. τ. λ. It will be perceived that we have here a grave refutation of the previous speech, which would not have been the case had that speech been, as some suppose, merely an ironical one. The object of both speakers is the same, namely, to work upon the feelings of the soldiery.—τοῦ κελεύοντος. "Of him that recommended," i. e., of the previous speaker, mentioned in § 14.—ὥςπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον, κ. τ. λ. "Just as if Cyrus were not going to make the same expedition again (at some future day)," i. e., just as if Cyrus, whose expedition we are now marring by our refusal to proceed, will not at some fu-

ture day prosecute it again with more obedient auxiliaries, and need, in that event, the very ships which it is proposed that he now give unto us. The meaning of this passage has been misunderstood by many.—ποιουμένων. Not, as some say, the present participle with a future meaning, but an actual future participle, and an Attic contraction for ποιησομένων. (Compare the remarks of *Buttmann*, *Ausf. Gr. Sprachl.*, vol. i., p. 403, *Anm.* 16.)—ὃ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πράξιν. "Whose undertaking we are marring," i. e., by our refusal to accompany him any further. Literally, "for whom we are marring the undertaking."

ὃ ἂν Κῦρος διδῷ. Observe that ὃ is here, by attraction, for δὲ.—τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα, κ. τ. λ. "What prevents our even requesting Cyrus to preoccupy the heights for us?" i. e., the heights commanding the pass or entrance into Cilicia, by which we are to return. The speaker here shows, with all possible gravity, the utter absurdity of the plan which he is opposing. The train of ideas, therefore, is as follows: If, even though we are marring his plans by our intended departure, Cyrus, nevertheless, is so well disposed toward us as to be willing to give us a guide on whom we may rely with perfect confidence, why not go a step further, and request him to send a detachment of his troops on before to the pass of Cilicia, in order to hold this for us, and thus enable us to march through in safety to our homes!

## § 17.

ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοίην, κ. τ. λ. "For I should hesitate." Observe that γὰρ here refers back to ἐπιδεικνύς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν, κ. τ. λ.—αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι. "Together with the galleys." The pronoun αὐτός in the dative case, with a substantive, denotes accompaniment. Sometimes the preposition σὺν is expressed; in Attic Greek, however, it is most commonly omitted. (*Matthiæ*, § 405, *Obs.* 3.)—καταδύσθαι. *Poppo* (*Miscell. Crit.*, vol. i., p. 52) conjectures καταδύσαι, in the optative, because the optative ὀκνοίην precedes. But the MSS. give ἀγάγη in the succeeding clause, not ἀγάγοι, and, besides this, the subjunctive here is correct enough. It is true, that when the principal verb is in the optative with or without ἂν, the dependent verb is generally in the optative, if the aim, &c., proposed is merely a supposition, without any notion of its realization; but if this notion does come in (as in the present case, where the spirit of the argument clearly requires it), the subjunctive is employed (*Kühner*, § 808, *ed. Jelf.*)—μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγη, κ. τ. λ. "Lest he lead us into some place) whence it will not be possible to escape." Observe

that for *δοεν* the full construction would be *ἐκεῖσε δοεν*.—*λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθόν*. "To depart without his knowledge." Literally, "to have escaped his observation in having gone away." The verb *λανθάνω* with a participle has, like *τυγχάνω*, &c., a kind of adverbial force.

## § 18.

*ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι*. "That these things are mere fooleries." The demonstrative pronoun, forming the subject of a proposition, is often put in the neuter gender, with the force of a substantive, and followed by a masculine or feminine noun in the predicate. This construction occurs especially in the poets. (*Matthias*, § 440, 7.)—*οἵτινες ἐπιτήδευοι*. "Who are proper for the purpose." Supply *εἶσι*.—*ἐρωτᾷν*. There is no need whatever here of any ellipsis of *δεῖν*, as some maintain.—*τί*. "For what." Observe that *τί* is here equivalent to *εἰς τί*. This construction, however, only prevails with the accusative of neuter pronouns or adjectives. (*Matthias*, § 409, 6.)—*καὶ εὖν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις, κ. τ. λ.* "And if the undertaking be like (that) in which he also before this employed hired troops." The reference is to the journey which Cyrus made into Upper Asia, when sent for by his father, who lay sick at Babylon; on which occasion the young prince took with him three hundred Greek mercenaries, under the command of Xenias. Compare i., 1, 2.—*παραπλησία οἶαπερ*. By the law of attraction, *οἶαπερ* must necessarily be for *τοιαύτη οἶανπερ*. But although we can say *τί χρῶμαι αὐτῷ*, and *οὐκ ἔχω δὲ τι χρῶμαι*, and so with other neuter pronouns (and also adjectives), as remarked above, we can not in like manner say *χρῶμαι αὐτῷ τὴν πρᾶξιν*. There would seem to be something wrong, therefore, in the reading of the text (*οἶαπερ*), though given by all the MSS. Some propose to substitute *οἶαπερ*, in the acc. plur. neut., but the feminine singular appears certainly preferable to this. (*Poppo*, *ad loc.*)—*κακίους*. "Inferior to," i. e., in point of fidelity.

## § 19.

*τῆς πρόθεν*. "Than the former one." Supply *πράξεως*. Observe the adverb between the article and the understood noun, supplying the place of an adjective.—*ἀξιοῦν ἢ πείσαντα, κ. τ. λ.* "(Then) that we ask (of him) either that (he), having persuaded us (to the step), lead (us along with him), or, having been persuaded (by us), send (us) away to a friendly country." With *φίλιαν* supply *χώραν*. The other ellipses can easily be supplied by the student. Observe that the infinitive *ἀξιοῦν* refers back to *δοκεῖ μοι* in the previous section.—*πρὸς φίλιαν*. Zeune, Weiske, Krüger, and others make this equiv-

alent to *φιλικῶς*, but without any propriety, since this idea is already implied in *πεισθέντα*.—*ἐπόμενοι ᾧν*. The particle *ᾧν* here belongs not to *ἐπόμενοι*, but to *ἐποίμεθα* coming after. The position of *ᾧν* in a sentence depends, as Buttmann remarks (§ 139, note 4), either on euphony, or on the need of making the uncertainty expressed by it earlier or later perceptible. In the present case it is placed early in the sentence, to make the uncertainty early apparent. (*Krüger*, *ad loc.*)—*φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι*. "As (men) friendly unto him and zealous (in his cause)."—*πρὸς ταῦτα*. "With reference to these things," i. e., these inquiries on our part.—*πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι*. "Deliberate upon these matters," i. e., deliberate further on what Cyrus may say.

## § 20.

*ἐδοξε*. "Appeared good," i. e., were approved of.—*οἱ ἡρώτων Κυρον, κ. τ. λ.* "Who asked Cyrus respecting the things that had appeared good to the army," i. e., who asked Cyrus the questions agreed upon by the army. Observe the double accusative with a verb of asking.—*ὅτι ἀκούει*. Observe the sudden change to the direct mode of speaking.—*Ἀβροκόμαν*. Abrocomas (or, as some write the name, Acrocomas) was one of the satraps of Artaxerxes, and had an army of 300,000 men under his command.—*ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα*. "A foe of his." A private foe is meant, as opposed to a public one (*πολέμιος*). It is difficult, however, to believe that the Greeks were ignorant of the true state of the case, namely, that Abrocomas was an actual commander of part of the king's forces; or that, after this last declaration of Cyrus's, they felt any doubt that he was leading them against the king; though Xenophon only says that they suspected it. But Clearchus seems to have succeeded in convincing them that there was as much danger in stopping as in going forward; and the promise of an addition of one half to their pay (as mentioned in the succeeding section) fixed their determination of continuing their march. (*Thirlwall*, vol. iv., p. 294.)

*ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ*. "At the River Euphrates," i. e., on or near its banks. The Euphrates was a celebrated river of Asia, rising in Armenia, and emptying in the Persian Gulf.—*ἑξήδεκα σταθμούς*. The real distance was nineteen *σταθμοί*; but Cyrus purposely mentions a less number, in order that the troops may not be deterred by the length of the intended route. (*Lion*, *ad loc.*)—*πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθεῖν*. "To go against this one."—*τὴν δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι*. "To inflict the punishment (that he merited)," i. e., for his previous conduct. Observe the force of the article.



## § 21.

οἱ ἀρετοί. "The persons selected," i. e., the delegates from the Grecian army.—ὅτι ἄγει. "That he is leading them." Observe, again, the sudden change to the direct mode of speaking. In the indirect, the optative would be employed, as in § 21.—προσαιοῦσι δὲ μισθόν. "And unto them asking additional pay." Observe the force of πρὸς in composition. Literally, "unto them asking pay in addition," i. e., in addition to what they already received.—ἡμιόλιον οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον. "Half as much more as they were previously accustomed to receive." Literally, "a whole and half (of that pay), which they were previously," &c., i. e., ἡμιόλιον ἐκείνου τοῦ μισθοῦ οὐ (attraction for δν) πρότερον ἔφερον. Observe that ἡμιόλιον here indicates the ratio of  $\frac{3}{2}$  to 1.—ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ, κ. τ. λ. This would be in our currency about \$5 25, instead of about \$3 50, their previous pay; the half Daric being about \$1 75. Consult note on μυρίους δαρεικούς, i., 1, 9.—τοῦ μηνός. "The month," i. e., each month. When the time is in the genitive, it is considered as the cause or antecedent condition of the action, from which that action arises; whereas when the accusative is employed there is always a notion of a space of time over or during which the action extends, as coincident and coextensive with it.—ἐν γὰρ τῷ φανερό. "At least openly."

## CHAPTER IV.

## § 1.

Ψάρον. The Psarus, a large and rapid stream, rose in the mountains of Cataonia, passed through the rocky barrier of the central chain of Taurus, and pouring its waters along the Cilician plain, emptied into the Mediterranean. It is now called the *Seihün*. In giving the ancient name of this river, we have followed the best MSS., with Dindorf. The common text has Φάρον, for which Hutchinson and others substitute Σάρον, on the authority of the ancient geographical writers; but this latter form appears to be a corruption from Ψάρον, or, at least, a softer mode of expression (like σιττακός for ψιττακός), and Φάρον would seem to mark the transition state from the more correct form to the other.—Πύραμον. The Pyramus, now the *Geihün*, rose in the mountains of Cataonia, bordering on Commagene, forced its way through the barrier of Taurus, traversed Cilicia, and fell into the Sinus Issicus. Ainsworth thinks that the army of Cyrus crossed this river in the lower part, as being

there most fordable, in consequence of its being divided into several streams on arriving at its delta.—στάδιον. The stadium was 600 Greek, or 606½ English feet, that is, about one eighth of a Roman mile.—Ἰσσοῦς. Consult note on i., 2, 24.—ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ. We have placed a comma after θαλάττῃ, thus affording a much better sense than the ordinary text. The term *οἰκουμένην* will then be rendered by itself, "inhabited," as opposed to the idea of a deserted city.

## § 2.

αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες, κ. τ. λ. We have given the article here, with Schneider, on the authority of some of the MSS., because these vessels have already been referred to in chapter ii., § 21. Diodorus, who mentions only twenty-five ships, says that the Spartan government wished to preserve the appearance of neutrality between Cyrus and his brother, and therefore affected to consider the troops of Cheirisophus, who came in the fleet, as is mentioned in the next section, in the light merely of volunteers. (*Diod. Sic.*, xiv., 21.) This would imply that the designs of Cyrus were well known at Sparta. But the co-operation of the Spartan admiral could not easily have been reconciled with professions of neutrality. (*Thirlwall*, vol. iv., p. 294, note.)—καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος. "And, as admiral over them." Observe that ἐπ' αὐταῖς is not equivalent here to *in iis*, which would be ἐπ' αὐτῶν, but to *iis præfectus*.—ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ταμῶς, κ. τ. λ. "Tamos, however, an Egyptian, commanded them after leaving Ephesus." There is nothing in this clause inconsistent with the one that immediately precedes. Pythagoras was admiral over the thirty-five Peloponnesian ships, but Tamos, the immediate adherent of Cyrus, was commander of the combined fleet of sixty vessels. There is no need whatever, therefore, of our translating ἡγεῖτο αὐτῶν, with Lion, "conducted them," i. e., *viæ dux erat*. Had this been the meaning of Xenophon, he would have written αὐταῖς, not αὐτῶν (*Krüg.*, *ad loc.*); for it is a well-established principle of the Greek language, that ἡγεῖσθαι, in the sense of "to precede," or "show the way," takes the dative; but "to rule," or "command," the genitive. (*Kühner*, § 518, *Obs.* 3, *ed. Jelf.*)—Κύρον. "Belonging to Cyrus," i. e., distinct from the Peloponnesian squadron.—ὅτε. A much better reading than ὅτι, as given in the common text; and hence both ἐπολιόρκει and συνεπολέμει refer to Tamos, while by αὐτόν Tissaphernes is meant. (*Krüg.*, *ad loc.*)

## § 3.

ἐν τῶν νεῶν. "In the ships." Compare note on ἐπ' αὐταῖς, in

the preceding section.—ἐκτακοσίους. Diodorus (xiv., 19, 21) gives the number as 800 (ὀκτακοσίους), and he also states that they were actually sent by the Spartan Ephori. Compare note on αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες, at the commencement of the preceding section.—ὧν ἐστρατήγει. "Which he (now) commanded."—ῥομον κατὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. "Were moored opposite the tent of Cyrus." We have given *κατα* here, with Schneider, Poppo, Krüger, and others, as far preferable to *παρά*, the reading of some of the MSS. The meaning of *παρὰ σκηνήν* will be "near the tent," i. e., by the side of it.—*παρ' Ἀβροκόμα*. "With Abrocomas." Krüger prefers the genitive Ἀβροκόμα, i. e., from Abrocomas. (*de Authent.*, p. 41.)

## § 4.

ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας, κ. τ. λ. "To the gates of Cilicia and Syria." Zeune says that Xenophon here means the Amanic straits or pass. Sturz (*Lex. Xen.*, s. v. πύλαι) falls into the same mistake. Hutchinson, more correctly, understands the maritime or lower pass. There were two entrances or passes from Cilicia into Syria: one called the Amanic pass (πύλαι Ἀμανικαί), the upper and more inland of the two, through the defiles of Mount Amanus; the other, the lower one, and close to the sea, called the Syrian pass (*Pylæ Syriæ*).—αἱ πύλαι αἱ Ἀσσύριαι, i. e., Σύριαι. The latter of the two, as above remarked, is here meant. (Compare *Cic.*, *ad Fam.*, xv., 4.—*Arrian*, *Exp. Al.*, ii., 7, 1; ii., 6, 1.)

ἦσαν δ' ἐνταῦθα, κ. τ. λ. "And there were here two walls." The common text has ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα, for which Weiske conjectures ἦσαν δ' ἐνταῦθα, which we have not hesitated to adopt; for it was not the fortifications that were called πύλαι, but the narrow pass between the mountains and the sea, and the two walls stretched across this, extending on either side from the mountains down into the sea itself. Krüger, who retains the common reading, thinks that *τείχη* and *πύλαι* may easily be employed here as synonymous, a most unfortunate conjecture. The *τείχη* appear to have been, to adopt the expression of Rennell, two fortified lines; not, as Halbkart and Krüger think, merely two long fortresses or castles.

τὸ μὲν ἐσωθεν, κ. τ. λ. "The inner wall, in front of Cilicia," i. e., facing Cilicia, or on the frontier of this country. Supply *τείχος*.—*Συέννησις εἶχε*, κ. τ. λ. Since the treaty concluded with Syennesis, no resistance was to be feared on this side.—τὸ δὲ ἔξω, κ. τ. λ. "But the outer one, which was in front of Syria," i. e., on the Syrian frontier. Observe that the article is prefixed to *πρὸ τῆς Συρίας*, because this was the more important wall of the two, as far as the

present movements of Cyrus were concerned. Poppo, therefore, unnecessarily suspects that the article has been dropped before *πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας*.—*βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν*. Abrocomas had been sent down to Phœnicia apparently for this very purpose.—*διὰ μέσον τούτων*. "Between these (two)." The stream intersected the pass midway.—*Κάρσος*. This is the reading of the best MSS. The common text has *Κέρσος*. The modern name of this river is the *Merkez-su*.—*εὖρος πλέθρον*. Consult note on *εὖρος δύο πλέθρων*, i., 2, 23.

ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον, κ. τ. λ. "And the whole space between the walls was three stadia." Observe that the article here with *μέσον* gives it the force of a substantive. Observe, moreover, the peculiar construction of *ἦσαν*, which is made to agree, not with *τὸ μέσον*, but with *στάδιοι*. Sometimes the verb is governed in its number, not by the subject, but by the substantive which stands with the verb as predicate, if this is the nearest. (*Matthiæ*, § 305.)—*οὐκ ἦν*. "It was not possible."—*καὶ τὰ τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα*. According to Ainsworth (p. 59), traces of walls are still to be seen in this quarter.—*ἡλίβατοι*. "Impassable." The term *ἡλίβατος* must not be derived from *ἥλιος* and *βαίνω*, as if signifying "traversed only by the sun," i. e., lofty, steep, &c.; but it must be regarded as a shortened form from *ἡλιτόδατος*, "step-missing," "hardly to be trodden," and so, *impassable, steep and sheer*, &c. (Consult *Buttmann*, *Lexil.*, s. v.)—*ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν*, κ. τ. λ. "And by both the walls stood the pass (in question)," i. e., and from one wall to the other was the pass. We must be careful not to understand here by *πύλαι*, as some do, merely gates or openings in the two walls, since the existence of such would be implied as a matter of course. Xenophon intends by the words of the text to designate the position of the pass itself, and they contain, therefore, a very strong argument in favor of Weiske's conjecture, *ἦσαν δ' ἐνταῦθα*. As regards, moreover, the employment of *ἐφειστήκεσαν*, it may be observed that, since the pass was fortified by both nature and art, especially the latter, it may well be said to "stand" upon the view. Compare the expression *ῥυκδομένηται*, as applied to the same by Diodorus Siculus. (xiv., 20.)

## § 5.

ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν, κ. τ. λ. "In order that he might disembark heavy-armed men within and without the gates." By *ἐῶ τῶν πύλων* is meant the space between the two walls, and by *ἔξω τῶν πύλων* the country of Syria. Cyrus intended, therefore, if he found



Abrocomas in possession of the wall at the other end of the pass, and fronting on Syria, to attack him at once in front and rear.—*βυσσάμενοι*. "Having dislodged."—*ἔχοντα*. "Since he had."—*Κύρον ὄντα*. "Of Cyrus's being," i. e., that Cyrus was.—*ἀναστρέψας*. "Having turned back."—*ἀπήλαυνεν*. "He marched away."—*τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιῶς*. "Three hundred thousand men." Literally, 'thirty ten-thousands of an army.'

## § 6.

*Μυριάδρον*. Myriandrus is here placed by Xenophon in Syria, beyond the Pylæ Ciliciæ; but Scylax includes it within the limits of Cilicia (p. 40), as well as Strabo, who says that Seleucia of Pieria, near the mouth of the Orontes, was the first Syrian town beyond the Gulf of Issus. Myriandrus was a place of considerable trade in the time of the Persian dominion, but declined at a later period, in consequence of its vicinity to the more flourishing city of Alexandria ad Issum. Its site has not been positively determined. (*Ainsworth*, p. 59.)—*ἐμπόριον*. "A mart-town," i. e., an entrepôt of merchandise, such as were often made by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians.—*ὀλκάδες*. "Merchantmen." Ships of this class were not calculated for quick movement or rapid sailing, but to carry the greatest possible quantity of goods. Hence their structure was bulky, their bottom round, and, although they were not without rowers, yet the chief means by which they were propelled were their sails.

## § 7.

*ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτά*. As Cyrus was now to take his final leave of the sea-coast, he would of course unload the stores and provisions from on board his fleet. Hence the long stay which he made at this place. And from what Xenophon says at the end of the first book, that the European auxiliaries of Cyrus received many indulgences and comforts that were of course denied to the bulk of the army, and which employed so great a number of carriages, it may be supposed that those necessities formed a considerable part of the lading of the fleet. (*Rennell*, *ad loc.*)—*τὰ πλείστου ἀξία*. "Their most valuable effects."—*φιλοτιμηθέντες*. "Influenced by feelings of jealousy."—*ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν*, κ. τ. λ. "Because Cyrus allowed Clearchus to retain their soldiers," &c. Compare chapter iii., § 7.—*ὡς ἀπιόντας πάλιν*. "As intending to go back again." We have already had instances of *ὡς* with absolute cases of the participle, and now we have it with the simple participle itself in regular construc-

tion. The idea, however, is still the same, the reference being not to an action really existing, but to one that is thought of, or intended to be performed, &c. Compare note on i., 1, 10.—*καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα*. "And not to proceed against the king." Supply *λόντας* after *ὡς*, as suggested by *ἀπιόντας* that precedes.—*ἀφανεῖς*. "Out of sight."—*καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐχοντο*, κ. τ. λ. "And some prayed that they might be taken, as being perfidious men." The verb *εὐχομαι*, as Krüger remarks, never has the augment in the Anabasis, while elsewhere in Xenophon, and also in Thucydides, traces of the augment are so rare, that these writers seem to have refrained from it altogether in this verb.—*εἰ ἀλώσονται*. "In case they should be captured." Observe here the middle in a passive sense. (*Matthiæ*, § 496, 8.) According to D'Orville (*ad Charit.*, p. 692), it should be *ἀλωθήσονται*. (*Hickie*, *ad loc.*)

## § 8.

*ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν*. "But let them well know (this), *east*," i. e., let them rest assured of this, if of nothing else. Observe that *ἐπιστάσθωσαν* is the imperative of *ἐπίσταμαι*.—*ὅτι οὐτε ἀποδεδράκασιν*, κ. τ. λ. "That they have neither fled into concealment . . . nor have they escaped beyond my reach." The difference between *ἀποδιδράσκω* and *ἀποφεύγω* is well pointed out by this passage. The former signifies to run away secretly, so that the fugitive's place of retreat is unknown; the latter, to flee away, so as to escape being taken.—*μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς*. "By the gods." The particle *μά* is used in strong protestations and oaths, followed by the accusative of the deity or thing appealed to. In itself it is neither affirmative nor negative, but is made so by some word added, as *ναί*, *οὐ*, &c., or in Attic merely by the context. In the present instance it is only seemingly negative, the negation being really in the *οὐκ* which follows.—*οὐδ' ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς*. "Nor shall any one say." Observe the double negative strengthening the negation.—*χρῶμαι*. "Make use of him."—*καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ*. "I both ill treat them." Observe that *αὐτοὺς* here refers to *τις* that precedes, and is expressed in the plural because *τις* implies a plurality. (*Matthiæ*, § 434, 2, b.) *ἀλλ' ἴοντων*. "Let them then go." Observe that *ἴοντων* is for *ἔτωσαν*. The common text has *ἴοντων ἂν*, but the best editions reject *ἂν*, because this particle cannot be joined with the imperative, since the notion of immediate command excludes that of a condition. In the present instance, *ἂν* probably arose from the various reading *ἔτωσαν*. (*Schneider*, *ad loc.*—*Kühner*, § 424, ε.)—*ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς*. "That they are acting a worse part toward us." Lit-

erally, "are worse toward us."—Καίτοι έχω γε. "Although I have, 'tis true." The ἄλλά which follows, and serves as an opposition to this, must be rendered "still." (Hartung, vol. i., p. 404, 411.) —καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. The absence of the article is customary in such cases.—ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα. "Guarded in Tralles," i. e., under the protection of my garrison there. Tralles was a town of Lydia, a short distance north of Magnesia ad Mæandrum. The ruins lie upon the table-land that advances from Mount Messogis, and reaches down to the modern town of Aidin. (Ainsworth, p. 61.) —στερήσονται. "Shall they deprive themselves," i. e., by their misconduct. The middle here retains its full force, and is not to be taken for the passive.—τῆς πρόσθεν περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. "Their former gallant behavior toward me," i. e., in my service.

## § 9.

καὶ ὑπομότερος ἦν. "Was even rather backward."—τὴν ἀρετὴν. "The magnanimity," i. e., in not seeking to punish the two Greek commanders for their ungenerous desertion.—ἡδίων καὶ προθυμότερον. "More cheerfully and readily."—Χάλον ποταμόν. The Chalus has been generally, and now that the distances have been more accurately determined, we can say correctly, identified with the Chálîb or Koweik, the river of Aleppo. It abounds in fish even at the present day, according to Ainsworth (p. 63).—πραέων. "Tame."—θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον. "Regarded as gods." Lucian, in his treatise on the Syrian goddess (xiv., vol. ix., p. 91, ed. Lehm.), has a passage that will explain this of Xenophon: "They consider fishes to be a sacred thing, and never touch them. They eat, moreover, all other birds except the pigeon. With them this is sacred. These usages seem to themselves to have been introduced in honor of Derceto and Semiramis; in the first place, because Derceto bore the form of a fish; and secondly, because Semiramis was at last metamorphosed into a pigeon." (Hickie, ad loc.) Derceto was the mother of Semiramis, according to the ordinary legend, and, having thrown herself into the sea, became partially transformed into a fish. According to Diodorus Siculus (ii., 4), and also Lucian, her statues represented her as half woman, half fish, the female part being from the head to the loins.—καὶ ἄδικεῖν οὐκ εἶον. "And did not allow (any one) to injure them." Observe that εἶον is the imperfect of εἴω, being contracted from εἴαον.

Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, κ. τ. λ. "Belonged to Parysatis, having been given her for a girdle," i. e., to keep her supplied with girdles, the revenues of the villages being appropriated for this purpose. It was

customary with the kings of Persia to assign certain cities, &c., to their queens and the other female inmates of their palace, from the revenues of which they provided themselves with the several ornaments of dress, &c. (Compare Cic., in Verr., iii., 23.—Herod., ii., 98.—Plat., Alcib., c. 40, &c.) The old reading was εἰς ζώην, "for her support," for which Hutchinson first substituted the present lection, the conjecture of Muretus and Jungermann.

## § 10

ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς, κ. τ. λ. "To the sources of the River Dardes." We have given Δάρδης, with Dindorf, on good MS. authority. The common text has Δαράδακος. Rennell thinks that the river here meant is the same with the modern Fay fountain; but he is opposed by Reichard, who declares for the Sedsjur or Sedschur (Lion, ad loc.)—ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσσης βασιλεία. Consult note on ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Σεννέσιος βασιλεία, i., 2, 23.—τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος. "Who had been satrap of Syria," i. e., up to the time of the arrival of Cyrus in this quarter, but whose authority, of course, had now virtually ceased. (Krüg., ad loc.)—παράδεισος. Consult note on i., 2, 7.—ὅσα ὥραι φύονται. "As many as the seasons produce," i. e., whatsoever they produce.—αὐτόν. Referring to the παράδεισος.

## § 11.

ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν. In chapter iii., § 20, the Euphrates was said to be twelve stations distant, but in the notes the true number was given as nineteen. This latter number will be found to be the correct one, if we compute up to the time when the army reached Thapsacus, where they crossed over the Euphrates.—Θάψακος. Thapsacus was a city and famous ford on the Euphrates. The city was situate on the western bank of the river, nearly opposite to the modern Racca. Rennell and D'Anville are wrong in removing the site to Ul-Deer. (Williams, Geogr. of Asia, p. 129, seqq.—Ainsworth, p. 69, seqq.)—ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο. "That the route would be," i. e., the line of march. As it was here that Cyrus meant to cross into Mesopotamia, it was no longer possible for him to conceal his purpose.—βασιλέα μέγαν. Consult note on chapter ii., § 8.—εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. Consult note on chapter i., § 2.

## § 12.

ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. "Were angry at the generals." It is probable, however, that no very vehement indignation was felt on this occasion; and it would rather seem that the soldiers affect



ed that which they expressed, in order to raise the price of their services. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 296.)—κρύπτειν. "Kept concealing them." The present infinitive is often used to express the continuance of the accompanying circumstances of an action, and hence answers to the imperfect indicative in the *oratio recta*. Thus, κρύπτειν is here equivalent, in effect, to *ὅτι ἐκρυπτον*. (*Matthias*, § 499. Compare *Kühner*, § 395, *Obs.* 2.)—οὐκ ἔφασαν. Consult note on chapter iii., § 1.—*ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ.* "Unless some one give them a donative," i. e., a largess, or present, in addition to their usual pay.—ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς προτέροις, κ. τ. λ. "Even as (they said had been given) to the former (troops) that had gone up," &c. Supply *ἔφασαν δοθῆναι* after *ὥσπερ*. The reference is to the three hundred hired troops that had gone up under the command of Xenias, as an escort to Cyrus. Compare chapter i., § 2.—καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων. "And that, too, when they were not going to battle." Limitation is often expressed in Greek by the addition of καὶ ταῦτα to the participle. In this construction, the writers on ellipsis usually make ταῦτα depend on some part of ποίω understood. It is much neater, however, to regard it as an absolute case.

## § 13.

πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς. "Five minas of silver." The mina was not a coin, but merely a certain sum of money, and equivalent to 100 drachmæ, which would make in our currency about \$17 60. The donative, therefore, which Cyrus promised to each soldier would be about \$88.—καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. "And their full pay." This, of course, would be independent of the donative.—μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ, κ. τ. λ. "Until he shall have set the Greeks down again in Ionia," i. e., shall have placed them in, or restored them to the quarter where the expedition commenced. Observe the employment of εἰς with the accusative to denote motion into a certain quarter, and compare note on *παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεϊς*, chapter ii., § 2.—τὸ μὲν πολὺ. "The greater part." The article often changes the signification of ἄλλος, πολὺς, &c. Thus, πολὺ, "much," but τὸ πολὺ, "the greater part," &c. The writers on ellipsis supply μέρος.—τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ "Of the Grecian army." Supply στρατεύματος.—Μένων δέ. Menon is elsewhere represented by Xenophon as an unprincipled man, and entirely influenced by motives of self-interest. (ii., 6, § 21, *seqq.*) His movements and speech on the present occasion are fully in unison with this character.—ποιήσουσιν. Observe the change to the *recta oratio*.—χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων "Apart from the rest."

## § 14.

πλέον προτιμήσεσθε. "You will be much more highly honored." Observe here the employment of the middle in a passive sense. Commentators generally regard the preposition πρό as redundant here in composition, on account of the presence of πλέον. The truth, however, is, that the employment here of πλέον with προτιμήσεσθε is intended to subserve the purposes of emphasis. There is, properly speaking, no such thing as pleonasm, either in a logical or grammatical point of view.—κελεύω ποιῆσαι. "Do I recommend you to do."—δεῖται. "Wants."

## § 15.

ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται. "For if they shall decide." The active ψηφίζω is not much in use. The verb occurs more frequently as a deponent. It means, strictly, "to give one's vote with a pebble," which was thrown into the voting urn, as in the Athenian law courts. And hence it gets the general signification "to vote," "to decide."—αἱτιοί. "The authors of the step."—χάριν εἰσεταί. Observe that χάριν εἰδέναι is "to entertain a grateful feeling;" but χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, "to return a favor;" and that χάριν ἔχειν, γιγνώσκειν, or ἐπίστασθαι, is the same as χάριν εἰδέναι.—καὶ ἀποδώσει. "And will return (the favor)." Supply χάριν, and consult previous note.—ἐπίσταται δ' εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος. "For he knows (how to do this), if even any one else (knows)," i. e., he knows how to return a kindness, &c. With ἐπίσταται supply οὕτως ποιεῖν, or else the simple ἀποδιδόναι, and with τις ἄλλος supply ἐπίσταται.—ἦν δ' ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, κ. τ. λ. "But if the rest shall decide otherwise, we will all go back together." Observe here the peculiar force of ἀπό in composition, literally, "shall decide away from (this)," i. e., shall decide not to follow Cyrus any further.—ἄπιμεν. The present in a future sense.—καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας. "Both for garrisons and for captaincies."—καὶ ἄλλον οὐτινος ἂν δέησθε, κ. τ. λ. "And whatever else you may want, I know that you will obtain (it) as friends from Cyrus." The regular form of expression would be ἄλλο, οὐτινος ἂν δέησθε, κ. τ. λ., making ἄλλο depend on τεύξεσθε. Here, however, we have ἄλλον in the same case with the following relative, while τεύξεσθε will govern τοῦτο understood.—φίλοι. Some MSS. and editions give φίλον, agreeing with Κύρου.

## § 16.

ᾤοθετο διαβεβηκότας. "Perceived that they had crossed over." When a verb of incomplete meaning (that is, a verb which has in

itself no complete idea, but which expresses an action that only becomes complete by the addition of its reference) is accompanied by another which marks merely the object of the former, the latter is put in the participle. (*Matthia*, § 530, 2.)—Γλοῦν. Glus was the son of Tamos, the commander of Cyrus's combined fleet. (i., 4, 2.) After the death of Cyrus, Tamos fled into Egypt, where he was put to death by Psammitichus (*Diod. Sic.*, xiv., 35); while Glus, on an amnesty being proclaimed by Artaxerxes, abandoned the Greeks, and went over to the king, with whom he soon stood high in favor. He is mentioned in the present work as one of those who, after the battle of Cunaxa, announced to the Greeks the death of Cyrus (ii., 1, 3), and he is also spoken of by Xenophon as watching the movements of the Grecian army, when, in the course of their retreat, they were crossing the bridge over the Tigris. (ii., 4, 24.)

ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσητε. The subjunctive, the reading of the common text, is here to be preferred. Dindorf, Lion, and others give ἐπαινέσετε, the future, on the authority of some MSS., but ἐπαινέσομαι is more usual in good Attic than ἐπαινέσω, and if the future is here to be preferred, we ought to read ἐπαινέσεσθε. (Compare *Buttmann*, § 113, note 7.)—ἢ μήκέτι με Κύρον νομίζετε. "Or no longer think me Cyrus," i. e., or else regard me as having altogether forfeited my previous character.

## § 17.

εὐχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι. "Prayed for him to succeed."—μεγαλοπρεπῶς. "On a splendid scale." One of the MSS. gives μεγαλοπρεπῇ, an inferior reading, which is inconsiderately followed by Schneider.—διέβαινε. "He began to cross." The reference, of course, is to Cyrus.—ἄνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν. "Higher than the breasts." The distinction laid down by the grammarians, namely, that μαστός is the man's breast, and μαστός the woman's, will apply only to late authors. We have given, it will be observed, in the text the form μαστῶν, instead of the more usual μασθῶν, which last is properly a Doric form.

## § 18.

διαβατὸς γένοιτο πεζῇ. "Had been passable on foot," i. e., capable of being forded on foot. Ainsworth says that the steamers Nimrod and Nitocris struck on this ford, when the depth of water was only twenty inches, from the months of October, 1841, till February of the ensuing year. In May, 1836, however, the steamers Euphrates and Tigris passed over it without difficulty.—εἰ μὴ τότε. "Except

then."—ἀλλὰ πλοίοις. "But only in boats."—προῖόν. "Marching on before."—ἐδόκει δὲ θεῖον εἶναι. "It appeared, accordingly, to be a divine intervention." Literally, "a divine thing."—σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι. "Had clearly given way."—ὡς βασιλεύσονται. "As to its future king." Literally, "as to one about to reign over it."

## § 19.

διὰ τῆς Συρίας. Xenophon here uses the term Syria as applicable to a portion of Mesopotamia, either through inadvertence, or as being the seat of villages and cultivated land, and thus distinguished from that part of Mesopotamia which is beyond the Araxes, and which, being almost solely tenanted by nomadic tribes, is by the same writer called Arabia. The latter, probably, is the true reason, and hence we find Strabo also, with Pliny, regarding the country lying between Thapsacus and the Scenite Arabians as Syria. (*Ainsworth*, p. 74.)—Ἀράξην ποταμόν. The river here called the Araxes by Xenophon is the Chaboras, a Mesopotamian stream, now the *Chabur*, and which fell into the Euphrates near the town of Circesium. The name Araxes appears to have been an appellative term, since we find it applied to many other rivers of antiquity, especially the great Armenian one, with which the Araxes of Xenophon must not be confounded.—καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. "And procured for themselves provisions." This was preparatory to the march through the desert country.

## CHAPTER V.

## § 1.

Ἀραβίας. What Xenophon here calls Arabia, Strabo designates as the country of the Scenite Arabs (Σκηνῖται), or such as live in tents (σκηναῖς). They are represented at the present day by the Shammâr tribe, roving in almost uncontrolled possession of the wide plains of Mesopotamia. (*Ainsworth*, p. 76.)—πεδῖον. "One continued plain."—ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα. The description given by Xenophon of this country is so geographically correct, according to Ainsworth, and so illustrative of the appearance of the uncultivated tracts, generally, of the southern and middle portions of Western Asia, that no traveler has published an account of his journeyings in these countries without quoting it, but always as applicable to some other tract of country, and none to the district in



question. "Having personally examined," he adds, "the country to the south of the *Chabur*, I can vouch to the customary accuracy of the historian, only to a person of a hypercritical turn of mind, the expression 'all as level as a sea' would appear a license; for the country, although very level and monotonous, still undulates considerably, and differs in this respect very much from the truly level, alluvial plains of Babylonia." (P. 76, *seqq.*)—ἀψινθίου δὲ πλήρεις. "But full of wormwood," i. e., covered with it. The ἀψινθιον (*absinthium*) is a plant of which Dioscorides describes three species. The first of these, the *Artemisia absinthium*, or common wormwood, is the one here meant. (Compare Sibthorp, *Flora Græca*, vol. ii., p. 167, *seq.*)—εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο, κ. τ. λ. "And if there was any thing else in it of underwood or of reed, they were all odoriferous," &c.

## § 2.

θηρία δὲ παντοῖα. "There were in it, however, wild animals of all kinds." Supply ἐνῆν, from the previous section.—ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Xenophon here describes the wild asses as the most numerous. At present, however, they are extremely rare in this quarter. It was with the greatest difficulty, and after long and frequent demands, that Colonel Chesney was able to obtain a skin of one of these animals, and which was believed to be that of the *Equus Khur*, or the *E. hemionus* of naturalists. (Ainsworth, p. 77.)—πολλοὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ οἱ μεγάλοι. "And many ostriches." Literally, "and many στρουθοί, the large kind." The term στρουθός is applied generally to any small bird, but especially one of the sparrow kind. On the other hand, by ὁ μέγας στρουθός is meant the ostrich, for which Ælian gives the feminine στρουθὸς ἡ μεγάλη. (H. A., ii., 27.) Various other appellations are given to the ostrich by the Greek writers, but in all of them the term στρουθός serves as a basis. Thus they are called στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, i. e., birds that run along the ground, but do not fly; and later, also, στρουθοὶ χερσαῖαι. Sometimes this bird is simply called ἡ στρουθός, and again a common name for it is στρουθοκάμηλος, from its camel-like neck. What principle of analogy the Greeks found in the term στρουθός, so as to apply it as well to the sparrow as the ostrich (birds of entirely distinct genera), is hard for us to say. It may have reference to voracity, or salacious habits, or possibly, as Benfey thinks, to the cry, since he finds an analogy between the root of στρουθός and the Latin *strid-*, &c. (Wurzel-Lex., vol. i., p. 677.—Compare Bochart, *Hieroz.*, ii., 14, p. 221, *seqq.*)

ὠρίδες. "Bustards." The name ὠρίς comes from οὖς, "the ear," and denotes a kind of bustard with long ear-feathers, probably our great bustard, or the French *outarde*.—δορκάδες. "Antelopes." Otherwise called gazelles. The antelope is an animal of the deer kind, and its Greek name has reference to its large bright eyes, the root being δέρκομαι, with which compare the Sanscrit *dric*.—ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι. "Whenever any one pursued," &c. Observe that ἐπεὶ here, with the optative, denotes the repetition of an action.—προδραμόντες ἔστασαν. "Having run ahead, stood still." The common text introduces the particle ἄν, which we have omitted with Dindorf, on the authority of the best MSS. The absence of the particle makes the clause far more graphic, and implies that the animal always did this, as a matter of fixed habit when pursued; whereas ἄν ἔστασαν would denote that they usually did so, but not always. (Compare Poppo, *ad loc.*)—ἔστασαν, 3 plur. syncopated form of the pluperfect active of ἵστημι, and not to be confounded with ἔστασαν, 3 plur. 1 aor. indic. act. of the same verb, and shortened for ἔστησαν, "they set, or placed."—ταὐτόν. "The same thing." They repeated the operation of running ahead, and then stopping.—οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν. "It was not possible to catch them." Supply αὐτούς.—εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἵπποις, κ. τ. λ. "Unless the horsemen, having stationed themselves at intervals, pursued the chase, succeeding one another with their horses," i. e., pursued the chase in succession with fresh horses. The horsemen divided themselves into relays, and succeeded one another in the chase.—τοῖς ἐλαφείοις. "To that of stags." Supply κρέασι.

## § 3.

πολὺν γὰρ ἀπεσπῆτο φεύγουσα. "For it withdrew itself to a great distance in making its escape." The common text has ἀπέπτα, a barbarous form, for which ἀπέπτη or ἀπέπτωτο ought, at least, to have been employed, although even then the meaning would have been an erroneous one, since it is idle to talk of the flight of a bird that was never intended by nature to fly. We have given, therefore, in the text the conjecture of Buttmann as adopted by Dindorf.—τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, κ. τ. λ. "Using its feet in running, and its wings, raising (them) on high, as a sail." We have given αἰρῶσα with the best editions, as suiting the context better than the common reading ἄρασα, and have placed a comma after πτέρυξιν, so that αἰρῶσα will govern αὐτὰς understood. The common text has no stop after πτέρυξιν, and αἰρῶσα is thus made to govern ἐαυτήν understood. This, however, is clearly erroneous, since the ostrich

never raises itself by its wings, the latter being altogether unfit for that purpose. Indeed, the contexture of the feathers, which renders them improper for flight, would seem equally to prevent their being of much service in accelerating the course of the bird. But though their assistance in this way, by striking the air, may be futile, yet it is not improbable that they serve as a balance to keep the body in equilibrium, and perhaps may alter its specific gravity. (*Griffith's Cuvier*, vol. viii, p. 435.)

ἀν τις ταχὺ ἀνίστη. "If one rouse them on a sudden." The reference is to the springing of game.—βραχύ. "A short distance."—ἡδίστα. "Very delicious."

## § 4.

Μάσκαν ποταμόν. According to Ainsworth (p. 78), the Mascas of Xenophon is a mere channel of the Euphrates, which is at the present day full of water, and, being drawn from the river at a northerly point, empties itself by three different embouchures to the south. In this way the site of Corsote was cut off from the main-land, and the city, as stated by Xenophon immediately after, was surrounded by water. Mannert's opinion coincides with this.—Κορσωτή. The site of this ancient city appears to correspond, at the present day, to a spot where are the ruins of a large place named *Irzah*. Ainsworth thinks, on no very good grounds, however, that Corsote was a colony of captive Israelites.

## § 5.

ἐπὶ Πύλας. "To a pass." The Pylæ Babyloniæ are meant, leading from Mesopotamia into Babylonia. This pass is spoken of by Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. Χαρμάνου, who quotes the *Anabasis* of Sophænetus: ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Βαβυλωνίαις πύλαις, πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, πόλις ᾤκιστο, ὄνομα Χαρμάνου. Ainsworth makes it to have been fourteen miles to the north of the modern *Felûjah*, corresponding precisely with the district in which the hilly country ceases, and the low alluvial plains of Babylonia commence.—οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος, κ. τ. λ. "For there was no grass, nor was there, besides, a single tree." Observe here the peculiar construction of ἄλλος. It is often used thus in enumerations, and at first view appears to be redundant, but may be rendered by "besides," "also," or something equivalent. In such cases the substantive appears to have a kind of expegetical force. (Compare *Herm.*, ad *Soph.*, *Phil.*, 88.—*Heind.*, ad *Plat.*, *Gorg.*, 473, D.)—ψιλῆ. "Bare of vegetation."—ὄνους ἀλέτας "Mill-stones." Observe that ἀλέτας is the accusative of ἀλέτης, οὐ, ὁ,

"a grinder," which, on being joined to ὄνος, performs the functions of an adjective.—ποιῶντες. "Forming." With respect to Xenophon's observations regarding the employment of the natives, in these rude and rocky districts, in cutting mill-stones, Ainsworth remarks, that it is not till we have got south of *Anah*, and in the country bordering on Haddisa, that we find a gritty silicious rock, alternating with iron stone, and intercalated among the marls, gypsum, and limestones of the country, capable of being used as a mill-stone. The existence of this rock in this tract of country is a further illustration of the minute accuracy of the historian. (P. 82.)—ἀνταγοράζοντες. "Buying in return."

## § 6.

τὸ δὲ σπράτευμα ὁ σῖτος ἐπέλιπε. "Corn thereupon failed the army." Observe that ἐπιλείπω is here analogous to the Latin *deficio*.—οὐκ ἦν. "It was not possible."—ἐν τῇ Λυδία ἀγορᾷ. "In the Lydian market," i. e., among the Lydian sutlers. The Lydians, remarks Hickie, after their reduction by Cyrus the Elder, were compelled by that monarch, as one means of breaking down their warlike spirit, to practice the arts of traffic, &c. (*Herod.*, i., 155, seqq.—*Larcher*, ad loc.) Hence the expression Λυδὸς καπηλεύει, "the Lydian keeps shop," became proverbial. (Compare *Erasmus*, *Adag.*, *Chil.* ii., cent. 6, 96.)—βαρβαρικῶ. Supply στρατεύματι.—τὴν καπιθὴν ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων, κ. τ. λ. "The capithe of wheat flour or barley flour for four sigli." Muretus, imagining that there must be some error here, since it is not credible, as he thinks, that these two very different kinds of flour should both have been sold at the same price, proposes to strike out the words ἀλεύρων ἢ from the text, regarding them as the interpolations of some one who considered ἀλευρα and ἀλφίτα to be synonymous terms. (*Var.*, *Lect.* xv., 16.) The emendation, however, is quite unnecessary. We have merely to suppose that the supply of ἀλευρα considerably exceeded that of ἀλφίτα, a circumstance that would easily bring up the latter or inferior article to a level, in point of value, with the former. (*Krüg.*, ad loc.)—τεττάρων σίγλων. The genitive of price.

ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται, κ. τ. λ. "And the siglus is worth seven Attic oboli and a half." The obolus was equal to two cents and 9-3 mills, and the drachma (which was equivalent to six oboli) to seventeen cents and 5-9 mills. The σίγλος, or σίκλος, was an ancient Asiatic coin, which some make the same with the Hebrew *shekel*. It certainly resembled the latter in name, but in value and weight it was as certainly less. The silver coins struck in the time of the Mac-



shekels (1 *Ma. c.*, xv., 6), of the weight of a shekel, contained, according to Josephus (*Ant.*, iii., 8, § 2), four Attic drachmas; while, on the other hand, the LXX. often render *shekel* by δίδραχμον, or two drachmas.—*δύο χολνικὰς Ἀττικὰς ἐχόμεναι*. “Contained two Attic chœnices.” The chœnix contained about a quart, English dry measure, according to some; while others make it about one and a half pints English. The former of these computations is adopted by Böckh (*Metro. Untersuch.*, 11, 9); the latter by Hussey (*Weights and Measures*, &c., 13, 4).—*κρέα οὖν ἐσθίωντες*, κ. τ. λ. This was in consequence of the high price of flour.

## § 7.

*ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν*, κ. τ. λ. “Now there were some of these days’ marches which he pushed very far.” Literally, “very long,” i. e., so as to be very long; and hence *πάνυ μακροὺς* may be regarded as equivalent, in fact, to *ὥστε πάνυ μακροὺς εἶναι*. With regard to *ἦν τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν*, it may be observed, that though the construction *ἐστὶν οἱ, ἐστὶν ὧν*, &c., is common enough, yet the employment of the imperfect *ἦν* is much less frequent. The full form of expression will be *ἦν τινες τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὗς*, κ. τ. λ., and the verb in the singular (*ἦν*) will agree with its nominative in the plural (*τινες*), by what grammarians term *σχῆμα Βοιωτικόν*, or *Πινδαρικόν*, a construction, it may be remarked, which is limited in Attic writers to *ἐστὶ* and *ἦν* placed at the beginning of a sentence. (*Kühner*, § 386, 1.—*Id.*, § 517, *Obs.* 2.)—*ὅποτε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ*, κ. τ. λ. “Whenever he wished to go on, either to water or to forage.” More literally, “to complete his route, either up to water or,” &c. With *διατελέσαι* supply *τὴν ὁδόν*.—*στενοχωρίας*. “A narrow road.” Literally, “a narrowness of space.”—*ἐπέστη*. “Stopped.”—*σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν*, κ. τ. λ. “With those about him of the highest worth and most prosperous fortune.” The reference is to his immediate followers, or those accustomed to be around his person.—*τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ*. “A part of the barbarian army.” The genitive is used with verbs of all kinds, even with those which govern the accusative, when the action refers merely to a part.—*συνεκιδύειν τὰς ἀμάξας*. “To assist in drawing out the wagons.” Literally, “along with (those already employed) to cause the wagons to go out (of the mire).” Observe the force of *σύν* and *ἐκ* in composition.

## § 8.

*ὥσπερ ὀργῇ*. Dindorf and Lion refer these words to the previous clause, as if the interpreters or the troops had shown anger on this

occasion at being thus employed, and therefore executed the work slowly. This is very improbable, and yet Poppo is of the same way of thinking, and, accordingly, with Dindorf and Lion, removes the comma after *ποιεῖν* and places it after *ὀργῇ*. The ordinary punctuation, however, and the meaning which it yields, are far preferable. Cyrus affected to be angry at the delay, in order, probably, to try the spirit and attachment of his followers.—*τοὺς κρατίστους*. “The noblest.”—*συνεπισπεῦσαι*. “To aid in urging forward.”—*ἐνθα δὴ μέρος*, κ. τ. λ. “There, then, might one have seen some portion of their ready obedience.” More literally, “it was possible to have beheld some portion of their well-ordered disposition.”—*τοὺς πορφυροὺς κἀνδύς*. “Their purple robes.” The *κἀνδύς* was a gown worn by the Medes and Persians over their trowsers and other garments. It had wide sleeves, and was made of woollen cloth, which was either purple, or of some other splendid color. In the Persepolitan sculptures nearly all the principal personages are clothed in it. The three here shown are taken from Sir R. K. Porter’s Travels.



*ἔεντο*. “They made a rush.” Literally, “they sent or threw themselves.” We have not hesitated to adopt *ἔεντο* (the imperfect middle of *ἔειμι*), as both more graphic, and more correct also in a grammatical point of view, than *ἔεντο*, which is the reading of almost all the editions. The idea expressed by *ἔεντο* is more in keeping with the whole picture, whereas *ἔεντο* wants spirit; and, besides, the middle forms assigned to *εἶμι*, “to go,” though usually given in the grammars, are rejected by some critics, as, for example, Elmsley (*ad Soph.*, O. T., 1242) and L. Dindorf (*ad Eur.*, *Suppl.*, 699), who write *ἔειμαι*, *ἔενται*, &c.—*περὶ νίκης*. “For victory,” i. e., at the public games.—*καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρηνούς γηλόφον*. “And that too, indeed, down a steep hill.” The form *καὶ μάλα* is often used in Attic Greek, in strong assertions; and in such cases *καὶ* may be rendered by the Latin *idque*.—*τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας*, κ.

τ. λ. "Both those same costly tunics and those variegated trousers of theirs," i. e., which the Persian nobility are accustomed to wear. Observe that the demonstrative οὗτος is frequently employed to denote, not a really present or just mentioned person or thing, but what is known and obvious to all, or circumstances common to all. (*Matthia*, § 470, 4.)—ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας. The epithet ποικίλας seems here to denote either striped, or else ornamented with a woof of various colors; probably the former. The articles of dress called here ἀναξυρίδες were common to all the nations which encircled the Greek and Roman population, extending from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. The Latin term is *braccæ*, coming from the Gallic "brakes," and which last remains in the Scottish "breeks" and English "breeches." The proper *braccæ* of the Eastern and Northern nations were loose, like those worn by the Orientals at the present day. The following cut, taken from Trajan's Column, represents a group of Sarmatians habited in *braccæ*.



στρεπτούς. Consult note on στρεπτόν χρυσοῦν, i., 2, 27.—θαπτον ἢ ὥς τις, κ. τ. λ. "More quickly than one could have thought (it possible)." Observe that ἢ ὥς (literally, "than as") after comparatives is usually followed by the infinitive; here, however, we have the optative with ἄν.—μετεώρους. "Lifted up." They actually, in their zeal to execute the orders of Cyrus, lifted the wagons quite out of the mire.

## § 9.

τὸ δὲ σύμπαν. "Upon the whole, then," i. e., as regarded the general character of the enterprise. The article is often put in the neuter with adjectives, and converts the phrase into an adverbial

one. (*Matthia*, § 283.)—δηλος ἦν Κύρος σπεύδων, κ. τ. λ. Consult note on δηλος ἦν ἀνιόμενος, i., 2, 10.—οὐ διατρίβων. "Not delaying." Literally, "not wearing away (i. e., wasting) time." Supply χρόνον.—δπου μὴ ἐκαθέζετο. "Where he did not halt," i. e., except where he halted.—νομίζων. Dawes (*Misc. Crit.*, p. 79) conjectured νομίζων ἄν, of which Porson approved. We have preferred, however, retaining the common lection. In the next clause, where the common text has ὅσῳ μὲν ἄν θάπτον ἐλθοι, we have rejected the ἄν as not required in the *oratio obliqua*.—τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ, κ. τ. λ. "He will fight with the king by so much the more unprepared," i. e., the more unprepared will he have the king to fight with. The reason here assigned by Xenophon could hardly have been the true one. Cyrus knew very well that the Grecian force which he had with him was more than a match for any number of barbarians that might be brought against it. He hoped, probably, that his brother might not so clearly perceive this, and might be induced, for the sake of increasing his army, to fall back before him upon the upper provinces; a step which would, perhaps, have given the empire to Cyrus without a battle, and which, according to Plutarch, had been already agitated in the royal council. By a rapid march he would either drive the king to this retreat, or find him, in his own opinion, unprepared. (*Thirlwall*, vol. iv., p. 297.)

καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι, κ. τ. λ. "And for one directing his attention to it, there was to see the empire of the king, as being powerful," &c., i. e., any one who turned his attention to it might see that the empire of the king was powerful, &c. Observe that συνιδεῖν properly means here "to take a comprehensive glance."—πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων. "In extent of territory and number of men." Observe the zeugma in πλήθει.—τῷ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις. "In the separation of its forces."—διὰ ταχέων. "Quickly," i. e., by rapid movements. The remark which Xenophon makes, observes Thirlwall, that the Persian Empire was weak on account of the time required to collect its forces, sounds oddly, when we reflect that Artaxerxes, though taken by surprise, had, according to the historian's own statement, already raised 1,200,000 men.

## § 10.

κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμούς. "Over against their marches through the desert country."—Χαρμάνδη. This is one of the few instances where Xenophon has omitted giving distances, so that the site of Charmande can not be positively determined. Rennell inclines to identify it with the modern *Hit*, and Ainsworth agrees with him.



The only objection to this is that *Hit* is celebrated for its bitumen fountains, and in Xenophon no mention is made of the existence of this remarkable mineral product.—*σχεδία*. "On floats." The term *σχεδία* is properly the feminine of *σχεδῖος* (*ναῦς* being understood), and denotes any thing knocked up off-hand, and only for immediate use.—*στεγάσματα*. "As coverings for their tents." Schneider adopts *σκεπάσματα*, an erroneous reading. The true distinction appears to be this: *σκεπάσμα* denotes a covering in which one clothes or wraps himself as a protection against the cold; but *στέγασμα* one that serves as a shelter against the sun, rain, &c. By *στεγάσματα*, therefore, are here meant the skins which the soldiers used to stretch over their tent poles, in forming their tents. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)

*χόρτον κούφον*. "With hay." Literally, "light grass," i. e., dried up by the heat of the sun, and thus rendered light and buoyant.—*συνήγον καὶ συνέσπον*. "They united (the edges) and stitched them together," i. e., joined and stitched them close together.—*τῆς κάρφης*. "The hay."—*ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον*. This mode of crossing rivers was anciently much in use. As the soldiers' tents were generally made of skins instead of canvass, they had always great numbers of them at hand. The tents of the Romans were also made of skins. Alexander, in his victorious march through Asia, crossed several rivers in this manner, particularly the Oxus, the passage of which is described by Arrian (iii., 29, 8) in such a manner, that it is very apparent he had this description of Xenophon before him. (Spelman, *ad loc.*)—*οἶνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου*, κ. τ. λ. "Both wine made from the fruit of the palm-tree," i. e., the date. At the present day, the fermented sap of the palm forms one of the intoxicating liquors of warm countries.—*σίτον μελίνης*. "Grain of panic." Consult note on *μελίνην*, i., 2, 22.—*τοῦτο*. Referring to *μελίνης*, the form *τὸ σῖτον* not occurring in Greek. Observe the employment of the neuter gender. Demonstrative pronouns are often not in the gender of the substantive to which they refer, but in the neuter, provided the idea of the substantive in the abstract be considered generally as a thing or matter. (Matthiae, § 439.)

## § 11.

*ἀμφιλεξάντων τι*. "Having disputed about something."—*κρίνας ἂν κείν*, κ. τ. λ. "Having decided that Menon's soldier was in the wrong." Referring to one of the two between whom the quarrel originally commenced. We must be careful, therefore, not to translate *τὸς* here by the English "one," as if equivalent to *τινά*, which is never

the case.—*πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν*. "Inflicted blows (upon him)." It is probable that Clearchus, according to the Spartan custom, of which we find so many instances, administered this discipline on the spot with his own truncheon. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 298, note.)—*ἐλεγεν*. "Mentioned it," i. e., what had befallen him. Krüger supplies *τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος*.

## § 12.

*ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν*. "To the crossing."—*κατασκευάμενος τὴν ἀγοράν*. "Having taken a view of the market," i. e., the traffic carried on with the people of Charmande.—*ἀφιππεύει*. "Rides away."—*σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν*. "With a few of those (accustomed to be) around him," i. e., a few of his staff, or military family. Observe here the force of the article, and compare note on *σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις*, κ. τ. λ., § 7.—*ἦκεν*. Observe that *ἦκω* in the present has the force of a perfect, and in the imperfect, as here, the force of a pluperfect.—*ἔτι προσήλανε*. "Was still coming up." Literally, "was still advancing (i. e., was still on the march) thither."—*διελάνοντα*. "Riding through," i. e., *ἐλάνοντα τὸν ἵππον διὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος*.—*ἔησι τῇ ἀξίνῃ*. "Throws (at him) with his axe."—*αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν*. Verbs expressing the notion of missing, which imply an antecedent notion of an object aimed at, take the genitive of the person or thing missed. (Kühner, § 511.)—*ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ*, κ. τ. λ. "But another (throws at him) with a stone, and another." With each *ἄλλος* supply *ἔησι*, and with *πολλοί* the 3. plur. *ἔειπιν*.

## § 13.

*καταφεύγει*. "Flees for protection." Observe here the force of *κατά* in composition—*παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὅπλα*. "Summons to arms."—*τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας*. "Having placed their shields against their knees." The reference is to the posture of troops who await an attack, having the shield firmly planted against the left knee, which is bent for that purpose, and the spear leveled. Compare the language of Nepos, in his life of Chabrias (i., 2), where the same position is described: "*Obnixo genu scuto, projectaque hastâ, impetum excipere hostium*." Clearchus intended to make an onset upon the soldiers of Menon with the Thracians and the troop of horse, and, in case he were repulsed, to fall back upon his heavy-armed men, who would be ready to receive his pursuers.—*τούτων*. Referring to the horsemen.—*ἐκπεπληχθαι*. "Were struck with astonishment."—*οἱ δὲ καὶ ἑστασαν*, κ. τ. λ. "Some of them, however, even stood still, being quite at a loss (what to do), by reason of the affair."

## § 14.

ἔτυχε γὰρ ὑστερος προσιών. "For he happened to be coming up later (than the rest)," i. e., of the Greeks. His division formed the rear of the Grecian column of march, and he came up late, therefore, to the spot where the others were already encamped.—εὐθὺς οὖν. Observe here the employment of οὖν after a parenthesis, for the purpose of resuming an interrupted discourse. (Matthiae, § 625.)—ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα. "Halted under arms," i. e., in armed array. Compare the explanation of Poppo, "*acie instructa constitit*."—ὅτι, αὐτοῦ ὀλίγον δεήσαντος, κ. τ. λ. "That, when he had wanted little of being stoned to death, (the other) should speak in light terms of what he had endured," i. e., that when he, Clearchus, had narrowly escaped being stoned to death, Proxenus should allude in light terms to what had thus befallen him.—ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. "To retire from between them," i. e., from between the troops of Clearchus and those of Menon. Observe the force of the middle in ἐξίστασθαι, literally, "to place himself out of."

## § 15.

ἐν τούτῳ. "During this time." Supply χρόνῳ.—ἐπῆει καὶ Κύρος. "Cyrus also came to the spot." We have given ἐπῆει, with Lion, Dindorf, Poppo, and others, as decidedly preferable to the reading of the common text, ἐπεὶ ἦκε.—ἔλαβε τὰ παλὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας. "Took his javelins into his hands." Each Persian horseman carried two javelins. Compare *Cyrop.*, iv., 3, 9.—σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν. "With those of his faithful followers that were present." The reference is to his immediate and most intimate friends.—ἐλαύνων. "Riding," i. e., at full gallop.

## § 16.

Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε. Cyrus here addresses these two commanders, because he sees them with their respective forces in battle array, and concludes at the instant that they are both equally in fault.—οὐκ ἴστε ὃ τι ποιεῖτε. "You know not what you are doing."—νομίζετε. "Rest assured."—κατακεκόψεσθαι. "Will be instantly cut to pieces." Sometimes, as in the present instance, the third future is employed to express the immediate occurrence of some future action; and it is from passages such as these that its less correct name of *Paulo-post Future* seems to have been derived. (Kühner, § 407, 2, ed. Jelf.)—κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων. "For our affairs proving adverse." More literally, "having themselves badly." Supply πραγμάτων after ἡμετέρων, and ἐαυτὰ after ἐχόντων.

## § 17.

ἀκούσας ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ. "The moment Clearchus heard these words, he became himself again," i. e., he came to himself. Literally, "he became in himself." Observe the force of the aorists here in denoting instantaneous action.—κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. "Laid up their arms in their accustomed places." Compare the explanation of Schneider: "*Regressus uterque ad castra, cum in locum ubi antea posita fuerant armis depositis conquevit*." Weiske's version is not correct: "*involutos clypeos rejecerunt in dorsum, gladios condiderunt in vagina*." Xenophon means that the troops returned to their respective stations, and put away their arms.

## CHAPTER VI.

## § 1.

ἐντεῦθεν προΐόντων. "As they advanced from this quarter." Supply αὐτῶν.—ἐφαίνετο. Agreeing with ἰχθία, the nearer and more important noun.—εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "And the track was conjectured to be (one) of about two thousand horse."—οὗτοι. Referring to ἱππεῖς, which is to be implied from ἱππῶν that precedes.—προσῆκων. "Related."—καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος, κ. τ. λ. "And in warlike affairs reputed among the bravest of the Persians." Observe that τὰ πολέμια (literally, "as regarded the things appertaining to war") is the accusative of nearer definition.—καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας, κ. τ. λ. "Having even before this been at war with, but having become reconciled unto him." The common text places a full stop after πολεμήσας, and makes καταλλαγεῖς δέ begin the next section. Our arrangement, which is far neater, is that of Dindorf, Poppo, Krüger, and others.

## § 2.

ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἱππέας, κ. τ. λ. "That he would either, having lain in ambush, cut to pieces the horsemen that were burning all before him." Observe the force of the prepositions in composition, and especially the strengthening power of κατά.—κατακάνοι ἄν. The common text has κατακαίνοι the present, but the aorist is preferable as indicating rapidity of execution. Observe, moreover, that though we have here the *oratio obliqua*, still we have the particle ἄν expressed with the optative. This is owing to the circumstance of a condition being expressed in the protasis. (Matthiae, § 529.)—καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας. "And would hinder them from going against and burning up (every thing)." The full form of



expression would be, καὶ κωλύσει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καλεῖν ἐπιόντας. καὶ ποιήσειεν, ὥστε. "And would bring matters to such a pass, that." More freely, "would bring it to pass that."—διαγγεῖλαι. "To give any account of it," i. e., to announce its coming and its strength.—ὠφέλιμα. "Advantageous."

## § 3.

ὅτι ἤξοι. "(Acquainting him) that he intended to come."—ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ταυτοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "He requested him, therefore, to give directions to his own cavalry," &c. Observe that ἀλλά has here the force of proinde or igitur, and consult Hartung, vol. ii., p. 35.—τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας, κ. τ. λ. "Memorials of his former friendship and fidelity," i. e., to Artaxerxes. The letter contained allusions to past occurrences that would serve to remind the king how friendly and faithful he had formerly been to him.—δίδωσι. The common text has δέικνυσι, for which we have given δίδωσι, with Dindorf, Poppo, and others, on the authority of the best MSS.

## § 4.

ἀναγνοὺς αὐτήν. "Having read it."—Περσῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, κ. τ. λ. "The seven noblest of the Persians that were (accustomed to be) around him," i. e., the seven noblest Persians among his intimate followers. The number seven was held sacred by the ancient Persians, as well as other nations. Thus, Ormuzd was believed to rule the heavens by means of seven chief ministers or amshaspands, and, in imitation of this, the empire of Persia was divided into seven great satrapies, and by means of his seven great officers, unto whom these governments were entrusted, the king ruled on earth like Ormuzd in the skies. In imitation, therefore, of this, Cyrus, who assumed to be monarch, called around him a council of seven. (Compare Von Hammer, *Fundgr. des Orients*, i., p. 3.—Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, i., p. 193.)—θέσθαι τὰ δπλα. Compare note on ἐθετο τὰ δπλα, chapter v., § 14.

## § 5.

Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἰσω παρεκάλεσε. "Clearchus, however, he also called within."—ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. "Who, indeed, appeared, both to himself and to the rest, to be the most highly honored (by Cyrus) of the Greeks," i. e., who was, as Clearchus himself believed, and as every one else could easily perceive, held in much higher estimation by Cyrus than any other of his countrymen. We have given αὐτῷ in the text in place of αὐτῷ, and have thus been enabled to assign to προτιμηθῆναι its natural signification. Almost every editor,

however, reads αὐτῷ, which must then be referred to Cyrus, and τοῖς ἄλλοις will then mean the rest of his Persian followers; while προτιμηθῆναι must be taken in the sense of "dignitate antecellere," as Sturz, Poppo, and others render it. But how the verb can have this meaning is difficult to perceive.—τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ὥς ἐγένετο. "The trial of Orontes, how it was," i. e., how the trial of Orontes was. The natural construction would be, ὥς ἡ κρίσις τοῦ Ὀρόντου ἐγένετο. The Greeks, however, were fond of the arrangement given in the text, by which the subject of the following verb is made to precede as an object in the accusative.

## § 6.

παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς. "I called you unto me." Observe here the force of παρά in composition.—καὶ πρὸς θεῶν, κ. τ. λ. "In the eyes of both gods and men."—περὶ Ὀρόντου τουτοῦ. "In the case of this Orontes here." Demonstrative words assume among the Attics the demonstrative ι, upon all their forms, in order to strengthen their demonstrative power. This, however, is only done in the language and tone of social intercourse. (Buttmann, § 80, 2.)—ὑπήκοον εἶναι μοι. "To be subject unto me." He was placed under the orders of Cyrus, in his government of the western provinces already mentioned, and was made amenable to him as his political superior.—ταχθεῖς. "Having been ordered." Larcher suggests κελυσθεῖς here in the place of ταχθεῖς, but it is deservedly rejected by Zeune as a mere gloss.—ἐποίησα ὥστε. "Brought matters to such a pass, that." Krüger thinks that the construction here partakes of the character of an anacoluthon, and is purposely intended to show the excited feelings of Cyrus. Not so by any means. We have a construction very similar to it in § 2, namely, ποιήσειεν, ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι, κ. τ. λ., where no excitement whatever is to be in any way supposed. Indeed, throughout the whole trial, as here detailed by Clearchus, the language of Cyrus would appear to indicate great calmness and self-possession.—δεξιάν. To give the right hand was esteemed, by the Persians in particular, one of the most inviolable of pledges. Hence Diodorus Siculus remarks (xvi., 43), τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν ἔδωκε Θεοταλλῶνι· ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ πίστις αὐτῇ βεβαιωτάτῃ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις.

## § 7.

ἐστὶν ὃ τι σε ἠδίκησα; "Did I ever wrong you in any thing?" Literally, "is there any thing in which I ever wronged you?" In strictness, however, the expression ἐστὶν ὃ τι is to be regarded as forming but one word, and its idiomatic nature is shown very clear-

by such forms as *ἔστιν οἵτινες*, *ἔστιν οὕτινας*, &c. As regards the government here of the double accusative, observe, that, according to the analogy of *ποιεῖν τινα κακά*, the verbs *ὠφελεῖν*, *βλάπτειν*, *ἀδικεῖν*, and others in which the idea of doing is implied, take, besides the accusative of the person, another accusative neuter of an adjective or adjective pronoun. (*Matthiæ*, § 415, *Obs.* 3.)—*ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ*. "He answered, 'No.'" The particle *ὅτι* is frequently employed even when the words of another are introduced, in which cases it answers merely to our marks of quotation, and is not to be translated. (*Kühner*, § 802, *Obs.* 5.) Observe that *οὐ* has here the accent, not merely because it is the last word in the clause, but also on account of its being emphatic in meaning.

*οὐκοῦν ὕστερον*. Belonging, in construction, to *κακῶς ἐποίεις*. "Did you not then afterward, though in no respect wronged by me, as you yourself confess, having revolted to the Mysians, keep injuring my territory," &c. Observe that the clause *ὥς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς* refers to the confession which Orontes has just made, and belongs, therefore, to *οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος*.—*ἔφη*. "Confessed it." Equivalent to *ὁμολογεῖ*.—*ὅπότε αὐτὸς ἐγνώσκει τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν*. "When again you became aware of your (real) ability," i. e., to cope with me.—*ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμόν*. The reference appears to be to the altar in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, which is said to have been an asylum for fugitives. (*Strab.*, xiv., p. 176.—*Cic.*, in *Verr.*, i., 2, 33.)—*πιστά*. "Pledges of friendship."

## § 8.

*τί οὖν*. "In what, then."—*νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων*, κ. τ. λ. "Have you now, for the third time, been openly plotting against me." Observe that *φανερῶς* here, in this participial construction, has the force of an adverb, *φανερῶς*, and consult note on *δηλὸς ἦν ἀνιῶμενος*, i., 2, 11.—*εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντου*, *ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς*. "And Orontes having answered that (he had done so), though in no respect wronged (by him)." After *ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς* supply *ἐπιβουλεύων φανερῶς γέγονε*.—*περὶ ἐμέ*. "Toward me." Literally, "round about me," i. e., with reference to me. (*Kühner*, § 632, 3.)—*ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη*. "(I confess it), for there is, indeed, a necessity (that I should)." Supply *ὁμολογῶ*, to which *γὰρ* refers.—*ἔτι οὖν ἂν γένοιτο*. "Would you, then, yet be," i. e., would you yet, after all that has happened.—*ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γένοιμην*, κ. τ. λ. "Not even if I should become so, O Cyrus, would I ever hereafter appear such unto you at least." Orontes here confesses that his conduct had been too faithless for Cyrus ever to place reliance upon him again. Observe that *ὅτι* is here, again, equivalent

merely to our inverted commas.—*πρὸς ταῦτα*. "Upon this." Properly, "looking to this," i. e., in these circumstances; *ἐν ὑπο* (*Kühner*, § 638, 3.)

## § 9.

*ὡμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος*, κ. τ. λ. "Of you, then, (here present), do thou first, O Clearchus, declare thy opinion, whatever seems good unto thee," i. e., state frankly thy opinion, whatever it may be. Literally "show forth for thyself an opinion, whatever," &c., in which observe the force of the middle, *ἀπόφηναι* being the 1 aor. mid. of the imperative, and not, as some maintain, the 1 aor. inf. act.—*τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκποδῶν ποιῆσθαι*. "That this man be put out of the way."—*δέη*. The common text has *δέοι*, and, a little after, *εἴη*. But the subjunctive is required in both cases, on account of the present *συμβουλεύω* which precedes.—*τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι*. "To be guarding against this one," i. e., to be all the while guarding against his acts of treachery.—*τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι*. "As far as regards this man." The article frequently stands in the neuter accusative with prepositions accompanied by their cases in an adverbial sense, and sometimes, as in the present instance, with an infinitive following. (*Matthiæ*, § 283.)—*τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς φίλους τούτους*, κ. τ. λ. "To do good unto these our willing friends." The common text has *ἐθελοντας*, which is the reading of most MSS. But the participle will not answer here, and we have, therefore, adopted, with Dindorf, Poppo, and others, the conjecture of Muretus, namely, *ἐθελοντάς*, in which observe the difference of accentuation. The form *ἐθελοντάς* is from *ἐθελοντής*, *οὐ*, used adjectively.

## § 10.

*ἔφη*. Referring to Clearchus, as communicating this information to the Greeks.—*προσθέσθαι*. "Assented to." Literally, "added themselves unto."—*ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόντην*. "Took Orontes by the girdle." Observe that the accusative *Ὀρόντην* implies that he was wholly in their power, whereas the genitive *ζώνης* has reference merely to the part of his person which they actually took hold of. Consult note on *λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ*, i., 5, 7.—*ἐπὶ θανάτῳ*. "For death," i. e., to show that he was condemned to death.—*καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς*. "Even his relations."—*οἷς προετάρχθη*. "They to whom the order had been given," i. e., they to whom the execution had been intrusted.—*προσεκύνουν*. "Were accustomed to render him obeisance." The allusion here is to the Oriental custom of prostrating one's self before kings and superiors generally.—κα



τότε. "Even then."—ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. "That he was getting led unto death." Some read here ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, but this suits better above.

## § 11.

τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων. "Of the wand-bearers of Cyrus." The office of σκηπτούχος was a high one at the Persian court, somewhat like that of the English gold or silver stick, black rod, &c., and was always held by an eunuch. Cyrus had σκηπτούχοι about his person, as a claimant of the throne.—οὐδείς εἰδώς ἔλεγεν. "Did any one, who knew, tell." Herodotus states (vii., 114) that it was a Persian custom to bury culprits alive, and hence it has been conjectured that Orentes was buried alive in the tent of Artapatas.—εἰκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως. "But some conjectured in one way, others in another."

## CHAPTER VII.

## § 1.

Βαβυλωνίας. Babylonia was a large province of Asia Minor, of which Babylon was the capital. It was bounded on the north by Mesopotamia and Assyria; on the west by Arabia Deserta; on the south by the Sinus Persicus, and on the east by the Tigris. It forms a dry steppe or table-land, but enjoys a delightful climate.—ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ. "And at the third station," i. e., at the end of the third day's march.—περὶ μέσας νύκτας. "About midnight." The temporal meaning of περὶ is post-Homeric. It denotes an indefinite period, like ἀμφί.—εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἑω. "On the following morning." Literally, "toward the following morning." (Kühner, § 625.)—μαχοῦμενον. "To give battle." Observe, again, the employment of the future participle to denote a purpose or intent.—τοῦ δεξιῦ κέρως. "The right wing (of the Greeks)."—τοῦ εὐωνύμου. The Greeks are again meant.—τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ "His own men," i. e., the barbarian forces.

## § 2.

ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ. "Just at the dawn of the following day." According to Thomas Magister, it is more Attic to employ ἐπιούσῃ alone, and understand ἡμέρᾳ. Xenophon, however, often disregards such niceties.—ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ, κ. τ. λ. "Brought intelligence to Cyrus respecting the army of the king." Observe the force of the imperfect here; the deserters brought intelligence one after the other, as they successively came in.—συνεβουλεύετό τε, πῶς, κ. τ. λ.

"Both consulted with them in what way he should make the battle," i. e., how he should arrange the fight.—παρῆναι θαρρόνων τοιάδε. "Addressed them, animating them by words such as these."

## § 3.

ἀπορῶν. "Because in want of."—ἀλλὰ νομίζων, κ. τ. λ. "But thinking you to be better and braver than many barbarians." There is no need of our making any very subtle distinction in meaning here between ἀμείνων and κρείττους. These two comparatives, so nearly resembling one another in signification, are merely intended, after all, by the writer, to subserve the purposes of emphasis, and may be taken together and freely rendered by our phrase "far better." Compare λῶν καὶ ἁμείνων, vi., 2, 15, &c.—προσέλαβον. "Have I taken you in addition (to my other forces)." Observe the force of πρὸς in composition.—ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε. "(See), then, that ye be. Observe that ὅπως frequently stands with the future indicative, as in the present instance, or with the subjunctive, to express a warning (as here) or desire, ὅρα or ὁρᾶτε (the latter in the present case being readily supplied by the mind. The literal meaning here will be, "(See), then, in what way ye shall be." (Kühner, § 812, 2.)

ἧς κέκτησθε. "Which you possess." Observe that ἧς is by attraction for ἧν. The verb κτάομαι means in the present, "I acquire for myself;" but in the perfect, κέκτημαι, "I have acquired, and continue to hold the acquisition," i. e., "I possess."—ὕμᾳς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. "I esteem you fortunate," i. e., I congratulate you.—εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι, κ. τ. λ. "For know well, that I would, without a moment's hesitation, choose for myself that freedom in exchange for all the things that I possess, and many times as many more," i. e., that I would prefer your freedom to all the things, &c. Observe not only the force of the middle in ἐλοίμην, "to choose for one's self," but also that of the aorist in denoting an instantaneous action.—τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. Among the Persians, in the true spirit of despotism, all, not even excepting the princes of the blood-royal and the satraps, were regarded as the slaves of the reigning monarch. Hence Cyrus himself, though the brother of the king, is elsewhere (i., 9, 29) called δοῦλος.—ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων. Attraction, for ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν ἃ ἔχω.

## § 4.

ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε. "In order, however, that you may even know."—εἰδώς. "Who are acquainted with it." Literally, "knowing."—τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ. "The number, namely, is large." Supply ἐστί. Observe here the employment of γάρ as an explanatory particle.

serving to introduce the more full detail of what has just been alluded to in general terms. It is equivalent in such cases to the Latin *scilicet* or *nempe*. (Hartung, i., p. 469.)—ἐπλάσιν. "They come on."—ταῦτα. Referring to the sight of their overwhelming numbers, and their loud cry as they advance to the fight.—τὰ ἄλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. "In other respects methinks I am even ashamed (when I think) what kind of persons for our purposes you will discover as men that are in this land to be." Observe that ἡμῖν here (literally, "for us") is an instance of the less direct dative of advantage, and to be construed with οἶον. Some connect it in construction with χώρα, but its position in the sentence forbids this. Compare Buttman, § 133, note 2.—As regards οἶον here, it may be remarked, that grammarians generally explain its meaning by making it equivalent to *δοτε* τοιούτους. It is far more natural, however, to supply in mind λογιζόμενος, or something equivalent, before the clause containing οἶον, the idea of reflecting or calling to mind being immediately suggested by the context. Compare Krüg., *ad loc.*

ἀνδρῶν. "True men," i. e., men of true and manly spirit. Observe that ἀνδρῶν here stands opposed, in fact, to ἀνθρώπους, which precedes. The Persians are termed ἄνθρωποι, a mere number, conspicuous for nothing that makes the true man; whereas the Greeks are designated by the complimentary epithet of ἄνδρες.—καὶ εὐτόλμων γενομένων. "And having conducted yourselves with spirit." Literally, "having been spirited," i. e., in the approaching conflict. The meaning of the whole clause is this: "If you, however, who are men of true courage, shall have displayed that same courage in the approaching fight." Weiske is wrong, therefore, in objecting to ὄντων, as not harmonizing with γενομένων, and his proposed emendation of οὕτως is not needed in the least.—τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτόν. "Enviied by those at home," i. e., made enviable unto them on account of what he shall have received from the generosity of the prince—ἐλίσσας. "To prefer without any hesitation."

## § 5.

φυγὰς Σάμιος. "A Samian exile." Samos was an island of the Ægean, lying off the lower part of the coast of Ionia. Schneider thinks that the individual here mentioned was the same with the Γανυλέρης of whom Thucydides speaks (vi., 85) as having been at one time in the service of Tissaphernes. But the person to whom Thucydides refers was a Carian (Κάρια διγλωσσόν), as that writer himself informs us.—καὶ μὲν, ὦ Κύρε, κ. τ. λ. "And yet, to be candid, O Cyrus, some say," &c. Observe the employment of καὶ μὲν, in

frankly expressing an objection to something that has gone before. Literally, "and in very truth."—διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "On account of your being in such a situation of approaching danger." Literally, "in such a part of the danger that approaches." When a substantive is joined with an adjective or pronoun, where both should be in the same case, the Greeks often consider the substantive as the whole, and the adjective as a part of it, and put the former in the genitive. (Matthia, § 320, 3.)—οὐ μεμνήσθαι σε. "That you do not remember it." In place of the future infinitive we have here the perfect with a present meaning, which serves to render the narrative more animated, and to bring the future at once before the view.—οὐδ' εἰ μέμνηοί τε. "Not even if you should both remember." Observe that the perfect (μέμνημαι) of the deponent μινύσκομαι has always in Attic a present signification, like the Latin *memini*, and that μέμνηο is the 2 sing. perf. opt. Another form, as given in some editions, is μεμνῶ, which is also Attic; but all the MSS. here give μέμνηο.

## § 6.

ἀλλ' ἐστι μὲν ἡμῖν, κ. τ. λ. "But, my friends, there is for us the empire that was my father's," i. e., I have awaiting me the vast empire of my father, with which, if victorious, to falsify these predictions.—μέχρι οὗ. "Unto where." For μέχρι ἐκείνου τοῦ τόπου οὗ. (Matthia, § 480.) We have written μέχρι here with the best editors. The rule that μέχρι must become μέχρις before a vowel, only applies to poets. In Attic prose, μέχρι before a vowel is so frequent, that the Atticists thought μέχρις not Attic. (Thom. Mag., 135. Compare Lobeck, *ad Phryn.*, 14, seq.)—διὰ καῦμα. The ancients believed the torrid zone to be uninhabitable on account of the heat.—τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων, κ. τ. λ. "Now all the parts between these (extremes) the friends of my brother are governors over." More literally, "govern as satraps."

## § 7.

ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν. Cyrus here speaks merely of himself, and so in ἡμῶς immediately after, the plural being employed for the singular as indicative of the rank of the speaker.—ἡμῶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους, κ. τ. λ. "It behooves us to make our own friends masters of these." The old editions prior to that of Zeune have ὑμῶς instead of ἡμῶς, making the meaning of the clause to be, "It behooves (us) to make you, our friends, masters," &c. This, however, is inferior in neatness and precision.—ἐκανούς. "Enough (friends)." Supply



φίλους.—ἡμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κ. τ. λ. "Moreover, unto each of you Greeks I will also give a golden crown." The presence of *καὶ* marks this, of course, as an additional reward. The generals and other officers were to have their crowns in addition to the more solid recompense of governments, commands, &c.; and the Grecian private soldiers were to receive theirs in addition to the donative already promised them on their arrival at Babylon. Gold crowns were often given among the Greeks, also, as rewards of civil and military merit.

## § 8.

εἰσῆσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ. The ordinary text has after αὐτὸν the words οἱ τε στρατηγοί, which throw the whole sentence into confusion, since the generals were mentioned in § 2 as already present, having been summoned, along with the captains, to attend the council of war. There can be no doubt that the words in question are the clumsy interpolation of some copyist, and we have therefore removed them from the text.—τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινές. These were officers under the rank of λοχαγοί, and private soldiers.—ἀξιούντες εἶδέναι. "Requesting to know."—ἐμπιπλῶς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην. "Satisfying the minds of all."—ἀπέπεμπε. Observe the force of the imperfect. He kept sending them away one after another, after he had satisfied the expectations of each.

## § 9.

παρεκελεύοντο αὐτῷ. "Exhorted him." Observe, again, the continued action indicated by the imperfect. They kept exhorting him one after the other as often as they conversed with him. The same remark will apply to διελέγοντο.—μὴ μάχεσθαι. "Not to fight himself," i. e., not to take any personal part in the fight. Had this advice been followed, Cyrus would have been king.—ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. "But to station himself behind them," i. e., behind their line. Plutarch attributes this advice to Clearchus, and makes Cyrus to have replied, "What advice is this, Clearchus! Would you have me, at the very time when I am aiming at a crown, show myself unworthy of one?" (Vit. Artax., 8.)—ὥδε πως ἤρετο Κύρον "Interrogated Cyrus somehow thus," i. e., put somewhat such a question as this unto Cyrus, or, a question in nearly the following terms.—οἶε γάρ; "Do you think, then?" (Compare Hoogewegen, ed. Seager, p. 29, seq.)—νὴ Δί'. "Yes, indeed." Literally, "Yes, by Jupiter!" Observe that νὴ is a particle of strong affirmation, followed by an accusative of the deity invoked.—εἰπερ γε Δαρείου, κ. τ. λ. Cyrus means, if his brother is of the true blood-royal, and of the same stock with himself.

## § 10.

ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ. "As they stood under arms." Literally, "in the being under arms." Compare the explanation of Poppo: "*quum exercitus armatus castris eductus esset*." Observe, moreover, that ἐξόπλισις is "a getting under arms," but ἐξοπλισία, "a being under arms."—ἀσπίς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία. "Ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed men." We have here what grammarians term the abstract for the concrete, namely, ἀσπίς for ἀσπιδοφόροι, i. e., ὀπλίται. The student will also note the employment of the singular, where the plural would naturally have been expected. The singular in Greek is often joined in this way with a cardinal number, if the latter exceed a hundred. (Compare Buttman, § 70, 4.) So, in English, we say, "a thousand horse," "a thousand foot," &c. (Compare Blomfield, ad Æsch., Pers., 320, in Gloss.) A difficulty, however, exists with regard to the number itself. In a previous part of his narrative (i., 2, 9), the heavy-armed men were given by Xenophon as amounting to eleven thousand. Subsequently to this (i., 4, 3), Cheirisophus brought seven hundred heavy-armed men, while four hundred of the same species of troops came over from Abrocomas. This makes in all a deficiency of seventeen hundred men. Zeune thinks that possibly the words καὶ χίλια may have dropped from the text after μυρία. This, however, would still leave seven hundred men to be accounted for. The other suggestion of Zeune is more probable, namely, that Xenophon does not enumerate here the heavy-armed men who guarded the baggage, for the words ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ would seem to refer merely to those who stood in arms ready for engaging. Add to this, that one hundred men were cut off by the Cilicians (i., 2, 25), that some must also have lost their lives in the plundering of Lycaonia and Tarsus, that some must have departed with Xenias and Pasion (i., 4, 7), and, finally, some may have left the heavy-armed corps and been enrolled among the light-armed troops, for the number of these last we find to be increased by five hundred men. These circumstances combined may, perhaps, have occasioned the discrepancy between the former number and the present one. (Compare Halbkart, p. 39, note, where the whole subject is fully discussed.)—πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχιλίοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. The increase of number in the case of the targeteers has been attempted to be accounted for at the close of the previous note.—καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα, κ. τ. λ. "And scythe-bearing chariots about twenty in all." Observe here the force of the article appended to the cardinal number, and giving, as it were, the action of the whole. (Kühner, § 455, 1.)

## § 11.

ἐκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες. Ctesias, as quoted by Plutarch (*Vit. Artax.*, 13), makes the king to have led into the field only τεσσαρὶς κόντα μυριάδας, or four hundred thousand men; and Ephorus, whom Diodorus Siculus cites (xiv., 22), says that the force was not less than this. Dinon, however, as Plutarch remarks, makes the number to have been much larger, and probably his account agreed with that of Xenophon.—ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν. "There were besides." Compare note on οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον (i., 5, 5).—πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως. "Before the king himself." Weiske thinks that we ought to read here πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, but this is unnecessary; for, though, when a noun follows αὐτός, the article ought, as a general rule, to be added, yet its presence may be dispensed with before proper names, and those words which, like βασιλεύς, are often used on other occasions without an article. (Poppo, *Ind. ad Xen., Anab.* s. v. αὐτός.)

## § 12.

ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοί, κ. τ. λ. "There were four commanders, and generals, and leaders." Weiske thinks that the words καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες are a mere interpolation on the part of some copyist, and several editors agree with him. It is more than probable, however, that the text is correct, and that Xenophon merely intends, by this accumulation of terms, to designate more fully the ample nature of the command held by each of the four officers whom he mentions. If we suppose ἄρχοντες to be in some respect equivalent to σατράπαι, this will serve to explain the presence of στρατηγοί, since the office of satrap was, strictly speaking, a civil one, and, when military powers were added, the title was σατράπης καὶ στρατηγός, while, as regards ἡγεμόνες, it may be remarked, that we find ἡγεμών and στρατηγός united also in another part of Xenophon's writings. *Cyrop.*, vi., 2, 9.—ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης, κ. τ. λ. "Came five days after the battle." Besides the army of three hundred thousand commanded by Abrocomas, which was absent from the fight, there was also a large force from Susa and Ecbatana, under an illegitimate brother of Artaxerxes, with which the Greeks subsequently met. (ii., 4, 25.) With regard to Abrocomas, it will be remembered that he had been sent down to the coast to check the progress of Cyrus, and so allow the king more time for receiving the re-enforcements which he still expected from the remoter provinces of the empire. But though he had retreated before the invader, and had recrossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, it seems that he had not yet rejoined the king. As to this fact, Xenophon can

scarcely have been mistaken, though he has left it wholly unexplained. Lion undertakes to clear up the difficulty by supposing that Abrocomas took a circuitous route, while Cyrus marched directly through the desert country. Krüger, however, does not hesitate to charge Abrocomas with treachery. (*De Authent.*, p. iv., n 13.)

## § 13.

ἡγγέλλον πρὸς Κῦρον. Hutchinson denies that ἀγγέλλω can be construed here with πρὸς Κῦρον, since it prefers the dative of the person, and he therefore joins the words in question with οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες. Poppo and Schneider, however, in their respective *Indexes* to the *Anabasis*, recognize the construction ἀγγέλλειν πρὸς τινα, without expressing any doubts as to its correctness, and, besides this, we have ἀγγέλλω joined to εἰς with the accusative in Plutarch, ἀγγέλλειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν νίκην (vol. vii., p. 219, *Reiske*) so that there seems no good reason why πρὸς with the accusative may not be similarly employed.—οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων. "Those who deserted from the enemy." The more usual construction is αὐτομολεῖν παρὰ τινος; here, however, the employment of ἐκ gives more precision to the clause, and is meant to indicate those who had come out from the midst of the enemy's encampment. So Krüger explains ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων by "aus dem feindlichen Lager."—οἱ ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων. Here τῶν πολεμίων is to be construed with οἱ.—ταῦτ' ἡγγέλλον. "Gave the same account."

## § 14.

ἐντεῦθεν. From the field of review, which, according to Xenophon's account, was about thirty-six geographical miles beyond the Pylæ Babylonæ, and, from the other data, thirty-two miles south of the wall of Media, thirty-six miles north of Cunaxa, and seventy-two miles north of Babylon. (*Ainsworth*, p. 87.)—συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντί. "With his whole army in battle array." The words στρατεύμα, στρατός, στρατιῶται, and the different classes of soldiers, as πεζοί, ἵππεις, ὀπλίται, ψιλοί, πελτασταί, also νῆες, &c., are generally accompanied by the dative only, without σύν, when they constitute an accompaniment. (*Matthia*, § 404, note 2.)—κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν, κ. τ. λ. "For in the middle of this day's march there was a dug trench." The expression τάφρον ὀρυκτὴν occurs, also, in Homer. (*Il.*, viii., 179.)—ὀργυιαὶ πέντε. "Five fathoms." The ὀργυιά was equal to four πήχεις, or six feet one inch, a little over our fathom, though, for convenience' sake, it is translated by the latter term. It strictly means "the length of the out-stretched



arms." Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus both differ from Xenophon and from one another as regards the dimensions of this trench.

## § 15.

παρετέτατο. "Was extended." The pluperfect in an imperfect sense.—ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας. "As far as twelve parasangs." Observe the force of ἐπὶ with numerals.—μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. The wall of Media is now called the *Khalu* or *Sidd Nimrud*, i. e., "the Wall" or "Embankment of Nimrod." It appears to have stretched across the narrow isthmus between the Tigris and Euphrates; terminating, on the former, a little above the site of the ancient Opis, and, on the latter, at the Sipphara of Ptolemy, the ruins of which are still called *Sifeirah*, near the modern *Felujah*. It was erected to protect the lower and most fruitful part of Mesopotamia from the attacks of the Medes, or, according to the Arab tradition, was built by Nimrod, to keep off the Assyrians of Nineveh. For more particulars respecting it, consult note on πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, ii., 4, 12.—ἐνθα δὲ εἰσιν αἱ διώρυχες. The point at which Cyrus arrived at the trench corresponds, according to Ainsworth, with the *Nahr Melik*, or royal canal, and it is at this point that Xenophon describes the four canals mentioned in the text. There is, however, a serious difficulty here. All ancient authorities anterior to, or who came after, Xenophon, differ from him as to the fact of these canals being derived from the Tigris. Herodotus, Diodorus, Arrian, Pliny, Strabo, and Ammianus are unanimous in evidencing the reverse, and make them to have been derived from the Euphrates, and to have flowed into the Tigris. Ainsworth's solution of the difficulty appears the most satisfactory. According to this writer (p. 89), the difference in the levels of the two rivers is so slight, that to the south of Babylon, at the present day, there exist canals, which are derived from the Tigris and flow into the Euphrates; and it is probable that, by merely altering the diagonal direction of a canal, the waters could be made to flow either way; certainly so at certain seasons—βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς. "And very deep."

διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστη παρασάγγην. "And they are distant from each other a parasang." Literally, "and they leave each a parasang between (it and the next)." Rennell (p. 80) has very properly remarked upon the improbability of the distances here given by Xenophon, and that four canals, of each one hundred feet in width, could, without totally draining it, be derived from the River Euphrates (which is here not more than 450 feet wide). within a dis-

tance of twelve geographical miles. It is remarkable, however, that the Athenian historian coincides with all other authorities in fixing the number at four; and the distances of these from one another in the time of Abulfeda are recorded as equal to two *fersaks*, or six geographical miles. It is barely possible, according to Ainsworth (p. 91), that in the days of Artaxerxes four canals existed in the relations pointed out by Xenophon; and that, in the time of Abulfeda, there were also four canals, but at the distance of from six to seven miles from each other.

παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην. "By the side of the Euphrates." As the narrow passage ran alongside of the river, we see the propriety of employing here the preposition παρὰ with the accusative, a combination in which motion is always implied. Compare note on παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, i., 2, 13.—πάροδος στενὴ. Rennell thinks that the trench could not be finished in time, and accounts in this way for the narrow passage having been left. Krüger, with more probability, conjectures that the passage was purposely left, in order to prevent the water of the river from running into the trench, which would have occasioned too great a waste.

## § 16.

ἀντὶ ἐρύματος. "Instead of a fortification," i. e., to serve as a barrier or defense. Artaxerxes had formed this trench either as a barrier to be disputed, or, according to an Oriental custom, to protect his camp from surprise. The latter would seem to have been his object, from a comparison of *Cyrop*, iii., 3, 26. But Xenophon appears here to indicate the former. His description of the trench, moreover, can not be reconciled with the account of Diodorus (xiv., 22), who speaks of a rampart of wagons placed round the ditch, within which Artaxerxes left his baggage when he advanced to meet Cyrus. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 302.)—ταύτην δὲ τὴν πάροδον, κ. τ. λ. "Through this passage, then, both Cyrus and his army marched, and came on the inside of the trench," i. e., came to the south side

## § 17.

οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεύς. It has been thought by some that Cyrus was allowed to pass the trench in order to throw him off his guard. This, however, is far from probable. Plutarch's account is more likely to be true, namely, that the king continued to waver almost to the last between the alternatives of fighting or retreating, and was only diverted from adopting the latter by the energetic remonstrances of Tiribazus. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 304.)—φανερὰ ἦσαν, κ. τ. λ.

Observe here the neuter plural with a plural verb. In the present case, the tracks must be supposed to have been scattered about over a wide surface. (Compare note on *ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Σουέννείας βασιλεία*, I., 2, 23.)

## § 18.

τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην. "The Ambracian," i. e., a native of Ambracia, a city of Epirus, and the capital of the country. It was situate on the banks of the Arachthus, or Arethon, a short distance from the waters of the Ambracian Gulf. We have changed the pointing in this clause, by removing the comma which the ordinary text has after *καλέσας*, and placing one after Ἀμβρακιώτην, which gives a much neater meaning. With regard to the form Ἀμβρακιώτην itself, it may be remarked, that several good MSS. give Ἀμπρακιώτην, which Wasse and Poppo defend, and consider to be the more ancient and true one. All the medals of the place, however, seem to have AMB., AMBP., AMBPAKI., AMBPAKIΩΤAN, &c. (Consult *Rasche, Lex. Rei Numariae*, vol. I., col. 512.)—*ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ*, κ. τ. λ. "Because previously, on the eleventh day from that day, when inspecting the entrails, he told him, 'the king will not fight for ten days.'" Literally, "on the eleventh day from that day previously." Observe that αὐτῷ refers to Cyrus.—*θυόμενος*. This is the conjectural emendation of Leunclavius. The reading of the MSS. is *πυθόμενος*.—*ὅτι*. Equivalent merely, as before remarked, to our inverted commas.—*δέκα ἡμερῶν*. A space of time is sometimes considered as the necessary condition of the notion of the verb, and is therefore put in the genitive. (*Kühner*, § 523.)—*οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται*. "He will not, then, fight thereafter."—*δέκα τάλαντα*. The Attic talent was worth about \$1056 60, and the Daric, as before remarked, about \$3 50; so that ten talents and three thousand Darics would be nearly the same amount.

## § 19.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ, κ. τ. λ. "But since at the trench the king did not try to prevent the army of Cyrus from marching through (the passage)."—*ἀπεγκωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι*. "To have given up all thoughts of fighting." The verb ἀπογιγνώσκω signifies properly, "to depart from a judgment," and hence, "to give up a design or intention of doing a thing." Schneider, following some of the MSS., gives μάχεσθαι, which we have adopted after Dindorf. The common text has *μαχεῖσθαι*, which is sought to be defended by Schaefer. (*ad Soph.*, I., p. 251.)—*ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον*. "More carelessly." We have given *ἡμελημένως*, with Poppo and Dindorf. The common text has *ἡμελη*

μένος, in the sense of "negligent," i. e., negligently; but *ἡμελημένοι* can not well signify any thing except "neglected," or "overlooked" (*neglectus*), as Poppo correctly remarks.

## § 20.

τοῦ ἄρματος. His traveling chariot is of course meant.—*τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο*. "He was prosecuting his march."—*ἐν τάξει*. "In military array," i. e., in their ranks.—*τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ*, κ. τ. λ. "But the greater part were proceeding for him in great disorder." Observe that αὐτῷ here falls properly under the head of the dative of disadvantage.—*καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις*, κ. τ. λ. "And many of their arms were getting carried for the soldiers," &c.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## § 1.

ἄμφι ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν. "About the time of full market," i. e., about the time of day when the market-place is usually crowded. The expression ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα was used to signify the time from about nine to twelve o'clock. The earlier part of the morning, previous to the ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα, was termed *πρωί*, or *πρὶ τῆς ἡμέρας*. After the ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα came the *μεσημβρία*, *μέσον ἡμέρας*, or *μέση ἡμέρα*, called by Homer *μέσον ἡμαρ*. The two parts of the afternoon were called *δείλη πρωίη*, or *πρωία*, and *δείλη ὀψίη*, or *ὀψία*.—*καταλύειν*. "To halt." Literally, "to unloose," "to unyoke," *scil.* τοὺς ἵππους; hence, to halt as here for the time.—*τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν*. "One of the faithful adherents of Cyrus."—*προφαίνεται*. "Comes in sight." Literally, "appears in front."—*ἀνὰ κράτος*. "At full speed." More literally, "with all his might." Observe here the force of ἀνά, and compare the English expression, "at the top of one's speed."—*ἰδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ*. *Matthiæ* (§ 396) calls this the dative of the means or instrument. It would be more correct to term it the dative of the manner.—*καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς*. "In both the barbarian tongue and in the Greek," i. e., in both Persian and Greek.—*ὥς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος*. "Prepared as if for battle," i. e., to all appearance prepared for battle.

## 2.

πολὺς ταραχος ἐγένετο. "Much tumult ensued."—*καὶ πάντες δέ*. "And, in fact, all."—*ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιτεσεῖσθαι*. "That he will fall upon them in their disordered state." The reference is to the king.



## § 3.

καταπηδήσας. Observe the beautiful effect produced by the aorist in καταπηδήσας, ἐνέδν, ἀναβάς, and ἔλαβε, all denoting rapid action. and then, again, the continuance of action expressed by the imperfect παρήγγελλεν, where Cyrus is described as giving orders to one after another of his followers.—ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. According to Plutarch (*Vit. Artax.*, 9), the name of Cyrus's steed was Pasacas. He describes him as a horse of great spirit, but headstrong and unruly.—τὸ παλὺ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε. Consult note on i., 5, 15.—ἐξοπλίζεσθαι. "To array themselves in full armor." Observe the force of ἐξ in composition. It will be remembered that the troops, anticipating no attack, were moving onward only partially armed. Compare chapter vii., § 20.—καὶ καθίστασθαι, κ. τ. λ. "And to station themselves each in his proper place." Observe here the reference to motion indicated by the preposition εἰς, so that the clause strictly means "to go into their proper places, and station themselves there."

τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων. "Occupying the right of the wing (on which he stood)." The Grecian army formed the right wing of Cyrus's combined force, and the forces of Clearchus were posted on the right of this same wing. With δεξιὰ supply μέρη.—πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ. "Near the River Euphrates." The right leaned upon the river, and was supported, as is afterward stated, by the Paphlagonian cavalry and the Grecian light-troops.—ἐχόμενος. "Next." Observe that ἐχόμενος is the present participle middle of ἔχω, and that the idea implied in it is, strictly, "holding to or by one," "being closely connected with one," and hence, "coming next or nearest."—Μένων δέ. After these words the common text has καὶ τὸ στράτευμα, which clause, as being deficient in spirit, has been very justly suspected by Wyttenbach as an interpolation, and bracketed by Poppo. We have not hesitated, therefore, to remove it from the sentence.—τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔσχε, κ. τ. λ. The Grecian army, as we have just remarked, formed the right wing of Cyrus's force, and the right of this wing was occupied by Clearchus. In like manner, the left of the Grecian army was held by Menon. This last-mentioned commander, therefore, was on the right wing as regarded the whole army of Cyrus, but at the same time occupied the extreme left of his own countrymen.

## § 5.

τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ. "But of the barbarian army (of Cyrus)." Having spoken of the position of Cyrus's Grecian followers, the historian now turns to the barbarian portion of his forces. These

formed his centre and left wing.—ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες. Paphlagonia lay on the coast of the Euxine, to the north of Galatia, and east of Bithynia. A description of this country is given by Xenophon in the fifth book of the present narrative (chap. vi., § 6), where the Paphlagonian horse are spoken of as superior to any in the service of the Great King.—πελταστικόν. "Targeteer force." Supply στοάτευμα.—ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος. "The lieutenant-general of Cyrus."

## § 6.

καὶ ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ. We have retained the reading of the common text. Dindorf inserts *οἱ* before ἱππεῖς on the authority of a single MS., and for μετ' αὐτοῦ gives, with several editors, τούτου, which appears far inferior.—κατὰ τὸ μέσον. "(Stood) in the centre." Supply ἔστησαν. We have supplied κατὰ τὸ μέσον, with Hutchinson and others, as evidently required by the sense. Leunclavius first proposed them as a conjecture, having been guided by the old French version of De Candole, which is said to be one of remarkable fidelity. An additional argument in favor of their reception may be drawn from the language of Diodorus Siculus (xiv., 22), who, in describing the arrangements of this same battle, remarks, Αὐτὸς δὲ Κύρος ἐτέτακτο κατὰ μέσῃν τὴν φάλαγγα, τοὺς, κ. τ. λ. And a little after, in speaking of Artaxerxes, he says, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον αὐτὸς ἐτάχθη; and a little further on, referring to both the competitors for the empire, he observes, κατὰ δὲ μέσῃν τὴν τάξιν ἔτυχε μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς περὶ βασιλείας ἀγωνιζομένους ταχθῆναι. Some editors, however, in opposition to this view of the subject, make Cyrus to have stationed himself in the left wing, an assertion without a shadow of proof, and arising from an erroneous idea of the movements of the battle.—θώραξι μεγάλοις. We have given μεγάλοις, with Krüger and others, on good MS. authority, as far superior to the common reading *ὡς αὐτοί*.—παραμηριδίοις. "Cuisses," i. e., armor for the thighs. Observe that παραμηριδίοις is an adjective, and has *ὅπλοις* understood.

Κύρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων, κ. τ. λ. "Cyrus, however, stationed himself for the fight, having his head unprotected (by a helmet)." Literally, "having his head bare." He wore a tiara instead of a helmet, and Ctesias, as quoted by Plutarch (*Vit. Artax.*, c. 11), says that in the conflict, the tiara of Cyrus fell from his head: ἀποπίπτει δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ τιάρα τοῦ Κύρου.—λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, κ. τ. λ. "It is said, moreover, that the other Persians encounter danger in war with their heads unprotected (by helmets)." Xenophon speaks throughout the *Anabasis* as if he himself were not the author of the work, but as if it were written by some other person, who had obtained his

information only through hearsay or the oral accounts of the actors themselves. Hence the use of *λέγεται* in the text. (Krüg., *de Authent.*, p. 6.) Herodotus, in his account of the forces of Xerxes, and their different equipments, speaks of the Persian infantry as wearing on their heads light and flexible caps of felt (*πίλους ἀπαγέας*), called *tiaras* (vii., 61); and afterward (vii., 84), in describing the cavalry of the same nation, he makes them to have had the same equipments with the foot, except that some of them (*μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν*) had brazen and iron helmets. This appears to be a sufficient confirmation of the language of our text; for if it be objected that the six hundred horse with Cyrus were *all* armed with helmets, still there is nothing to show that they were *Persian* cavalry; nay, the probability is the other way. Wyttenbach, however, regards the whole passage from *λέγεται* to *διακινδυνεύειν* as a mere interpolation, or else thinks that some error lurks in *ἄλλους*; while Jacobs, improving upon the hint, conjectures *παλαιούς* for *ἄλλους*, and Lion actually receives this emendation into the text. But, then, a serious difficulty occurs in *διακινδυνεύειν*, whether we regard it as a present or imperfect. For although instances may be found where the present of the infinitive is used in the *oratio obliqua* for the aorist, yet this is quite foreign to the style of Xenophon; and the imperfect would be equally improper, since there is no contemporaneous action indicated by the context.

## § 7.

*προμετωπίδια*. "Frontlets," i. e., armor or coverings for the forehead.—*προστερνίδια*. "Breast-plates." The armor of the horses here described consisted of plates of metal; on other occasions scale armor was also employed. Heavy-armed cavalry, that is, where both rider and horse were defended by armor, was common among the Persians from the earliest times, and was adopted from them by their Macedonian conquerors. The Greeks called such troops *κατάφρακτοι*.—*μαχαίρας Ἑλληνικάς*. "Grecian sabres." The sabre would, of course, be more effectual in the hand of a horseman, for hewing down an opponent, than the *ξίφος*, or straight sword, could prove.

## § 8.

*ἥνικα δὲ δελὴ ἐγίγνετο*. "But, when afternoon began." Observe here the force of the imperfect in denoting the commencement of a period. The tense, therefore, shows that the time meant is the beginning of the *δελὴ πρωτῇ*, or *πρωτῇ*, or what we would call the early part of the afternoon; the latter portion of the same being

*δελὴ ὀψίῃ*, or *ὀψίᾳ*.—*χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῷ ὕστερον*, κ. τ. λ. "And, in no long time after, a sort of blackness as it were," i. e., a dark kind of mass. Observe the spirited nature of the description. As the army of the enemy comes in sight over the wide-extended plain, it resembles a dark, undefined mass moving along the edge of the horizon. We have inserted the negative before *συχνῷ*, the conjecture of Leunclavius, and required by the context, since *χρόνῳ συχνῷ* can only mean "in a long time."—*ἐγίγνοντο*. "They began to come."—*τάχα δὲ καὶ χαλκός*, κ. τ. λ. "Quickly thereupon both something resembling brass began to emit gleams of light." Literally, "a certain brass," or "a kind of brass." We have rendered *χαλκός* here by the term "brass," merely in accordance with general usage. Strictly speaking, however, *χαλκός* means "bronze," or a mixture of copper and tin, in which state it is harder and more fusible, and was the chief metal used by the ancients in the arts; whereas our *brass*, a mixture of copper and zinc, is said to have been quite unknown to them. (*Dict. Antiq.*, s. v. *Æs.*)—*καταφανεῖς*. "Plainly visible"

## § 9.

*λευκοθώρακες*. "In white corselets." The reference here is to what were termed *linen corselets*, and which are mentioned in the fourth book of this narrative (chap. vii., § 15), where it is said of the Chalybes that they had *θώρακας λινούς*. The mode of making these corselets is said to have been as follows: the flax was steeped in vinegar or harsh wine, to which salt had been added, and was then worked by a process resembling felting, until the mass attained the thickness of linen eight, ten, or even many more times doubled. From this the corselets in question were made, and afforded a lighter, though much less effectual defense than a cuirass of metal. The epithet *λινοθώραξ*, applied to two light-armed warriors in the Iliad, and opposed to *χαλκοχίτων*, the common epithet of the Grecian soldiers, indicates the early use of the linen cuirass. It continued to be worn to much later times among the Asiatics, especially the Persians, the Phœnicians, and the Chalybes; and also by the Egyptians. Iphicrates endeavored to restore the use of it among the Greeks, and it was occasionally adopted by the Romans.

*ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γέβροφόροι*. "And, next to these, wicker-shield bearers." The *γέβρον* was an oblong shield of wicker-work, covered with ox-hide, and was used by the Persian soldiers. It was, in fact, a large, but light, buckler.—*σὺν ποδῆρεσι ξυλίναις ἰσπίσιν*. "With wooden shields reaching to their feet." Compare *Cyrop.*, vii., 1 33, where the long Egyptian shields are said to be a far better



protection for the person than either corselets or γέρβα, and very serviceable in pushing against a foe, with the shoulder pressed against them. According to Wilkinson (vol. i., p. 298), the ordinary shield of the Egyptian soldier was equal to about half his height, and generally double its own breadth. Some, however, he remarks were of extraordinary dimensions, and varied in form from those commonly used, being pointed at the summit not unlike some Gothic arches. The latter, probably, are here meant by Xenophon. Both kinds were usually covered with bull's hide, having the hair outward.—Αἰγύπτιοι. It has been supposed by some that these were the descendants of those Egyptians whom Cyrus the Elder is said to have received under his protection, and to whom he assigned towns in which to dwell; for the Egyptians at home had at this time revolted from the Persians. (Compare *Cyrop.*, vii., 1, 45.)—ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. "And then others, horsemen, others, bowmen," i. e., and then came the rest of the army, consisting partly of cavalry, partly of archers.

κατὰ ἔθνη. "(Marched) by nations." Supply ἐπορεύοντο.—ἐν πλαίσιω πλήρει ἀνθρώπων. "In solid column." Literally, "in an oblong full of men." Compare the explanation of Luzerne, "*en colonne pleine*." Xenophon frequently employs the term πλαίσιον in speaking of the arrangement of troops, but always in the sense of an oblong body of men, except when the epithet ἰσόπλευρον is added, and then only does it mean a square. On the other hand, the term πλινθίον, which he also uses, denotes, not an oblong body, but a regular square; so that πλινθίον is the same as πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον, but very different from πλαίσιον alone. (Compare *Arrian, Tact.*, p. 69.)

## § 10.

πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅρματα. "And in front of them moved chariots." Supply ἐπορεύετο, from the preceding section.—διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. "At considerable distances from one another." Literally, "leaving between a considerable distance from one another." The writers on ellipsis supply διάστημα after συχνόν, unnecessarily, however.—ἐκ τῶν ἁξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα, κ. τ. λ. "Extended from the axle-trees in a slanting direction, and (others) pointing toward the ground from under the bodies of the chariots." Literally, "looking toward the ground." Two sets of scythes are referred to as appended to each chariot. First we have them attached to the extremity of the axle-tree on either side, and slanting outward at a considerable angle; and then we have another pair under the body of the chariot itself, and turned downward toward the ground. The

object of the first pair was to cut through the opposite ranks, or any standing foes; while the second pair were intended for wounding and lacerating those who might have been overthrown or trampled down by the steeds which drew the car.—ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις, κ. τ. λ. "And the design (of these chariots) was to drive into and cut to pieces, the ranks of the Greeks." After γνώμη supply αὐτῶν, equivalent to τούτων τῶν ἁρμάτων. As regards the future participle ἐλόντων (Attic for ἐλασόντων) and διακοφόντων, with the participle ὡς, it will be remembered that by such constructions intention is marked. There is no need, however, of making these participles in the present instance genitives absolute, but to refer them at once to αὐτῶν understood after γνώμη. Dindorf, on the authority of some of the MSS., reads ἐλόντα and διακόφοντα, but the lection we have adopted appears the more natural one.

## § 11.

ὁ μέντοι Κύρος εἶπεν. "As regarded, however, what Cyrus said." Compare chap. vii., 4.—ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο. "In this he was deceived." Literally, "with respect to this." We commonly say ψεύδεσθαι τινος (*Matthiæ*, § 338), but it must be observed that those verbs that are regularly connected with another case, take, nevertheless, the accusative, when a pronoun or some other general expression supplies the place of a specific definition. (*Rost*, § 104, 8.)—ὡς ἀνυστόν. "As far as possible." Literally, "as far as (was) to be accomplished." Supply ἦν.—ἐν ἰσῷ καὶ βραδέως. "With an even step, and slowly," i. e., in even line, and with slow step. The writers on ellipsis supply βήματι here with ἰσῷ. (*Bos*, s. v. βῆμα.)

## § 12.

ἐν τούτῳ. Supply τῷ καιρῷ.—ἐδόα. "Kept calling aloud."—κατὰ μέσον. "Against the centre."—ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἶη. "Because the king was there," i. e., was there as he said. The optative, therefore, here is analogous to the Latin subjunctive. "Because the king would be there" would be expressed by ἂν εἶη.—πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται. "Every thing has been done by us," i. e., our work is done.

## § 13.

τὸ μέσον στίφος. "The centre body," i. e., the crowd of troops in the centre.—καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου, κ. τ. λ. "And hearing from Cyrus of the king's being beyond the Grecian left," i. e., that the centre, where the king was posted, with his body-guard of 6000 horse, was beyond the Grecian left.—τοσοῦτον περὶ ἦν. "Was so far superior."

—ἔχων. “*Though occupying.*”—τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμον. The king’s centre was not only beyond the left of the Grecian army, but even beyond the left of Cyrus’s own force.—ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος, κ. τ. λ. “*But Clearchus, nevertheless, was not willing to draw off,*” &c. In strictness, the words ὅμως οὐκ ἠθέλην ἀποσπάσαι would be sufficient here. The particle ἀλλά, however, is added, because the continuity of the sentence has been broken by the parenthesis, and for the same reason ὁ Κλέαρχος is also introduced a second time.—μὴ κυκλωθεῖη ἐκατέρωθεν. If he drew off his right from the river, and advanced against the king’s centre, he would have to advance in an oblique direction, and, consequently, expose both his flanks.

ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι, κ. τ. λ. “*That he would take care that all shall go well.*” Literally, “that it would be a care unto him, that it shall nave itself well.” Clearchus, it will be perceived from this, treated the orders of Cyrus, on the present occasion, as a suggestion, which he might adopt or reject at his discretion. Xenophon, while he does full justice to the motives of the Grecian commander, seems to intimate, though with great reserve, that, in his own opinion, he would have acted more wisely if he had obeyed Cyrus. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 305.) Modern military critics, however, are more direct in their censure. According to Rennell, Cyrus fell a martyr to Clearchus’s punctilios of European discipline, and want of knowledge of Oriental warfare. Had he combated with a superior force of his own countrymen, he would have acted wisely in keeping his flank covered; but the sequel proves that the Great King would not venture to engage with the Greeks alone, even after the native army of Cyrus had left the field. We may infer, therefore, that, had Clearchus followed the advice of Cyrus at the beginning of the action, and brought his forces against the king’s centre, the event would have been totally different. No one can doubt but that victory would have attended the steps of the Greeks; and a victory in the centre would either have placed the king in the power of Cyrus, or have driven him from the field. (*Rennell, Illustrations*, &c., p. 115.)

## § 14.

ὁμαλῶς προΐει. “*Kept coming on in even order.*” The royal army advanced in good order, and not, as the Greeks had been led to expect, with loud outcries and in disorderly array. As regards the place where the battle was fought, consult note on μέχρι κόμης τινός, i., 10, 10—ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. Supply τόπω. The reference here is to the spot on which the head of the Grecian column of march halted when the enemy came in sight, and where they began to

form the line of battle.—συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτ. προσιόντων. “*Was forming into line from those that were still coming up.*” The column kept deploying into line as fast as the troops came up from the march.—οὐ πάνυ πρός. “*Not very near,*” i. e., at some distance from. Compare the explanation of Weiske, “*Satis longinquo a suis intervallo.*”—κατεθεῖτο ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων. “*Kept surveying (the scene), looking toward each side.*” The common text has κατεθεῖτο ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπὸθεν, τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἀποβλέπων, τοὺς τε φίλους.

## § 15.

Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος. As Xenophon was not at this time a regular member of the Grecian army, but merely a kind of volunteer, we may, in this way, account for his coming forth from the Grecian line to address the prince.—ὑπελάσας ὡς συναντήσαι. “*Having rode up to meet him.*” Supply τὸν ἵππον after ὑπελάσας. Hutchinson makes ὑπελαύνω here signify “*equum nonnihil incitare.*” This, however, is not correct. The true idea is given by Schneider (*ad Xen., Hell.*, vii., 1, 29), where he refers it to a moving up to meet one, and which is well expressed by our phrase “to ride up to one.”—εἰ τι παραγγέλλοι. “*If he had any command to give.*” Observe that the optative is here employed because the preceding verb, ἤρτο, is in a past tense, since what is in Latin the sequence of tenses is in Greek the sequence of moods; and where in Latin, after conjunctions, the imperfect should be put, in Greek the optative is employed.—ὁ δ’ ἐπιστήσας εἶπε. “*He thereupon, having checked his steed, made answer.*” After ἐπιστήσας supply τὸν ἵππον.—ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερά, κ. τ. λ. “*That both the sacrifices and the victims were propitious.*” By ἱερά are here meant the sacred rites that had just been performed, and during which no circumstance of an unlucky nature had occurred to mar their effect; by σφάγια, on the other hand, is meant the inspection of the entrails of the victims, which had proved equally propitious, and gave a fair presage of victory. Some editors supply καλὰ after ἱερά, while others conclude the sentence with εἶη. Both, however, are mere interpolations, and εἶη can be easily supplied by the mind.

## § 16.

θορύβου ἤκουσε, κ. τ. λ. “*He heard a noise going through the ranks.*” This was the “word,” or *tessera militaris*, called by the Greeks σύνθημα, which was given out before joining battle, and passed from rank to rank. It was adopted as a method by which the soldiers might be able to distinguish friends from foes, and was



usually something of an animating character. It was passed along from man to man in an under tone of voice, which will serve to show the true force of *θορύβου* on the present occasion, namely, a low, murmuring sound, proceeding from a large multitude. Compare *Lipsius, de Mil. Rom.*, iv., *Dial.* 12.—ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν. We have retained here the common reading as decidedly the more natural one. Some MSS. give *Κλέαρχος* for *Ξενοφῶν*, which has been preferred by Dindorf and others, on the ground that this commander, seeing Cyrus in his immediate vicinity, must of course have rode forth, also, to meet him. But Xenophon is silent respecting any such meeting, and would certainly have mentioned it had it taken place; and besides this, the words *ταῦτα λέγων* would seem to indicate a conversation with one and the same person throughout.—*ὅτι τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται*, κ. τ. λ. "That the word is passing along now for a second time." According to military usage, the word first passed down the front ranks, along the whole extent of the line, and then came back again up the rear ranks to the quarter where it first commenced. It is to this, its second progress, that Xenophon here alludes.—*καὶ ὅς*. "And he." Observe here the employment of *ὅς* as a pronoun of the third person; a usage, however, much more limited in the Attic writers than in Homer. (*Matthiae*, § 484.)—*ἐθαύμασε*. Cyrus, from his imperfect acquaintance with the military usages of the Greeks, was not aware that the word had been given. Hence the surprise which he manifested.—*τίς παρογγέλλει*. "Who gives it." Literally, "who orders it."

## § 17.

*ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε*, κ. τ. λ. "Well, then, I both accept it, and let it be this." Observe here the elliptical employment of *ἀλλά* in commencing a clause. Literally, "(I have no objection), but both accept it," &c. Weiske prefers supplying *τὸν οἰωνόν* after *δέχομαι*, "I both accept the omen, and let the word be this." Our explanation, however, seems far more natural.—*εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν*. "To his own post." This was in front of the centre.—*διειχέτην*. "Were apart."—*ἐπαιάνιζόν τε*. "Both struck up the hymn of battle." There were two kinds of martial pæans, one sung before battle, and called *παιὰν ἐμβατήριος*, the other after the battle was ended, and called *παιὰν νικητήριος*. The scholiast on Thucydides (i., 50) says, that the pæan sung before battle was sacred to Mars, and the one sung after to Apollo. But there are strong reasons for believing that the pæan, as a battle song, was in later times not particularly connected with the worship of Apollo.

## § 18.

*ὥς δὲ πορευομένων*, κ. τ. λ. "But when, as they moved along, a certain part of the line swelled forth like a wave, the portion thereupon left behind began to run with speed." With *πορευομένων* supply *αὐτῶν*, and after *τι* and *ἐπιλειπόμενον* respectively understand *μέρος*. In the eagerness of advancing, one part of the line outstripped the rest, and the portion thus left behind began to run at full speed in order to overtake it. Observe the graphic force of the verb *ἐξεκύμαινε*.—*φάλαγξ*. Observe that *φάλαγξ* is here equivalent to the Latin *acies*.—*οἶον περ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι*. "Even as they raise the battle-cry to Enyalios." The verb *ἐλελίζω* means, properly, "to raise the cry *ἐλελεῦ*," for which *ἀλαλάζω* is also employed, "to raise the cry *ἀλαλά*." After the pæan had been sung, the Greek soldiers were accustomed to raise the cry of *ἐλελεῦ* or *ἀλαλά*, in a kind of regular cadence, as they advanced against the foe. (*Suid.*, s. v. *ἐλελεῦ*.)—*Ἐνναλίῳ*. The term *Ἐννάλιος* is thought to mean "warlike," and is, in Homer, an epithet of the god Mars. In later writers, however, as in Aristophanes (*Pac.*, 456; *Schol.*, ad loc.), Enyalios and Mars are thought to be different.—*ἐδοῦπτησαν*. "They made a noise." A poetic verb.—*ποιοῦντες*. "In order to cause." Contracted future participle. Compare note on *ποιουμένου*, chap. iii., § 16.

## § 19.

*πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι*. "But before a bow-shot reached them." This must not be confounded with the phrase *εἰς τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι*, "to come within bow-shot."—*ἐκκλίνουσιν*. "Wheel away."—*κατὰ κράτος*. "With all their might."—*ἐν τάξει*. "In order," i. e., preserving their ranks.

## § 20.

*τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο*, κ. τ. λ. "The chariots, too, were borne along, some through the enemy themselves," &c.—*κενὰ ἡνιόχων*. "Void of charioteers."—*οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν*, κ. τ. λ. "But whenever the latter saw them (coming) from afar, they stood apart: one person, however, was even caught as in a hippodrome, having been taken by surprise," i. e., there was an instance, however, of one who was run down as in a race-course, having been taken off his guard.—*ἐστι δ' ὅστις*. Idiomatic, for "there was one who," ἦν δὲ τις ὅς. This form became so firmly established in the language, that neither the number of the relative has any influence on the verb *ἐστι*, nor is the tense changed, though the time spoken of be past or future.—*ἵπποδρόμῳ*. By *ἵπποδρόμος* is meant a race-course for horses or chariots.—*καὶ οὐδὲ μέντοι*, κ. τ. λ. Observe the force of the double negative in strength

ening a negation.—οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ . . . οὐδεὶς. "Nor did any other one in fact." Observe the force of δέ.—ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνωμένῳ. Supply κέρατι

## § 21.

τὸ καθ' αὐτούς. "The part opposed to themselves." Supply μέρος. —ἡδόμενος. "Though delighted."—οὐδ' ὡς ἐξήχθη διώκειν. "Was not even thus led away to join in the pursuit," i. e., was not even in this posture of his affairs induced to pursue along with the Greeks.—συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων. "Keeping in close array."—ἐπεμελεῖτο τι ποιήσει βασιλεύς. "He kept carefully observing what the king will do."—καὶ γὰρ ἦδει αὐτόν, κ. τ. λ. A common Attic idiom for καὶ γὰρ ἦδει ὅτι αὐτὸς μέσον ἔχει, κ. τ. λ. Compare note on ἐξηγγεῖλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν, κ. τ. λ., chap. vi, § 5.

## § 22.

καὶ πάντες δέ. "And, in fact, all."—μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦντο. "Occupying the centre of their own forces, were accustomed (in this way) to lead them into action." Observe the force of the imperfect. Dindorf and Poppo read ἡγοῦνται, as given by one of the MSS. All the others, however, have ἡγοῦντο.—νομίζοντες οὕτω, κ. τ. λ. "Thinking that thus they are both in the safest situation." Supply τόπω.—ἡμίσει δὲ χρόνῳ, κ. τ. λ. "That their army would learn it in half the time," i. e., in half the time that any other arrangement would require.

## § 23.

καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε. "And the king, accordingly, at that time."—ἔχων. "Though occupying."—αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου. "Fought with him from the opposite side," i. e., joined battle with him, &c.—This, of course, was natural enough, since the king's centre was beyond the left wing of Cyrus, and there were, in fact, therefore, no troops stationed over against him on the opposite side.—οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ. The reference is to the six thousand horse forming his body-guard. Observe that αὐτοῦ is here separated from its governing adverb ἐμπροσθεν; a construction of which we elsewhere find occasional instances. Thus, Isocrates (42, 74), ὁρῶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐξω λεγομένας τῶν ὑποθέσεων οὐκ ἐπαινουμένας.—ἐπέκαμπεν ὡς εἰς κύκλῳ. "He began, thereupon, to wheel around, as if for the purpose of encompassing (his opponents)," i. e., as if to take the troops of Cyrus in the rear, and in this way surround them. This wheeling was to the left, and was made by the king's right wing, as will appear from the plan of the battle which we have given.

## § 24.

μὴ δπισθεν γενόμενος, κ. τ. λ. "Lest, having got in the rear, he may cut to pieces the Grecian army," i. e., lest, having surrounded the barbarian army of Cyrus, and thus completely severed all communication between them and the Greeks, he may then attack the latter and cut them to pieces, when returning from the pursuit.—κατακόψῃ. Since δέσας precedes, we would here naturally expect the optative κατακόψει; but the subjunctive is often used, although the preceding verb, as in the present instance, refers to time past, when the depending verb denotes an action which is continued to the present time. (Matthiae, § 518, 1.)—καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις. "And having charged with the six hundred (horse)," i. e., with his own immediate body-guard. Compare § 6.—τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους. Compare chap. vii., § 11.

## § 25.

ἡ τροπή. "The route."—διασπείρονται καὶ, κ. τ. λ. "The six hundred, also, of Cyrus are scattered, having rushed on to the pursuit." The six thousand were scattered in flight, and the six hundred were equally scattered in pursuing them.—πλὴν πάντων ὀλίγοι. "Only a very few."—σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. "Mostly those who were called his table-companions." The reference is to those who were accustomed to eat at the same table with the prince, or, in other words, certain of the chief courtiers and intimate friends of Cyrus. Compare chap. ix., § 31.

## § 26.

καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφος. "And the troop around him." These appear to have been the more immediate guards of his person, together with, probably, his own ὁμοτράπεζοι.—οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. "He did not contain himself," i. e., he lost all self-command. Observe the force of the middle.—ἔτετο. "He rushed." Literally, "he sent himself." Compare note on ἔτετο, chap. v., § 8. The common text has ἔτετο.—παίει κατὰ τὸ στήρνον. According to the account of Ctesias, as quoted by Plutarch, the king first threw his javelin at Cyrus, but missed him. Cyrus then, in his turn, pierced the king's cuirass with his javelin, and, going two fingers' deep into his breast, brought him from his horse. Of the last-mentioned circumstance Xenophon, however, says nothing.—Κτησίας. Ctesias was a native of Cnidus, in Caria, and lived a number of years in Persia, at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, as private physician to the king. Among other works, he wrote one on the history of Persia, entitled Πεοσικά, with the view of giving his countrymen a more accurate



knowledge of that empire than they possessed. He has been charged by some with willfully falsifying history, but there appears to be no positive evidence for so serious an accusation.

## § 27.

παίοντα. "While striking (the king)."—ἀκοντίζει τις παλῶ. According to Ctesias, Cyrus was carried away by his horse, after he had wounded his brother, to a great distance from the scene of the combat, through the midst of the enemy, who would not have recognized him, as it was by this time dusk (though, according to Xenophon, it could not yet have been so late), if he had not discovered himself by his exulting shouts. It was now that Mithradates, a young Persian, without knowing who he was, seeing his tiara fall off, rode up and wounded him in the temple. Cyrus fell off his horse, almost stunned by the blow, but was taken up by some of his attendants, who were carrying him away, when they were recognized by some Caunians, followers of the royal camp, one of whom wounded him from behind. Yet even this blow might not have proved mortal; but it brought him to the ground, and he struck his wounded temple against a stone. So, observes Plutarch, Ctesias at length makes an end of him, as with a blunt sword. Dinon's narrative nearly agreed, on the other hand, with Xenophon's. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 307, note.)

καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι, κ. τ. λ. "And there, while both the king and Cyrus were fighting, and their respective attendants in behalf of each." Observe here the employment of the nominative absolute in place of the genitive. The regular form of expression would have been, μαχομένων καὶ βασιλέως καὶ Κύρου, καὶ τῶν, κ. τ. λ.—παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν. He was physician to the king, as already stated.—ἐκείντο. "Lay dead." Compare the Latin *jaceo*. So Sophocles, *Antig.*, 1174: καὶ τίς φωνεῖ; τίς δ' ὁ κείμενος; λέγε.

## § 28.

ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. "The most faithful attendant unto him among his wand-bearers." Consult note on σκηπτούχων, chap. vi., § 11.—πεπτωκότα. "Fallen."—περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. "To have thrown himself upon, and clasped him in his arms." Observe the force of περί in composition, and compare the remarks of Ellendt, *Lex. Soph.*, s. v. περιπετής.

## § 29.

ἐπισφάζει αὐτὸν Κύρῳ. "To slay him upon Cyrus," i. e., as he lay upon the corpse of Cyrus.—ἐαυτὸν ἐπισφάζεσθαι. The common text

has ἐαυτὸν ἐπισφάζαι; but Dindorf gives ἐαυτὸν ἐπισφάζεσθαι on good MS. authority. The reflexive pronoun is sometimes added to the middle verb to strengthen the meaning. (*Kühner*, § 363, 2, ed. Jelf.)—τὸν ἀκινάκην. Compare note on chap. ii., § 27.—στρεπτόν. Compare note on chap. ii., § 27.—καὶ τὰλλα, κ. τ. λ. "And the other (ornaments), even as the noblest of the Persians (are accustomed to wear)." After ἄριστοι Περσῶν supply φοροῦσι.—εὐνοίαν. "Affection."

## CHAPTER IX.

## § 1.

Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. "In this way, then, did Cyrus end (his existence)." Supply τὸν βίον. The full expression is given in Euripides (*Hecub.*, 419), ποῖ τελευτήσω βίον;—τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων. "That have existed since Cyrus the ancient." Commonly called Cyrus the Elder, for distinction's sake from Cyrus the Younger, the subject, thus far, of the present narrative.—ὥς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται, κ. τ. λ. "As is acknowledged by all who appear to have been in habits of intimacy with Cyrus." Literally, "who appear to have been in trial (or proof) of Cyrus." With regard to the employment of δοκέω here, consult note on chapter iii., § 12.

## § 2.

πρῶτον μὲν γάρ. The apodosis is in § 6, ἐπεὶ δὲ, κ. τ. λ.—ἔτι παις ἔν. "Being yet a boy," i. e., while yet a boy.—τῷ ἀδελφῷ. Afterward Artaxerxes Mnemon.—πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. "He was esteemed the best of all in all things." Observe the alliteration in πάντων πάντα. This is what the Greek rhetoricians call παρονομασία or παρήχησις; the Latin, *adnominatio*. (*Quintil.*, ix., 3, 66.—*Krüg.*, ad loc.)

## § 3.

ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις. "At the king's gates." This expression, which is adopted from the Persian, is equivalent to the Latin phrase, "in aula regis," or, "at the king's court."—πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην, κ. τ. λ. "One may learn thoroughly much self-control." By σωφροσύνη is here meant the due regulation of our passions and desires, and the moderation of deportment that arises from this. Compare the definition of Cicero (*Tusc.*, iii., 8): "Ea virtus, cujus proprium est motus animi appetentis regere et sedare, semperque adversantem libidini, moderatam in omni re servare constantiam," and that,

also, of Plato (*Phædon*, c. 13): τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας μὴ ἐκτοῖσθαι ἀλλ' ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν καὶ κοσμίως.

## § 4.

καὶ ἀκούουσι. "And hear (of them)." Supply αὐτῶν.—ὥστε εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες. "So that straightway, while boys." More freely, "so that from their very boyhood."—ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. "Both to rule and to be ruled," i. e., both to govern and obey. The monarch's example taught them how to rule, and that of those around him how to obey.

## § 5.

αἰδημονέστατος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν. "The most modest of his equals in age."—τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις, κ. τ. λ. "And to obey his elders more, even than those who were inferior to himself in rank."—ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος. Supply ἐδόκει εἶναι.—καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἀριστα χρῆσθαι. "And to manage his steeds the best," i. e., the most skillfully. Observe that ἀριστα, the accusative plural neuter, is here taken adverbially.—ἐκρινον δ' αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ. "Men judged him also to be," &c. With ἐκρινον supply ἄνθρωποι.—μελετηρότατον. "Most indefatigable in practicing." Literally, "a most diligent practicer."

## § 6.

ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε. "But when it became his age," i. e., when it suited his years.—καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ, κ. τ. λ. "And on one occasion he shrunk not from a she-bear rushing upon him." Literally, "he trembled not at a she-bear," &c.—καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, κ. τ. λ. "And he suffered some hurts, the scars of which he even had visible (on his person)." Concinnity would require in the subsequent clause, in opposition to τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, some such expression as τὰ δὲ ἐποίησεν, but the construction is changed for the sake of the sense, and τέλος δὲ κατέκτανε is substituted. Zeune and others err in making τὰ here equivalent to ταῦτα, or τοιαῦτα.—κατέκτανε. This is the reading of Suidas, and is adopted by Schneider, Dindorf, and others. The MSS. give the poetic aorist κατέκτανε, which is received into the common text, and followed by Bornemann.—καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα, κ. τ. λ. "And he made the one, indeed, who first lent aid," &c.

## § 7.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη. "When, however, he was sent down," i. e., from the capital to the sea-coast.—εἰς καθήκει. "On whom it is incumbent." More freely, "whose duty it is."—εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίου ἀθρο-

ζεσθαι. Compare note on chap. i., § 2.—ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν δι. An Atticism, as already remarked, for ἐπέδειξεν δι αὐτός.—ἔτι περὶ πλείστον ποιοῖτο. "That he deemed it of the utmost importance to himself." Literally, "that he made it for himself (a thing) above very much." Observe here the force of the middle; and that περί, moreover, indicates superiority, a usage derived from the Homeric language.—εἰ τῷ σπείσαιτο, κ. τ. λ. "If he had made a treaty with any person, and if he had made an agreement with any person, and if he had promised any thing to any one, in no respect to prove false." Observe that τῷ is Attic for τινί.—σύνθοιτο. Attic formation for συνθεῖτο. We have altered the accentuation in accordance with the direction of Poppo. Compare Buttmann, § 107, iii., 4.

## § 8.

καὶ γὰρ οὖν. "And therefore, then," i. e., on which account, therefore.—αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι. "The cities that intrusted themselves to his care." Observe the force of the middle, and compare Poppo, *Ind. ad Anab.*, s. v. ἐπιτρέπω.—οἱ ἄνδρες. Supply ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, and observe that private individuals are here meant, as opposed to entire cities, πόλεις.—σπεισαμένον Κύρον. "On Cyrus's having made a treaty (with him)."—παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς. "Contrary to that treaty." Observe that σπονδαί (literally, "libations") gets its meaning of a solemn treaty or truce from the drink-offerings made by both the contracting parties in concluding a treaty of peace.

## § 9.

τοιγαροῦν. "On this account, then," i. e., accordingly, therefore.—αἱ πόλεις. The Ionian cities are meant. Compare chap. i., § 6.—εἰλοντο. "Chose for themselves," i. e., to be their protector.—οὗτοι δέ. Compare chap. i., § 7.—προέσθαι. "To abandon." Literally, "to send forth (i. e., away) from himself." Observe the force of the middle, and also of πρό in composition.—ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. From his remaining true to these exiles, the Milesians had reason to expect no very gentle treatment at his hands in case he restored them to their homes.

## § 10.

καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ, κ. τ. λ. "For he both showed it in deed, and actually said," i. e., he showed both in deed and in word. In place of καὶ ἔλεγεν, the more regular form of expression would have been καὶ λόγῳ ἀπεφαίνετο.—πρόοιτο. Supply αὐτούς, and consult, as to form and accentuation, the note on σύνθοιτο, § 7. The common but erroneous accentuation is προοῖτο.—ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο. "After he had



once become."—*ἔτι μὲν μείους*. "Still less in number," i. e., reduced still further in number by various casualties, and especially by war.—*ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν*. "And should prove still more unfortunate."

## § 11.

*φανερὸς δ' ἦν . . . πειρώμενος*. Consult note on *δηλὸς ἦν ἀνιῶμενος*, chap. ii., § 11.—*καὶ εἰ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν*, κ. τ. λ. "If one had even done him any good or evil turn." Observe the difference between *καὶ εἰ* and *εἰ καί*; the former leaving it uncertain whether the thing assumed really exists or not, whereas with the latter the thing is supposed as existing.—*ἐξέφερον*. "Reported."—*ἔστε νικῶν*. "Until he might outdo."—*ἀλεξόμενος*. "By making them a suitable return." The verb *ἀλέξω*, in the active, is "to ward or keep off," and in the middle, "to ward or keep off from one's self;" hence, "to defend one's self," and thus "to retaliate," "to return like for like," "to requite," &c.

## § 12.

*πλείστοι δὲ*. "Most persons by far." Observe here the employment of *δὲ* to heighten the power of the adjective. In all such cases it is to be translated so as to express this heightened force according to the meaning of the word. (Kühner, § 723, 1, ed. Jelf.)—*αὐτῷ*, *ἐνὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ*, κ. τ. λ. "To give up unto him, the only one man at least of those of our time," i. e., unto him more than to any other one man in our own days.—*καὶ τὰ ταυτῶν σώματα*. "And their own persons." The reference is not, as some suppose, to the performing of personal services, but to the intrusting of their persons, &c., to his honor and protection.

## § 13.

*οὐ μὲν δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτ'*, κ. τ. λ. "Nor could any one, indeed, of a truth say this." Observe the employment of *δὲ* in strengthening the force of *μὲν*.—*καταγελάειν*. "To deride (his authority)." Supply *ταυτοῦ*. Literally, "to laugh at (him)."—*ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο*. "But he punished them the most unsparingly of all."—*ἦν ἰδεῖν*. "There was to see," i. e., it was allowed one to see.—*παρὰ τὰς στειβομένας ὁδοὺς*. "Along the traveled roads." Literally, "the trodden roads," i. e., those trodden by numbers.—*στερομένους ἀνθρώπων*. The cruel mode of punishment here referred to was common among the Persians. Compare *Quint. Curt.*, v., 5, 6; *Diod. Sic.*, xvii., 69; *Justin*, xi., 14, &c.—*ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑλληνι*, κ. τ. λ. "It was allowed both Greek and barbarian, being guilty of no wrongdoing, to travel fearlessly whithersoever one pleased, having with him

whatever might suit his convenience." Schneider's explanation of the latter part of this sentence is, "if he had a good reason for proceeding on the journey." This is approved of by Krüger, but very properly condemned by Sintenis. (*Jahrb.*, vol. xlv., p. 153.)

## § 14.

*τούς γε μέντοι*, κ. τ. λ. "Those in particular, however, who were good for war."—*διαφερόντως*. "In a distinguished degree." Literally, "differently," i. e., differently from the way in which he honored others.—*Πισίδα*. Consult note on chapter i., § 11.—*στρατευνόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτός*. "Marching, therefore, even in person," i. e., not merely sending an army, but even going with it himself. Krüger objects here to *καὶ*, but without any necessity.—*οὗς ἑώρα*. "Whomsoever he saw." The relative clause is placed first here for emphasis' sake, and must be so translated.—*τούτους καὶ ἐποίησε*. "These he both made."—*ἤς κατεστρέφετο χώρας*. Attraction, for *τῆς χώρας ἦν κατεστρέφετο*.

## § 15.

*ὥστε φαίνεσθαι*, κ. τ. λ. "So that it was evident that the brave were most fortunate, and that he thought the cowardly worthy (only) of being the slaves of these." The common text has *ἀξιοῦσθαι*, which will make the meaning to be, "and that the cowardly were deemed worthy of being the slaves," &c. The best MSS., however, give *ἀξιοῦν*, which is followed by Lion, Dindorf, Poppo, and others. The last-mentioned editor, however, is certainly wrong in translating the clause by "*ut ignavi fortium servi esse vellent, vel, se servos esse putarent*."—*αὐτῷ*. Weiske omits this pronoun, because he thinks that if it be retained the sentence ought rather to run as follows: . . . *ἀφθονία Κύρῳ τῶν θελόντων* . . . *οἶοιτο αὐτὸν αἰσθήσεσθαι*. But this is quite unnecessary, for, *Κύρον* following, *αὐτῷ* becomes beautifully emphatic.

## § 16.

*εἰς γὰρ μὴν δικαιοσύνην*. "As regarded, in truth, the strict practice of justice." The peculiar force of the combination *γὰρ μὴν* is well explained by Hartung. It is distinguished from the simple *μὴν* merely by this circumstance, namely, that the word which precedes *γὰρ* is to have, in translating, a particular emphasis, and hence the force which the preposition *εἰς* has, in the present case, in referring to the strict performance of a certain course of duty. (*Hartung*, ii., p. 383, 387.)—*εἰ τις αὐτῷ φανερός*, κ. τ. λ. "If any one became manifest unto him as wishing to show it in his conduct." Literally, "to show it for himself," in which observe the force of the middle.

Krüger is decidedly wrong in making ἐπιδείκνυσθαι here have the force of "*se ostentare*."—περὶ πάντος ἐποιεῖτο. "*He deemed it all important.*" Consult note on περὶ πλείστον ποιοῖτο, § 7.—ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου. "*By the practice of injustice.*" Literally, "*out of what was unjust.*"

## § 17.

δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο. "*Were administered for him in accordance with justice.*" Observe that αὐτῷ here is not "*by him*," but "*for him*." Xenophon does not refer to the conduct of Cyrus himself, but to that of those under him in authority, and who, having been selected for their just deportment, would of course display that same justice while acting in the several stations to which the prince had appointed them.—καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. "*And, in particular, he employed a true army,*" i. e., an army that really deserved the name of one. Observe here what is called the increasing use of καί, and which is of common occurrence in prose. The reference in ἀληθινῷ appears to be to an army on which he could rely with the utmost certainty, both for action and for obedience, consisting, as it did, not of mere mercenaries, but of men who were faithful and attached to him.—καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοί. The καί here is opposed to the καί before λοχαγοί.—ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐγνώσαν, κ. τ. λ. "*But because they knew that to obey Cyrus well was more profitable than their (mere) monthly gain,*" i. e., their monthly pay.

## § 18.

ἀλλὰ μὲν, κ. τ. λ. "(Nor this alone), but in very truth, if any one yielded fair service unto him, having commanded any thing." Observe the employment of ἀλλὰ μὲν to introduce a more general remark than what preceded.—οὐδενὶ πώποτε, κ. τ. λ. "*He never allowed his alacrity to go unrewarded to any one (who acted thus)."*—κράτιστοι δὲ ὑπηρεταὶ παντὸς ἔργου. "*Confessedly the best assistants in every work.*" The particle δὲ is frequently joined with adjectives to strengthen their force.

## § 19.

εἰ δὲ ὁρῶν. "*If, moreover, he saw,*" i. e., moreover, whenever he saw.—δεινὸν οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου. "*A clever manager consistently with what was just.*" Observe that οἰκονόμος properly means "*a manager of a household.*" Here, however, it is taken in a general sense for any manager of public business.—καὶ κατασκευάζοντα, κ. τ. λ. "*And both furnishing (with all things requisite) the country which he was governing, and producing revenues,*" i. e., improving the

revenues. The reference in κατασκευάζοντα is especially to the implements and operations of agriculture. (Compare Poppo, *Ind. ad Anab.*, s. v. κατασκευάζειν).—ἤς ἄρχοι χώρας. Attraction, for τὴν χώραν ἤς ἄρχοι.—οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο. "*He would never take away from any (such) person.*" If any thing is to be here supplied, we may understand τι with Krüger, although this, in fact, is quite unnecessary. Observe here the employment of ἂν with the aorist, to denote the repetition of an action or habit. And observe, moreover, that the aorist is here used because the repeated action is to be regarded as completed in a single point of time. (Matthiae, § 599, a.)—ἡδέως. "*Cheerfully.*"—θαρραλέως ἐκτῶντο. "*Acquired with confidence.*"—ἐπέπατο. "*Had become possessed of.*"—αὐ. "*Moreover.*" Jacobs, without any necessity, conjectures ἀελ.—οὐ φθονῶν ἐφαίνετο. "*Was manifest not envying,*" i. e., manifestly did not envy. Observe that, in Herodotus and the Attic writers, φαίνομαι with the infinitive denotes *what appears* or *is likely*, but with the participle what is *apparent* or *manifest*. Thus, φαίνεται εἶναι, "*he appears to be;*" but φαίνεται ὢν, "*he manifestly is.*" (Kühner, § 684, Obs. 2, c.)—τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων. "*Of those who concealed (them from him)."*

## § 20.

φίλους γε μὴν, κ. τ. λ. "*The friends, in truth, as many as he from time to time made for himself.*" Consult note on εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην, § 16, and observe, moreover, the use of the optative in the protasis (instead of the indicative of past time), to denote what took place from time to time, or customarily.—ἱκανοὺς συνεργούς διτι τυγχάνοι, κ. τ. λ. "*Fit co-operators in whatsoever he happened to be desirous of executing.*" Literally, "*fit fellow-workers (of that) which he happened,*" &c. Hence, after συνεργούς supply τούτου.—κράτιστος δὲ θεραπεύειν. "*Most skillful, certainly, in cherishing.*" Observe the force of δὲ after an adjective, as already remarked. Observe, also, that θεραπεύειν governs, in fact, τόσους understood at the commencement of the clause, as if the arrangement had been ὁμολογεῖται . . . κράτιστος δὲ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν τόσους ὅσους ποιήσαιο φίλους.

## § 21.

καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ. "*And (no wonder), since for the very same reason, on account of which he himself thought that he stood in need of friends, (namely), that he might have fellow-laborers, he endeavored, also, himself to be the ablest assistant to his friends in that of whatsoever he perceived each one desirous.*" Observe that αὐτὸ



τοῦτο is in the accusative, depending on διὰ understood, and compare Elmsley, *ad Soph.*, *Œd. R.*, 1005.

## § 22.

εἰς γε ὃν ἀνὴρ. "Of any one man, at least." Literally, "at least, being one man."—διὰ πολλά. "On many accounts." Supply αἷτια. —πάντων δὲ μάλιστα. "Of all men certainly the most." Observe, again, the force of δὲ after an adjective.—πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους, κ. τ. λ. "Looking to the disposition of each, and to that of which he saw each one most in need," i. e., keeping in view the particular disposition and wants of each. The employment of τρόπους here, where we might expect τρόπον, appears to be more of a poetic than a prose idiom. In other respects there seems to be no actual distinction between them. Compare Lobeck, *ad Phryn.*, p. 365.

## § 23.

κόσμον. "As an ornament."—πέμποι. "Sent him from time to time"—ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον, κ. τ. λ. "Either as if for war, or as if for mere adornment." In the former case arms and armor are meant; in the latter, articles of dress, ornaments, &c.—οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο κοσμηθῆναι. "Could not very well be adorned." In the *oratio obliqua* the optative after ὅτι is regularly put without ἂν, and, therefore, according to some commentators, it appears to be redundant here. (*Porpo*, *ad loc.*) It is more than probable, however, that it is here purposely employed, for the sake of covert pleasantry, and we have translated it accordingly.—μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ. "A man's greatest ornament."

## § 24.

καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα, κ. τ. λ. "And, indeed, his greatly surpassing his friends in conferring favors is nothing surprising." Observe that τὰ μεγάλα is here, from its position in the sentence, to be taken adverbially, and as equivalent to μεγάλως.—τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ, κ. τ. λ. "But his excelling his friends in kind attention, and in being eager to oblige, these things," &c. Observe that ταῦτα here takes the place of τὸ περιεῖναι, κ. τ. λ., so that this last becomes a species of nominative absolute. With regard to ταῦτα itself, it may be remarked, that we would naturally expect here the singular τοῦτο, but the plural is preferred by the writer, on account of the double idea that precedes.

## § 25.

Ἰπεμπε. "Was accustomed to send."—βίκοις. "Jars." The

βίκος was an earthen jar with handles, in common use among the Greeks. It was employed not only for holding wine, but also salted meat and fish. The name is probably akin to the German *Becher*.—ὁπότε λάβοι. "Whenever he had received."—ὅτι οὐπω δὲ, κ. τ. λ. "That he had not, he could assure him, for a long time as yet met with," &c. Observe the peculiar force of δὲ, in adding increased explicitness to οὐπω.—πολλοῦ χρόνον. Consult note on δέκα ἡμέρων, i., 7, 18.—τοῦτον. Alluding to the portion of wine that was sent. There is no need, therefore, of our reading τούτου with Wyttenbach—σοὶ ἐπεμψε. Observe the sudden and beautiful introduction of the second person, σοὶ, and the air of animation which it imparts.—τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς, κ. τ. λ. "To drink this up with those whom you love most." If the word to which the relative refers be a demonstrative pronoun, this pronoun is generally omitted, and the relative takes its case. The plain form of expression would be σὺν τούτοις οὗς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. (*Matthiæ*, § 473, 1.)

## § 26.

ἄρτων ἡμίσεα. "Halves of loaves." Observe here the genitive accompanied by the adjective in the neuter plural. This occurs sometimes in poetry, but very rarely indeed in prose. It is more common in Latin verse, such as *strata viarum*, Virg.; *vilia rerum*, Hor.; and in post-Augustan prose. (*Kühner*, § 442, *Obs.*)—ἐπιλέγειν. "To say upon delivering them." Observe the force of ἐπὶ in composition.—τούτων γεύσασθαι. "To taste of these." Verbs of tasting take, of course, the genitive of part.

## § 27.

ἐδύνατο. The indicative and optative are often intermixed in this way, the former mood bringing the action directly before the reader as actually occurring, and thereby producing an animated change in the narration. (*Matthiæ*, § 529, 5.)—διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν, κ. τ. λ. "On account of his having many persons under him."—διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. "On account of the care (which he exercised)."—διαπέμπων. "Sending it about."—ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες, κ. τ. λ. "That they may not, while in a starving state, carry friends of his," i. e., that starving animals may not carry friends of his. Observe the change to the *oratio recta*, the subjunctive, and not the optative, being employed.

## § 28.

εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο, κ. τ. λ. "If, moreover, he were at any time going (any where), and very many were likely to see him."—ἐσπουδα-

ολογείτο. "He engaged in earnest conversation with them." The object of this was, of course, to call public attention to those whom he thus singled out and deemed worthy of serious and earnest converse.—ὡς δηλοῖν οὗς τιμᾷ. "That he might make (those) apparent whom he honors." Observe the change from the oblique construction (δηλοῖν) to the direct (τιμᾷ), and the air of animation which it imparts.—ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω. "From what I am accustomed to hear." Observe here the peculiar force of ἀκούω, as referring to what one is in the habit of hearing relative to some subject of general interest, and which is made a theme of frequent conversation. There is no need, therefore, of making ἀκούω here, with Krüger and others, equivalent to the perfect ἀκήκοα. Observe, moreover, that ἐξ ὧν is put here, by attraction, for ἐκ τούτων ᾧ. Consult note on συν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς, § 26.

## § 29.

καὶ τόδε. Supply ἐστὶ.—δούλον ὄντος. "Though a subject." Literally, "being a slave," i. e., to his brother, the reigning monarch. All persons subject to the kings of Persia were called δούλοι, and considered as such. Cyrus himself, in his speech to the Greeks (chap. vii., § 3), regards himself in this same light.—πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε. "Only Orontes attempted it."—καὶ οὗτος δὲ ὄν, κ. τ. λ. "And yet this very same one soon found him whom he thought to be faithful to himself, more friendly to Cyrus," &c. The pronoun οὗτος (observe the force which δὲ imparts to it) refers to Orontes; and ὄν φετο, κ. τ. λ., to the person unto whom Orontes confided his letter to the king, but which this individual showed to Cyrus. Compare chap. vi., § 3.—καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι. "And these, indeed."—ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Referring to the king.—παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοί. "That if they were brave with Cyrus."—ἀξιωτέρως. "More in accordance with their deserts." Literally, "worthier."

## § 30.

μεγαλὸν δὲ τεκμήριον, κ. τ. λ. "What happened to him, also, in the end of his life, is a strong proof that," &c.—κρίνειν. "To distinguish." Βεβαίως. "Constant in their attachment."

## § 31.

πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτόν, κ. τ. λ. "All the friends and table-companions by his side, died fighting for Cyrus," &c. Schneider conjectures here οἱ περὶ αὐτόν, which is very likely to be the true meaning, since otherwise Xenophon would have employed παρ' αὐτῷ. Bornemann indeed, seeks to defend παρ' αὐτόν, by connecting it, in construc-

tion, with ἀπέθανον, "fell by his side;" but the position of παρ' αὐτόν in the sentence forbids this, and shows that the words in question are to be taken in immediate connection with φίλοι and συντράπεζοι. As regards the term συντράπεζοι itself, consult note on ὁμοτράπεζοι, chap. viii., § 25.

## CHAPTER X.

## § 1.

ἐνταῦθα δὲ. "There, then," i. e., there, on the very spot where he had fallen. The narrative is now resumed from chapter viii., having been interrupted by the sketch of the character of Cyrus.—ἀποτέμνεται, κ. τ. λ. According to the Persian custom of treating rebels, the head and right hand of Cyrus were cut off. Ctesias says that this was done in the present instance by Artaxerxes himself; Plutarch, however, states that the head and hand were brought to the king, who thereupon held the former up by the hair, as a proof of his victory, to the surrounding crowd. (Compare Ctes., c. 58.—Plut., Vit. Artax., c. 13.)—διώκων εἰσπίπτει, κ. τ. λ. "While pursuing, break into the camp of Cyrus." The more usual form of expression would have been διώκοντες εἰσπίπτουσι, and we must translate as if this were actually employed; the singular number, however, is here used as referring to the king, the principal subject of the proposition.

Κυρεῖον στρατόπεδον. Adjectives formed from proper names are often used instead of the genitive of such proper names. This, however, is of more frequent occurrence in the poets than in the prose writers. (Matthiae, § 446, 10.) Observe, moreover, that the camp here spoken of was merely the spot where the baggage had been deposited. Compare § 17.—ἵστανται. "Make a stand."—ἐνθεν ὥρμητο. "Whence they had started (in the morning.)"

## § 2.

τα τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι. "Both plunder the other things (that were) many in number." Observe that πολλά is here the predicate, and that the clause is equivalent, in effect, to τὰ ἄλλα ᾧ διήρπαζον πολλὰ ἦν.—καὶ τὴν Φωκαῖδα, κ. τ. λ. "And in particular he takes the Phocæan female, the concubine of Cyrus." This female, a native of Phocæa, in Asia Minor, was first called Miltō (Μιλτώ), a name derived from μίλτος, "vermilion," and given her on account of her brilliant complexion. Cyrus, however, changed it to As-



pasia, calling her after the celebrated mistress of Pericles, whom she resembled in beauty and in intellect. After the death of Cyrus she became, through necessity, the concubine of Artaxerxes. (*Plut., Vit. Artax.*, c. 26, seq.—*Ælian*, V. H., xii., 1.—*Athenæus*, i., 13, p. 576.)

## § 3.

ἡ δὲ Μιλησία, ἡ νεωτέρα ἦν. "But the Milesian female, who was younger." The reference is to a second concubine, a native of Miletus, whose real name is not known. Some, without any authority whatever, call this one also by the name of Aspasia. We have adopted in the text the conjectural reading of Bornemann, namely, ἡ νεωτέρα ἦν. The common text has ἡ νεωτέρα merely, which Dindorf retains. Some MSS. give ἦν νεωτέρα, ἡ, κ. τ. λ.—ἐκφεύγει γυμνή. "Escapes out of their hands, in her under-garment merely," i. e., having on merely the χιτῶν, or tunic, without the ἱμάτιον, or mantle.—πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κ. τ. λ. "Unto those of the Greeks who happened to be under arms among the baggage." The simplest mode of resolving this much-contested construction is to make the genitive Ἑλλήνων depend apparently on the clause of ἐτυχον, κ. τ. λ., but, in reality, on τούτους understood.—ἀντιταχέντες. "Having drawn themselves up against them." The passive in a middle sense.—οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον. "Some, however, of their own number also fell."—καὶ ἄλλα, ὅποσα, κ. τ. λ. "And other things also, as many as were within their lines, both effects and persons, all they saved."

## § 4.

διέσχον ἀλλήλων. "Were distant from one another." Literally, "held themselves apart from one another."—ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια. This would be between three and four miles, the stadium being 606½ English feet.—οἱ μὲν διώκοντες, κ. τ. λ. "The latter pursuing those over against them, as if they were conquering all, and the former plundering as if they were now all conquering." Observe that οἱ μὲν refers to the Greeks, and οἱ δὲ to the king and his followers, the idea of οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ being naturally involved in that of βασιλεὺς.

## § 5.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἤσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, κ. τ. λ. The reference is still, as in the preceding section, to the main army of the Greeks.—βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε, κ. τ. λ. "And (when) the king, on the other hand, heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks were victorious over the part opposed to them, and are going forward in the pursuit." With τὸ καθ' αὐτοῦ

supply μέρος.—ἀθροίζει. "Collects together."—συντάττεται. "Draws them up."—εἰ πέμποιεν τινας. "Whether they should send some (of their number)," i. e., a detachment from the main body. Observe that εἰ, "whether," is put with the optative, in past actions, without ἄν, but with the subjunctive in present or future actions, with ἄν. (*Matthiæ*, § 526.)—ἀρῆζοντες. "To lend aid."

## § 6.

ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς, κ. τ. λ. "During this time the king, also, was evidently again marching upon them, from, as it appeared, behind." With τούτῳ supply χρόνῳ, and observe that ὡς ἐδόκει refers to ὀπίσθον. Observe, moreover, the force of καὶ, implying that, while the Greeks were about to march against the king, the king, also, was, on his side, advancing against them.—στραφέντες. "Having faced about." The common text has συστραφέντες, but συστρέφω conveys merely the idea of forming into a solid or compact body (a state in which the Greeks already were), not of wheeling or facing about.—παρεσκευάζοντο, ὡς ταύτην προσιόντος, κ. τ. λ. "Prepared, thinking that he was advancing in this direction, even to receive him." We have adopted ὡς ταύτην προσιόντος, with Dindorf, instead of the more common reading ὡς ταύτην προσιόντες. Schneider and others retain the latter, giving προσιόντες a future meaning, and connecting it at once with δεξόμενοι, "prepared to advance in this direction and receive him." This, however, Dindorf justly pronounces absurd.—ὡς προσιόντος. Consult note on ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος, chap. i., § 6.

ἡ δὲ παρήλθεν ἔξω, κ. τ. λ. "But by what way he had passed beyond their left wing, by this same way, also, he led (his forces) back."—ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος. Compare chap. viii., § 23.—αὐτομόλησαντας. These had been compelled by the Greeks to throw away their arms, probably on account of their great numbers, and appear, after this, to have been sent to the στρατόπεδον, or camp.

## § 7.

ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης, κ. τ. λ. Tissaphernes alone, with his cavalry, of all the forces in the left wing of the royal army, had not been put to flight by the Greeks; and he seems to have been stationed in this quarter purposely, as being that one of the king's officers who was best acquainted with the Grecian mode of fighting. He had charged their light-troops, which opened a passage for him, and, as he passed through, galled his flanks so severely, that he felt no disposition to turn upon them, but continued his way by the river side until he reached the camp.—διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, κ. τ. λ.

"But charged along the river against the Grecian targeteers." Literally, "drove through," i. e., through the intervening space.—κατέκανε. Compare i, 9, 6.—διαστάντες. "Dividing," i. e., making a passage for him. Literally, "standing apart."—ἐπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς. "Struck them with their swords and hurled their javelins at them." Observe that αὐτούς refers to the cavalry of Tissaphernes.—Ἀμφιπολίτης. "An Amphipolitan," i. e., a native of Amphipolis, a city of Thrace, afterward of Macedonia, near the mouth of the River Strymon.—φρόνιμος. "A prudent commander." He displayed this quality on the present occasion, by yielding to those whom he could not effectually resist, and yet by yielding in such a way as to lose none of his own men, while many of the enemy were wounded

## § 8.

ὡς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη. "Since he came off with disadvantage," i. e., had the worst of it. Literally, "having less," i. e., than the Greeks.—πάλιν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει. "Does not turn back again."—συντυγχάνει. "Meets with."—συνταξάμενοι. "Having marshaled their (respective) forces."—ὁμοῦ πάλιν. "Back again together."

## § 9.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατά. "But when they were over against." The narrative now returns to where it was broken off, at the end of § 6.—τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας. It would have been more correct to have called this the *right* wing, since the Greeks had faced about, and the left wing had consequently become the right. It is here, however, still called the left, with reference to the previous position of the force.—ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας, κ. τ. λ. "To fold back the wing," i. e., to draw in the left wing and form it behind the centre and the other wing, thus increasing the depth of the line at the expense of its length. The movement referred to is analogous to what the French indicate by the term *réprier*. Some give ἀναπτύσσειν here the meaning of "to extend," or, more literally, "to unfold," i. e., to deploy. This, however, is altogether wrong. The object of the Greeks was to form themselves in a more compact and manageable body, and then by a wheel to place the river, parallel hitherto to their line of march, directly in their rear. To have extended the wing would have been to lengthen out and, consequently, weaken their line, the very thing against which they wished to guard.—καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὀπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. "And put the river in their rear." This would be effected by facing about, and then wheeling to the right.

## § 10.

ἐν φ. "While." Supply χρόνῳ.—καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς, κ. τ. λ. "The king, having already passed by, stationed his army opposite, in the same form as he first closed with them in order to fight." Observe here the peculiar force of καὶ δὴ, answering to the German *schon*, and compare Hartung, i., p. 253; *Herm.*, ad Vig., p. 827.—εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα, κ. τ. λ. Observe that εἰς is here equivalent, in fact, to a verb of motion, so that we might say more freely, "brought his army into the same form, and stationed it," &c.—παιανίσαντες. Compare chapter viii., § 17.

## § 11.

αὐ. "Again," i. e., again, as before.—οὐκ ἐδέχοντο. "Did not wait to receive them."—ἐκ πλείονος. "From a greater distance," i. e., sooner. They began to flee while the distance between them and the Greeks was still greater than on the previous occasion. After πλείονος supply διαστήματος.—κώμης τινός. Probably Cunaxa. Barbie, as quoted by Lion, makes the battle to have been fought between the canals *Nahr-Isu* and *Sarsar*, not far from the city of *Piri-Saboras* (Aubar), of which mention is made in the expedition of Julian. (Compare *Kinneir*, p. 476.) Ainsworth, on the other hand, identifies Cunaxa with *Imsey'ab*, thirty-six miles north of Babylon. (p. 244.)

## § 12.

ὑπὲρ τῆς κώμης. "Above the village," i. e., the village was at its base.—γῆλοφος. Ainsworth thinks that the eminence here alluded to was one of the numerous artificial mounds, or *tels*, spread over the Babylonian plain (p. 97), and he consequently rejects the opinion of Fraser, who thinks that the battle must have been fought to the north of the Median wall, somewhere above *Felujah*, because there are no hills whatever in Babylonia below *Felujah*. (p. 186.)—ἀνестράφησαν. "Stood faced about." Equivalent, as Weiske correctly remarks, to the Latin *conversi steterunt*, the verb conveying the blended idea of facing about and remaining in a place. (*Poppo*, ad loc.)—πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι. "Infantry no longer," i. e., no longer, indeed, composed in part of infantry. The cavalry alone remained, the infantry having fled.—ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γινώσκειν. "So that they did not know what was being done." The reference is to the Greeks, who did not know what the infantry were doing behind the hill, or why the cavalry alone were upon it.—τὸ βασίλειον σημειῶν. "The royal standard."—ἀετὸν τινα χρυσοῦν, κ. τ. λ. "A kind of golden eagle elevated upon a buckler," i. e., something resembling



a golden eagle with outspread wings on an erect buckler, at the end of a long shaft or pole. Observe the force of *τινά*, as indicating that the view of this object was rendered somewhat indistinct by the intervening distance; and compare note on *χαλκός τις*, chap. viii., § 9

*ἐπὶ πέλτης*. In the *Cyropædia* (vii., 1, 4), the royal standard of Persia is described as *ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς, ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος*; and hence some have not hesitated, relying on the authority of Suidas and Hesychius, to give *πέλτη* here the meaning of "a spear" or "spear-shaft." The uniform practice of Xenophon, however, is directly opposed to this, in whom *πέλτη* always means "a target" or "buckler." The common text, on the other hand, has *ἐπὶ ξύλον* after *πέλτης*, but this, though retained by Dindorf, has been regarded as a mere explanation of *ἐπὶ πέλτης* by Dorville, Larcher, and Toup, and is accordingly rejected by Schneider, while Hutchinson has, by an ingenious emendation, altered it to *ἐπὶ ξυστοῦ*. Amid this conflict of opinions, we have deemed it most advisable to give *πέλτη* here its ordinary meaning, and, regarding *ἐπὶ ξύλον* as a mere interpolation, to consider the idea of a handle or shaft for the standard as sufficiently implied in the participle *ἀνατεταμένον*.

## § 13.

*Καὶ ἐνταῦθα*. "To this quarter also."—*τὸν λόφον*. "The hill."—*ἀθρόοι*. "In a body."—*ἐψιλοῦτο*. "Began to be cleared."—*τέλος δὲ καὶ, κ. τ. λ.* "And at last even all had departed."

## § 14.

*οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον*. "Did not march (his men) up on the hill."—*πὸ αὐτόν*. "At its foot."—*στήσας*. "Having halted." *καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας, κ. τ. λ.* "And orders them, having observed the things (doing) beyond the hill, to bring back word what there is (there)." More freely, "to observe, &c., and bring back word."—*κατιδόντας*. Observe the peculiar propriety of this term; literally, "having looked down upon," i. e., from the crest or summit of the hill.

## § 15.

*ἦλασε*. "Rode forward."—*ιδὼν*. "Having taken a view."—*ἀνακράτος*. Consult note on chap. viii., § 1.—*σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν, κ. τ. λ.* "And nearly at the time when these things were, the sun began also to set."

## § 16.

*ἐστησαν*. "Halted."—*καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἀνεπαύοντο*. "And rested on their arms." Literally, "having put (down) their arms,

rested." Their shields were put down by their sides, so as to enable them to lean upon these; and, in like manner, their spears were brought down from a charge, and rested on the ground, so as to afford an additional support. This posture, however, must not be confounded with that mentioned in chapter vi., § 15 (*ἐθετο τὰ ὅπλα*), where the reference is to a halting under arms, and where the soldiers stand ready to engage.—*ἐθαύμαζον*. Compare ii., 1, 2.—*παρείη*. We have given the optative, with Schneider, of the verb *παρίημι*, "to be present," the same mood being employed in the kindred passage, ii., 1, 2. The common text has *παρήει*, but the indicative can not stand here.—*αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα*. "That he was dead." Observe that the verb "to know," here as elsewhere, takes the participle instead of the infinitive. (*Matthiæ*, § 548, 2.)—*ἀλλ' εἰκαζον, κ. τ. λ.* "But they conjectured that he was either gone in pursuit, or had pushed on before to seize upon some post."

## § 17.

*ἐβουλεύοντο*. "Consulted together."—*αὐτοῦ*. "There," i. e., where they then were.—*ἐνταῦθα*. "To that quarter."—*ἀμφὶ δόρπηστον*. "About supper-time." Observe that *δόρπηστος* is also written *δόρπιστος* and *δορπιστός*. According to some grammarians, *δορπιστός* or *δορπηστός* is the supper-time; but *δόρπιστος* or *δόρπηστος*, the supper itself.

## § 18.

*τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων*. "Of their other effects."—*καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας, κ. τ. λ.* "And the wagons that were full, &c. . . . these, also, at that time, the forces with the king plundered." Observe that *ἀμάξας* stands here as a kind of independent accusative, the pronoun *ταῦτα* taking its place, for perspicuity's sake, after the clauses that intervene. Observe, moreover, that *μεστάς*, as it stands here without the article, is equivalent to *μεστὰς οὐσας*.—*σφοδρὰ λάβοι*. "Should severely visit." Literally, "seize upon."

## § 19.

*ἄδειπνοι*. "Supperless." Among the Attic writers the term *δεῖπνον* indicates the chief meal, answering to the Latin *coena*, begun toward evening, and often prolonged until night. On the other hand, the *ἄριστον*, which originally meant the morning meal, became, in later days, the term for the mid-day meal, or lunch.—*ἀνάριστοι*. "Dinnerless." The more correct version, probably, would be "without luncheon." Compare previous note.—*καταλῦσαι πρὸς ἄριστον*. "Halted for dinner." More literally, "for lunch." Consult note on *καταλύειν*, chap. viii., § 1

## BOOK II

### CHAPTER I.

#### § 1.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἡθροίσθη, κ. τ. λ. "In what way, then, his Grecian force was assembled for Cyrus, when he was preparing the expedition against," &c. Some MSS. omit οὖν, but it seems naturally required in such a recapitulation as that with which the present book opens. Observe that Κύρῳ is "for Cyrus," not, as Krüger maintains, "by Cyrus."—ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ. "On the route upward." Observe that ἀνόδῳ is equivalent here to ἀναβάσει.—ἐλθόντες. "Having returned." Equivalent here to ἀνελθόντες, just as venire is sometimes employed in Latin. Compare v., 1; 4.—ἐκοιμήθησαν. "Rested there for the night."—τὰ πάντα νικᾶν. "That they were completely victorious." Literally, "that they were victorious in all things." Observe here the accusative with νικᾶν. Verbs of conquering, &c., take an accusative of that wherein the conquest, &c., consists. (Kühner, § 564.)—ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ. "In the preceding narrative," i. e., in the previous book.

#### § 2.

ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. "But at break of day." Literally, "but at the same time with the day."—οὐτε ἄλλον πέμποι, κ. τ. λ. "Neither sent another to signify," &c. We have given πέμποι, with Dindorf and Poppo, as preferable to πέμπει, which appears in some MSS. and editions. Compare note on παρῆν, i., 10, 16.—συσκευασμένους ἂ εἶχον. "Having packed up what things they had," i. e., what baggage they still had left.—ἕως Κύρῳ συμμίξειαν. "Until they should unite with Cyrus." Observe that ἕως is employed here without ἄν. The presence of this particle would have added to the uncertainty of the event, by making the conjunction more indefinite, "until, whenever it might be," and would be at variance with the context, since the generals expected soon to meet Cyrus. (Kühner, § 846, 3.)

#### § 3.

ἐν ὁρμῇ. "On the start," i. e., just preparing to set out.—ἅμα ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντι. "With the rising sun."—Τευθρανίας. Teuthrania was the name of a town as well as district in Mysia, distant about seventy stadia from Elæa. Pitane, Atarneus, and Pergamus.—

γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δημαράτου. "Sprung from Demaratus." Observe that the article appended to Λάκωνος, which follows in the text, indicates that he was well known in history. Demaratus, having been deposed from the throne of Sparta by the intrigues of Cleomenes, crossed over into Asia, to Darius Hystaspis, who received him honorably, and presented him with lands and cities. He was also held in high estimation by Xerxes.—Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμῷ. Consult note on i., 4, 16.—τέθνηκεν. "Is dead." Observe here the change to the oratio recta, and the resumption of the oratio obliqua in εἶη. The direct mode of speaking is expressly employed in τέθνηκεν, in order to express more forcibly the important nature of the communication.—ἔθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὥρμῳ. Schneider conjectures here ὥρμητο, and it is more than probable that his conjecture is correct, since the sense requires the pluperfect rather than the imperfect.—καὶ λέγοι. The reference is to Ariæus.—εἰ μέλλοιεν ἔκειν. "In case they intended to come."—τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ, κ. τ. λ. "But he said that on the next day he will depart for Ionia." Observe here the employment of ἀπιέναι, the present infinitive of ἀπειμι, in a future sense (Kühner, § 397).

#### § 4.

πυνθανόμενοι. We have retained this, with Dindorf and Poppo, although it savors of an interpolation, and although we might have expected πυθόμενοι at least in its place. We have placed a comma after στρατηγοί, and another after πυνθανόμενοι, making this last refer merely to οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες.—βαρέως ἔφερον. "Bore them heavily."—Ἄλλ' ὥφελε μὲν Κύρος ζῆν. "O would, then, that Cyrus were living." Observe here the employment of ἄλλά to indicate, not any opposition between this clause and what precedes, but rather an abrupt break in the sentence, and a transition to some sudden thought. (Hartung, ii., p. 35.)—ὥφελε. The aorist of ὀφείλω is usually employed to express a wish that a thing had happened which has really not happened. The literal meaning of the clause here will be, "Cyrus, then, ought to be living."—νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα. "Are both victorious over the king."—καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, κ. τ. λ. "And that if you had not come, we would have marched against the king." When the condition and consequence are both past actions, whose relation to each other shows, that any action would have taken place if another had happened, the indicative of past time is used twice, in the protasis with εἰ alone, and in the apodosis with ἄν, where, in Latin, the pluperfect subjunctive is employed in both cases (Matthiæ, § 508, b.)—εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείου, κ. τ. λ. "Tha



we will seat him on the royal throne; for it is the part of those who conquer in battle to govern too." We have given μάχη, with Dindorf, on the authority of good MSS., as decidedly superior to μάχην, the reading of the common text.

## § 5.

τοὺς ἰγγέλους. Procles and Glus are meant.—Χειρίσσοφον. Compare i., 4, 3.—καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο. "And (the more readily), since Menon himself wished it," i. e., wished to be sent, as if ἀποστέλλεσθαι were understood.—φίλος καὶ ξένος. "A friend and guest," i. e., connected by the ties of friendship and hospitality.—περιέμενε. "Waited for them."

## § 6.

ἐπορίζετο σίτον, κ. τ. λ. "Supplied itself with food as it was able."—κόπτοντες. "Slaughtering." Observe that κόπτοντες is here plural, because στρατεύμα, to which it refers, is taken collectively.—ξύλοις. "For fire-wood."—ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος. "From the main body."—οὐ. "In the place where." For ἐνταῦθα οὐ.—οὐς ἠνάγκαζον, κ. τ. λ. "Which the Greeks compelled those who deserted from the king to throw away." The deserters here alluded to, who had come over to Cyrus during the battle, when victory seemed to be declaring for him, had been compelled by the Greeks to throw away their arms, probably on account of their great numbers, and, as we have already remarked (i., 10, 6), appear after this to have been sent to the στρατόπεδον, or camp. Spellman translates ἐκβάλλειν, "to pull out of the ground," a singularly erroneous version, since the deserters were no longer in the camp of the Greeks, but had been recovered by the king. (Compare i., 10, 6.)

τοῖς γέβροις. Compare note on γέρβοφοι, i., 8, 9.—ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς φυλίαις. Compare i., 8, 9.—πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πέλται, κ. τ. λ. "There were, also, many targets, and wagons to be carried off emptied of their contents," i. e., as having been plundered of their contents by the king's followers. (Compare i., 10, 8.) The verb φέρεσθαι refers to their being carried off for fuel, which, of course, was easy to be done by the soldiers in consequence of their being completely empty. Muretus suggests the propriety of omitting φέρεσθαι in the present sentence, and Schneider, being equally disinclined toward its reception, incloses it in brackets. The objection, however, is a groundless one. As regards this employment of the infinitive, compare *Od.*, xxii., 25: οὐδὲ πη ἀσπίς ἔην, οὐδ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἐλέσθαι.—κρέα ἔψοντες. "Cooking flesh." They had no grain to make up into bread.

## § 7.

περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγοράν. Compare i., 8, 1.—ἦν δ' αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "But of them Phalinus was one, a Greek," i. e., but one of their number was a Greek named Phalinus. The ordinary form of expression would be, εἰς δ' αὐτῶν ἦν Φαλίνος, Ἕλλην. The proper name here given is variously written. Schneider, following some of the MSS., has Φαλῦνος. In Plutarch, on the other hand (*Artax.*, 13), the individual referred to is called Φάλλος; and in Diodorus Siculus (xiv., 25), Φάληνος.—καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων. "And to be held in honor (by him)." Compare note on εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ, i., 1, 5.—καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο, κ. τ. λ. "And (no wonder), for he pretended to be versed in the things relating to both tactics and the fighting with heavy arms," i. e., in military evolutions, and in the exercises adapted for the training of heavy-armed troops. Observe the force of the middle in προσεποιεῖτο, "he made for himself;" "he took to or claimed for himself;" and then, with the collateral notion of taking or laying claim to other people's property, "he pretended;" "he claimed to be," &c.

## § 8.

οὔτοι δέ. Plutarch refutes the falsehood of Ctesias, who stated in his Persian History that he himself was sent on this occasion as ambassador to the Greeks, in conjunction with Phaëllus.—ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας, κ. τ. λ. "To go to the king's gates, and strive to obtain for themselves something favorable, if they may be able (to obtain) any thing." The full form of expression would be, εὐρίσκεισθαι τι ἀγαθόν, ἣν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθὸν εὐρίσκεισθαι. Observe the force of the middle in εὐρίσκεισθαι; and, with regard to the expression τὰς βασιλέως θύρας, compare i., 9, 3.

## § 9.

βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν. "Heard (them) with pain." Literally, "heard (them) heavily," i. e., with a heavy and painful feeling.—ποσούτων εἶπεν. Compare i., 3, 14.—ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων, κ. τ. λ. "That it was not the part of those who conquer to give up their arms."—ἔφη. "Continued he."—τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε, κ. τ. λ. "Tell unto these men in reply, whatever you have both most becoming and best (to answer)," i. e., give them the best and most becoming answer which it is in your power to give.—αὐτίκα. "Presently."—τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα. "The entrails that had been taken out," i. e., from a victim that had just been sacrificed.—ἔτιχε γὰρ θνόμενος. "For he happened to have a victim slain in order to take the auspices." Observe the force of

the middle in *θύόμενος*. The active *θύω* is simply "to offer," "to sacrifice;" but the middle *θύομαι*, "to cause to be offered," "to have a victim slain in order to take the auspices;" and so, "to take the auspices," "to inspect the entrails." The meaning of the middle turns, it will be perceived, upon the idea of sacrificing "for one's self," that is, to ascertain the future as far as one's own interests are involved, or, in other words, "to sacrifice for one's own behoof or advantage."

## § 10.

*πρεσβύτατος ὢν*. "Being the eldest (of those then present)." He was not the eldest of all the generals, since Sophænetus is expressly called so elsewhere (vi., 3, 13). Neither was he next eldest even to Sophænetus, since Philesius, who is mentioned at v., 3, 1, appears to have been so. We must suppose, therefore, that both these commanders were absent on the present occasion. (Compare *Krüg.*, *ad loc.*)—*ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν*, κ. τ. λ. "That they would sooner die than deliver up their arms."—*ἀλλ' ἐγὼ, ὦ Φαλίνε, θαυμάζω*. "Why, for my part, O Phalinus, I wonder."—*ὥς κρατῶν*. "As conqueror."—*ἢ ὥς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα*. "Or as presents through friendship," i. e., presents from us to him, on account of the friendly relations existing between us. Ironical.—*καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα*. "And not rather come and take them." The argument of Proxenus is this: If the king claim our arms by the title of the strongest, why not come and take them? if as a favor, what have soldiers left when they have parted with their arms?—*τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις*. "What will there be (left) unto the soldiers?"

## § 11.

*νικᾶν ἡγεῖται*. "Considers himself to be conqueror."—*ἀπέκτενε*. The true tense here is the perfect, not *ἀπέκτεινε* the aorist, as given in some MSS. and editions.—*τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν*, κ. τ. λ. "For whom has he, that disputes the empire (with him)?" We have placed a comma after *ἔστιν*, and referred *αὐτῷ* to this verb, as far more natural than making the pronoun depend on *ἀντιποιεῖται*. This latter construction makes an awkward kind of hyperbaton. In ii., 3, 23, the natural arrangement is given, and we may here, therefore, supply the pronoun with *ἀντιποιεῖται* in the regular course of the sentence.—*ὑμᾶς ταυτοῦ εἶναι*. "That you belong to him," i. e., are now so completely in his power, that he can do with you what he pleases.—*ἔχων*. "Since he has (you)."—*καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων*. "And within impassable rivers," i. e., shut out by them from your native land. The reference is in particular to the Tigris and Eu-

phrates.—*ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι*, κ. τ. λ. "(So great) that not even if he should afford them unto you (for that purpose) would you be able to slaughter them." More literally, "(so great) as great as," &c. Supply *τόσον* before *ὅσον*. The meaning is, that the Greeks would be tired out, even if they had nothing else to do but to slaughter the hosts which the king could bring against them.

## § 12.

*Θεόπομπος*. The old reading here was *Ξενοφῶν*, as given by some MSS. But the meeting consisted of the Grecian generals, as appears from § 5; and Xenophon, therefore, who was as yet a mere volunteer, could not, of course, have been present.—*οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο*, κ. τ. λ. "No other thing of value except arms and courage."—*ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες*, κ. τ. λ. "Having arms, then, we think that we could make use of our courage also; but that, having delivered these up, we would be deprived also of our very bodies." Observe that *ἂν* in the first clause is to be construed with *χρησθαι*, and in the second with *στερηθῆναι*; and with regard to the position of the *ἂν* after *παράδόντες*, it may be remarked that, if the participle contain a condition, *ἂν* is placed closely after it. (*Poppo*, *ad loc.*)—*μὴ οὖν οἶον . . . παραδώσειν*. "Do not imagine, then, that we are going to deliver up." The reference here, and in *οὖν τοῦτοις* immediately following, is, of course, to their arms.—*καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχοῦμεθα*. He means that the Greeks, if they retained their arms, would be both able and willing to contend with the barbarians for their own good things.

## § 13.

*ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας*, κ. τ. λ. "Why, young man, you appear like a philosopher, and you say things not unpleasant," i. e., and you speak right pleasantly. This, of course, is uttered with a sneer. By "a philosopher" he means here a mere visionary theorist, and a person utterly inexperienced in the practical affairs of life.—*νεανίσκος*. The term *νεανίσκος* may be applied to a man between twenty-three and forty-one years of age. The argument respecting the age of Xenophon at the time of joining the expedition, which Zeune and others have sought to draw from the employment of the term *νεανίσκος* in the present passage, is now rendered quite nugatory, by the reading *Θεόπομπος* in § 12, instead of *Ξενοφῶν*.—*ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν*. "Know, however, that you are a simpleton." Observe here the employment of the participle instead of the infinitive, a construction of common occurrence with verbs of mental perception, the state or condition being regarded as coincident with the perception. (*Küh-*



ner, § 683, 1, *Jelf.*)—περιγενέσθαι ἄν. "Is likely to prove superior to." Observe the force of ἄν.

## § 14.

ἔφασαν. "They reported." Xenophon, as already remarked, does not, in the history of this expedition, speak in his own person, as if an actual witness of the events which he describes, but as if he obtained his information from others who were present. Hence, as Krüger correctly observes, ἔφασαν is to be explained by "qui (mihi scriptori) rem narrabant."—ὑπομαλακισμένους. "Growing gradually timid." Literally, "growing gradually soft," i. e., as to their previous resolution to struggle manfully with difficulties.—καὶ βασιλεὶ ἂν πολλοῦ ἀξιοὶ γένοιντο. "And might prove of great service to the king." Compare note on i., 3, 12.—ἄλλο τι χρῆσθαι. "To employ (them) for any other purpose." Observe that ἄλλο τι is here the accusative of nearer definition, and that αὐτοῖς is to be supplied after χρῆσθαι.—στρατεύειν. "To march."—συγκαταστρέφαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ. "They would aid him in reducing it." Egypt had revolted from the Persian sway, and was now ruled over by Psammetichus. (*Diod. Sic.*, xiv., 35.)

## § 15.

εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἴεν. "Whether they had by this time given an answer." Observe here the employment of the passive in a middle sense. The perfect passive is used as a perfect middle in verbs which do not occur merely in the middle form, but have in this form only the sense required for the occasion. (*Matthiæ*, § 493, d.)—ὑπολαβών. "Having taken up the discourse." The question was addressed to the other commanders; but, before they can reply, Phalinus, with cool effrontery, takes up the discourse and answers for them.—οὗτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, κ. τ. λ. "These, O Clearchus, say, one one thing, another another." Observe that the verb here follows in the singular, referring to ἄλλος, though, strictly speaking, it should be in the plural, and agree with οὗτοι. The full and regular construction would be, οὗτοι λέγουσι, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει.—τί λέγεις. "What you have to say," i. e., what your individual answer is to the king's proposition.

## § 16.

ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Φάλινε, κ. τ. λ. "Phalinus, I am glad to see you, and all these others, I think, are so likewise." Literally, "I, well pleased (thereat), have seen you, and all these others, also, (well pleased thereat, have seen you)." With οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, therefore, we

must supply, for a literal translation, ἄσμενοί σε ἐωράκασι. It is by no means correct, however, to regard ἄσμενος here as merely supplying the place of ἄσμένως, since it is employed with much more energy of expression, the attributive of the verb being converted into the attributive of the subject. (*Kühner*, § 714, c.)—καὶ ἡμεῖς. "And we, also, (are Greeks)." Supply Ἑλληνές εἰμεν.—ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι, κ. τ. λ. "Being then in such circumstances (of danger), we consult with you for our own welfare," i. e., we ask your advice. Observe that συμβουλευόμεαι, in the middle, is to seek advice for one's self, to consult with another respecting one's own interests.—περὶ ὧν. For περὶ τούτων ἃ.

## § 17.

πρὸς θεῶν. "By the gods," i. e., in the name of Heaven.—συμβουλεύσων ἡμῖν. "Give us your advice." Consult remarks on συμβουλεύω in the notes on the preceding section.—κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον. "Most honorable and advantageous."—καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει, κ. τ. λ. "And which will bring honor unto you for the time to come, when recounted, (namely,) how that Phalinus," &c. It is surprising that any difficulty should be found by commentators in so plain a sentence as this; and yet, for ἀναλεγόμενον, Schneider reads ἂν λεγόμενον, and Weiske even goes so far as to conjecture ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα λεγόμενον, while for χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον Morus suggests χρόνον ἅπαντα λεγόμενον. No emendation, however, is at all needed.—συμβουλευομένοις συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. "Gave such and such advice unto them when consulting with him." Observe here the peculiar force of τάδε.

## § 18.

ταῦτα ὑπήγετο. "Threw out these things so as to lead the other on." More literally, "kept covertly urging these things." Observe the force of the middle, as indicating the real views of Clearchus.—τὸν πρεσβεύοντα. "Who was an envoy."—εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον. "More filled with favorable hopes," i. e., inspired with the greater confidence.—ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν, κ. τ. λ. "Contrary to his expectation, artfully evaded the appeal, and said." According to Julius Pollux (ix., 33), ἀπατᾶν and ὑποστρέφεσθαι are synonymous, the leading idea in both being "to elude." Larcher translates the passage, "Mais Phalinus detourna adroitement le coup." (*Hickie*, ad loc.)

## § 19.

εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων, κ. τ. λ. "If of ten thousand hopeful chances you have any single one of saving yourselves by engaging in

war with the king," i. e., if there is one hopeful chance to you in a thousand, &c.—συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδίδόναι. Observe here the employment of the present infinitive with the present συμβουλεύω, the beginning of the action only being considered. In the previous section we had the aorist παραδοῦναι, another aorist preceding.—μηδέ-  
μία ἐστὶν ἐλπίς. "You have no hope." Supply ὑμῖν.—σώζεσθαι ὅπῃ δυνατόν. "To save yourselves in what way you can," i. e., in the only way in which it is possible.

## § 20.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, κ. τ. λ. "Well, these things, then, you utter (as your sentiments)," i. e., this, then, is the advice which you, a Greek, give to your own countrymen. Observe the employment of ἀλλὰ here at the beginning of a sentence, to indicate, by its abruptness, the determined manner of the speaker.—εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ, κ. τ. λ. "That, if it should behoove us to be friends unto the king, we would be more valuable friends."—πολεμεῖν. "To wage war (with him)."

## § 21.

ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "That unto you remaining here there would be a truce, but advancing or retreating, war." Supply ὑμῖν. More literally, "advancing and going away." The meaning is, that so long as the Greeks remained in their present position, the king would consider them as enjoying the benefit of an armistice, but would treat any change of place as a declaration of hostilities.—εἴησαν. The optative here has no reference to uncertainty, but is necessarily employed in the oratio obliqua, the leading verb (ἐκέλευσε) being in an historic tense. (Kühner, § 895, 2.)—περὶ τούτου. Referring to this last-mentioned declaration of the king's.—καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν. The present is here employed, since the future μενεῖτε (not an historical tense) precedes.—ἢ ὥς πολέμου ὄντος, κ. τ. λ. "Or (whether) I, having concluded that war is now existing, shall bring back intelligence (to this effect) from you." Observe here the construction of ὥς with the genitive absolute, to which we have already before this referred, and which may generally be resolved by νομίζων, διανοούμενος, or the like, and the accusative with the infinitive. (Matthiae, § 568.)

## § 22.

ὅτι καὶ ὑμῖν ταῦτα δόκει, κ. τ. λ. "That we are of the same opinion with the king." More literally, "that the same things appear good unto us which even (appear good) unto the king." The meaning

of Clearchus is simply this, that they adopted the king's terms. And hence the subsequent question of Phalinus is the same as asking what terms he meant.—ἀπιούσι δὲ καὶ προῖούσι. Supply ἡμῖν.

## § 23.

ταῦτά. "The same things (as before) —ἀπιούσι δὲ ἢ προῖούσι. Observe here the substitution of ἢ for καί, as previously employed.—ὃ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμηνε. "What he intended to do, however, he did not distinctly signify."

## CHAPTER II.

## § 1.

οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. These have been already mentioned in the previous chapter, § 7.—οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον. "And those from Ariæus were come." Observe the employment of the imperfect ἦκον in the sense of the Latin *aderant*, just as ἦκω answers to *veni* or *adsum*. The individuals referred to were the delegation sent to Ariæus by the Greeks, with an offer of the Persian throne. Consult ii., 1, 4, seq.—Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε, κ. τ. λ. Menon was, as has already been stated (ii., 1, 5), on terms of intimacy with Ariæus.—ἐαυτοῦ βελτίους. "Superior to himself." He means both in dignity and merit.—οὐδὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι, κ. τ. λ. "Who would not endure his being king." Observe here the accusative with the infinitive in the construction with the relative in the oratio obliqua. So in Latin we would have *quos non laturos esse*. (Matthiae, § 538.)—αὐτοῦ βασιλ-  
εύοντος. Observe here the construction of ἀνέχεσθαι with the genitive. The more common government is that of the accusative and the genitive is usually employed only when a participle is joined with the noun. The participle may then be regarded as supplying the place of another noun in the accusative, on which the genitive of the person may be considered to depend. Hence αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος will be equivalent here to αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. (Rost, p. 533.)—ἦκειν ἡδὴ τῆς νυκτός. "To be present this very night."—αὐτὸς ἀπιέναι. "That he himself is going to depart." Observe the construction of the nominative with the infinitive.

## § 2.

ἀλλ' οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν, κ. τ. λ. "Well, so we must do, if we shall have come (thither), even as you mention," i. e., if we come unto Ariæus, we must even do what you mention, namely, depart with



him early in the morning. The answer of Clearchus is, it will be perceived, purposely ambiguous, and amounts to this: "if we come, let it be as you say; if not, do as you think fit."—*ὅποιόν τι*. "Whatsoever."

## § 3.

*ἐμοί, ὃ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ λέναι, κ. τ. λ.* "Unto me, O men, when inspecting the entrails with the view of marching against the king, the sacrifices did not prove favorable." Literally, "for a marching against," &c. The infinitive is here employed like the Latin *ad* with the gerund, to denote an object or purpose; and we have made it depend on *θυομένῳ*, with Buttmann (§ 140, 2), rather than follow Schaefer (*ad Greg.*, Cor., p. 459), who places a comma after *θυομένῳ*, and connects *λέναι* with *οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ιερά*, ("were not favorable for a marching," &c.) This arrangement, however, is decidedly the less natural one of the two.—*οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ιερά*. Supply *καλά*, which Xenophon usually omits in this combination.—*καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα, κ. τ. λ.* "And with much reason, then, did they not prove so."—*ὃ Τίγρης ποταμός, κ. τ. λ.* "Is the navigable river Tigris."—*οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα*. "We should hardly be able," i. e., the chances would be strongly against us. Observe the employment of the optative with *ἂν*, in conjunction with a negative, to express what is highly improbable. (*Matthiae*, § 514.)—*λέναι δὲ παρὰ, κ. τ. λ.* "For going, however, unto the friends of Cyrus, the sacrifices were altogether favorable unto us." No argument can be drawn from this clause in favor of Schaefer's construction mentioned above, since *λέναι δὲ, κ. τ. λ.*, is here meant to be emphatic, and, of course, comes before, not after, *καλὰ τὰ ιερά ἦν*.

## § 4.

*ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν, κ. τ. λ.* "To go away and sup on whatever each one has." Literally, "that, going away, you sup," &c.—*ἐπειδὴν δὲ σημήνη, κ. τ. λ.* "And whenever there shall be a signal with the trumpet as if for retiring to rest, pack up your baggage." Observe that *σημήνη* is used here impersonally; although in such constructions many prefer supplying *ὁ σαλπικτής*.—*κέρατι*. The earliest trumpets were usually made of bulls' horns, until the Tyrrhenian invention of the metal trumpet came into general use. Even after this, however, the term *κέρας* was often employed to denote a trumpet, though the material was changed; with this difference, however, that the *σάλπιγξ* was straight, but the *κέρας* more or less curved.—*ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον*. Supply *σημήνη*.—*ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ*. "And at the third," i. e., at the third signal, as given by the trumpet. There

is no need at all, however, of supplying *σημήνη*, as Schneider does.—*πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. "Near the river." More literally, "from the side of the river," the river being the point whence the motion is supposed to begin in continued succession, and that motion, therefore, being kept up along its side. (*Kühner*, § 638, 1.)—*τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω*. "But the heavy-armed men on the outside," i. e., in order to protect the baggage. Observe that *τὰ ὅπλα* is here put for *τῶν ὀπλίτας*, the abstract for the concrete.

## § 5.

*καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν, κ. τ. λ.* "And henceforward he commanded and they obeyed." Literally, "and for the rest (of the time)." The other commanders now, by tacit consent, the result of their conviction of his superior discernment and skill, acknowledged Clearchus as their chief.—*οὐχ ἐλόμενοι*. "Not having actually chosen him (as their leader)." The idea of "leader" is derived naturally from *ἤρχεν* which precedes.—*ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει, κ. τ. λ.* "That he alone thought of (such things) as it behooved the commander (of an army to think of), and that the rest were without experience." After *ἔδει τὸν ἄρχοντα* supply *φρονεῖν*.

## § 6.

*ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, κ. τ. λ.* "Now the extent of the distance which the Greeks came," &c. Observe the construction of *έρχομαι* with the accusative, as indicating motion along a certain line of direction, or, in other words, motion on or upon a continued space. (*Kühner*, § 558.)—*μέχρι τῆς μάχης*. For *μέχρι τοῦ τῆς μάχης τόπου*. The place where the battle was fought was, it will be remembered, near Cunaxa.—*σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, κ. τ. λ.* Zeune remarks, that Xenophon, in the previous book, enumerates only 84 stations and 517 parasangs, which last make but 15,510 stadia. He is of opinion, therefore, that 9 stations, 18 parasangs are here added, either as forming the route from Ephesus to Sardis, or else as lurking in some way in the description of the march from Sardis. (*Schneider, ad loc.*—Compare *Halbkart*, p. 45, and *Rennell*, p. 93.)—*ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης*. For *ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς μάχης τόπου*.—*στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι*. Plutarch makes the distance 500 stadia. (Consult *Halbkart's* note, *l. c.*)—*τριακόσιοι*. This is Zeune's correction, on good MS. authority, for the common reading *τριεχίλιοι*, which is ridiculously large.

## § 7.

*ἔχων τοὺς τε ἵππους, κ. τ. λ.* This was a loss which, at this juncture

ture, was deeply felt, since the forty horsemen formed the whole of the Grecian cavalry, and the want of this species of force subjected them afterward to serious inconvenience in the course of their retreat, until the evil was partially remedied by Xenophon.

## § 8.

τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο, κ. τ. λ. "Led the way for the rest, in accordance with the instructions previously given." Literally, "with the things which had been directed." (Consult § 4.) Observe here that ἡγεῖσθαι takes the dative, though generally construed with the accusative. It takes the dative in the sense of "to show the way," "to precede," since this implies something done for the benefit of others; but the genitive when it signifies "to rule," "to command," &c. (Kühner, § 518, Obs. 3.)—εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμόν. This is the station already alluded to in i., 10, 1, as being that from which the army of Cyrus had started on the day when the battle took place. Compare ii., 1, 3.—καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα. "And having halted under arms in battle-array." Compare note on i., 5, 14.—ξυνῆλθον παρά. "Went in a body unto."—μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, κ. τ. λ. "That they will both not betray one another, and will be allies." In constructions like the present, when οὔτε or μήτε in the first clause is followed by τέ in the second, the clause with τέ is negative, when both clauses have a verb in common; if, however, as in the present instance, the second clause has its own verb, τέ has an affirmative signification. (Matthiae, § 609, p. 1080, ed. Kenr.)—προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. "Swore, besides, that they will also lead the way without any treachery," i. e., will act as sure and faithful guides to the Greeks on the road homeward.

## § 9.

σφάζαντες ταῦρον, κ. τ. λ. "Having sacrificed a bull, and a wolf, and a boar, and a ram, (and having received the blood) into a shield." The shield was of course inverted for this purpose, and the blood caught in the hollow. Some of the commentators make a difficulty here as to the boar and the wolf, not perceiving clearly, as they remark, whence wild animals of this kind could be procured at so short a notice. But κάρπος does not necessarily imply a wild creature, while the wolf, on the other hand, would appear, as far as barbarian customs were concerned, to have been an essential part of the sacrifice, though not required by Grecian usages, for the passage in Demosthenes (p. 642) cited by Zeune makes mention only of a boar, ram, and bull. (Compare Leips. Zeit., 1821, p. 1421, and

Kleuker, ad Zendavest, p. 78, seqq.) As regards the form of expression, σφάζαντες εἰς ἀσπίδα, compare Æsch., Sept. c. Theb., 43, ταυροσφαγούντες εἰς μελάνδετον σάκος.—βάπτοντες ξίφος, κ. τ. λ. The meaning of the rite here described appears to have been this, that they would make common cause together, and would display in each other's defense the stubborn and courageous qualities of the animals that had been sacrificed. For remarks on customs more or less similar among other nations of antiquity, consult Bähr, ad Herod., iv., 70; and Tzschucke, ad Pomp. Mel., p. 56, vol. iii., pt. 2.

## § 10.

ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο. "But when these pledgings of fidelity had taken place." More freely, "when these pledges of fidelity had been made."—ἄγε δὴ. "Come, then." The particle δὴ is here employed with a peculiar force, having the collateral notion of excluding every thing else, and seeking to confine the attention of the person addressed to the particular matter in hand. (Kühner, § 721, 2.)—ὁ αὐτὸς στόλος. "The same route."—εἰπέ τίνα γνώμην, κ. τ. λ. "Say what plan you have in view respecting our march."—ἄπιμεν. The present, as before remarked, in a future sense.—ἤνπερ ἦλθομεν. "By the way by which we even came." Supply ὁδόν with ἤνπερ. Compare note on ἦν ἦλθον, § 5.—ἢ ἐννεονηκέναι δοκεῖς. "Or do you think you have devised."

## § 11.

ἦν μὲν ἦλθομεν ἀπιόντες. "Going back the way that we came," i. e., if we go back, &c. Compare note on ἤνπερ ἦλθομεν, § 10.—ὑπάρχει ἡμῖν. "We have."—ἐπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν, κ. τ. λ. "For during the last seventeen marches, while coming hither, we were not even able to procure any thing from the country." Literally, "during seventeen marches of those that were nearest." Supply ὄντων after ἐγγυτάτω. Observe that σταθμῶν is here in the genitive because embracing the idea of time; and as regards the genitive of a space of time, consult note on δέκα ἡμέρων, i., 7, 18.—ἐνθα δ' εἶτι ἦν, κ. τ. λ. "Or if there was any thing in it, we consumed it as we marched through." Observe that ἐνθα is here equivalent to ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.—ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι. "We think of going," i. e., I and those with me.—μακροτέρων. Supply ὁδόν.

## § 12.

πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν, κ. τ. λ. "We must go, however, along our first days' marches as far as we may be able." Compare note on ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν, κ. τ. λ., i., 5, 7.—ὡς πλείστον. "As much as



possible."—ἀπόσχωμεν. "We be distant."—οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται, κ. τ. λ. "The king will no longer be able to overtake us." For explanations of this construction, consult Kühner, § 748, 2. Dawes has restricted this employment of οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive to the second aorist only, but without reason, since there are many instances to the contrary, and the present one among the rest. Equally erroneous is it to suppose, as some do, that δύνηται is here put for δυνήσεται, since οὐ μὴ with the future is a very different thing, and has the force of an imperative.—πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον. "While, on the other hand, if he has a numerous array."—σπανιεῖ. "He will experience a scarcity." Attic contracted future, for σπανίσει.

## § 13.

ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία, κ. τ. λ. "Now this mode of conducting an army was equivalent to nothing else but slipping away or fleeing out of reach," i. e., to nothing else but concealment or open flight. Observe here the distinction between ἀποδρᾶναι and ἀποφεύγειν, the former meaning "to escape by not being found," the latter "by not being caught." Observe, moreover, that ἦν δυναμένη is equivalent here to ἐδύνατο, the participle with ἐστί, εἰσὶ, γίγνεται, and similar verbs being frequently employed for the finite verb. (Matth., § 559.)—ἀποδρᾶναι. 2. aor. inf. act. of ἀποδιδράσκω.—ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον. "Fortune, however, led the army more honorably," i. e., chance, however, proved a more glorious conductor.—ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον. "Having the sun on their right." They marched, therefore, toward the north (consult map), and not, as Thirlwall remarks, in a southeasterly direction, for, in this latter case, they would have had the sun on their left.—καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν "And in this they were not deceived."

## § 14.

ἔτι δὲ ἄμφι δειλὴν, κ. τ. λ. "For, while it was yet about the early part of the afternoon, they thought they espied some horse belonging to the enemy." The term δειλὴ, as has already been remarked, is used by the Greek writers in a double sense, namely, δειλὴ πρωτὰ, "early afternoon," and δειλὴ ὀψία, "late afternoon." The former is here meant, as appears from the expression ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ὀψὲ ἦν, in § 16, and, therefore, with δειλὴν we must here supply πρωτὰν. Compare note on i., 8, 8.—ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν. "In their ranks."—ἐθωρακίζετο. "Began to put on his corselet." Observe the force of the imperfect, and also of the middle voice.—καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. "And those with him (began to do the same thing)." Supply ἐθωρακίζοντο.

## § 15.

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο. "But while they were arming themselves." Supply χρόνῳ after ἐν ᾧ.—ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμουντο. "But that beasts of burden were pasturing." Supply ὅτι from the previous clause. Observe the change from εἰσιν to νέμουντο, and compare ii., 1, 3.—ὅτι ἐγγὺς πον, κ. τ. λ. "That the king was encamped somewhere in the neighborhood." The presence of so large a number of beasts of burden indicated the proximity of an armed force, and that armed force must of course belong to the king, while the circumstance of these animals being turned loose to graze showed that the troops in question had halted for the day.—καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνός, κ. τ. λ. "And (rightly enough), for smoke also appeared in some villages not far off."

## § 16.

ἦγεν. Supply τὸν στρατόν.—ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας, κ. τ. λ. "For he knew that the soldiers were both tired and hungry." Literally, "without food," "fasting." Observe that the verb "to know," here as elsewhere, takes the participle for the infinitive. (Matth., § 548, 2.)—ἀπειρηκότας. Perf. part. act. assigned to ἀπείπον, no such form as ἀποβρέω, though assumed by the Lexicons, occurring in Greek.—ὀψὲ ἦν. "It was getting late," i. e., evening was coming on. Consult note on ἔτι δὲ ἄμφι δειλὴν, § 14.—οὐ μέντοι οὐδ' ἀπέκλινε. "Still, however, he did not turn away."—φυλαττόμενος. "Taking care." Observe the force of the middle.—εὐθύωρον. "Right onward," i. e., in a direct line, without swerving either to the right or left. A word probably of Ionic origin. (Consult Greg. Cor., p. 564.)—εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας, κ. τ. λ. "Leading the foremost, he went into quarters in the nearest villages," i. e., he went into the nearest villages, and quartered there. Observe the employment of εἰς with the accusative in connection with a verb of rest, and compare note on κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, i., 1, 3.—καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ, κ. τ. λ. "Even the very wood-work from the houses." Observe that ξύλα is here employed in the sense of ξύλῳσις, and compare Thucyd., ii., 14.

## § 17.

οἱ μὲν οὖν πρόωτοι, κ. τ. λ. "The van-guard thereupon, (although every thing had been plundered), encamped, nevertheless, with some kind of regularity." Observe here the force of ὁμῶς, which is the reading adopted now by the best editors, in place of the commonlection ὁμοίῳ. Zeune, it is true, attempts to explain the reading of

the common text by "*eodem fere modo*, scil. *ἐν ταῖς κωμαῖς*," but then the arrangement of the Greek would have been *ὁμοίῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ*. (Krug., *ad loc.*)—*σκοταῖοι*. "In the dark." Adjectives marking a time, and derived from substantives or adverbs, are used in place of adverbs, and agree with the subject of the proposition. (Kühner, § 714, Obs. 2, b.)—ὡς ἐτύγγανον ἕκαστοι ηὐλίζοντο. "Quartered themselves as they severally chanced (to find quarters)," i. e., in no certain order, but in such manner and place as each was able. After ἐτύγγανον supply αὐλιζόμενοι.—ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα, κ. τ. λ. "So that those of the enemy who were nearest even fled from their quarters." Observe that σκήνωμα is a general term for soldiers' quarters, and is not to be restricted to the mere idea of tents.—ἐφυγον. The indicative is used with ὥστε when the result or effect is to be represented as a fact; the infinitive, when it is to be represented, not as an actual fact, but as something supposed to follow from the principal clause directly and of necessity. (Kühner, § 863.)

## § 18.

ὁῆλον δὲ τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ. "And this became manifest on the following day." The reference is to the flight of the enemy. Supply ἡμέρᾳ with ὕστεραίᾳ.—ἐτι. "Any longer."—οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. "Any where near."—ἐξεπλάγη δέ, ὡς εἶκε, κ. τ. λ. "And even the king, as it seemed, was startled at the approach of the army." The judiciousness of the bold measure pursued by Clearchus, in pushing on his march toward the king's forces, became soon evident. For on the following day, as will presently be seen, persons came in the king's name, not, as on the preceding day, demanding the surrender of arms, but proposing negotiation on equal terms.—οἱ ἐπραττε. "By what he did." Attraction, for τούτοις ἂ ἐπραττε.

## § 19.

προϊούσης μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης. "However, as this night advanced," i. e., in the course of this night.—καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. "On the Greeks also." Observe the force of καὶ. The Greeks, in their turn, had an alarm; one of those disturbances which the ancients termed Panic terrors, when a sudden fright pervaded a host without any visible cause. These were ascribed to, and named after Pan, who, according to Herodotus, assisted the Athenians at Marathon, by striking such a terror into the Persians. On the present occasion, as Mitford remarks, the Greeks, worn with fatigue, want, and disappointment, were prepared for an alarm of some sort or

other.—καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἦν, κ. τ. λ. "And there was a tumult and a loud noise, as is likely to arise when terror has suddenly fallen upon (a host)." Compare Thucydides, vii., 80: φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις, φόβοι καὶ δέματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ τε καὶ διὰ πολέμιας καὶ ἀπὸ πολέμων οὐ πολλὰ ἀπεχόντων ἰούσιν.

## § 20.

Τολμίδην Ἠλείον. An independent accusative, the place of which is afterward supplied by τοῦτον. Compare note on καὶ τὰς ἀμάσας, κ. τ. λ., i., 10, 18.—Ἠλείον. "An Eleian," i. e., a native of Elis, in the Peloponnesus. Elis was a district of the Peloponnesus, lying to the west of Arcadia.—κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε. "A crier, the best of those that then existed," i. e., the best crier of his time. Supply ὄντων after τῶν τότε. The term ἄριστον refers, of course, to the singularly loud voice of Tolmides.—τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε. "Ordered this one to declare, in a loud tone of voice." Observe the force of ἀνά in composition.—ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, κ. τ. λ. "That the commanders publicly announce, that whoever shall point out the person who has let the ass loose among the arms, shall receive a talent of silver." By τὰ δπλα is here meant, not the quarters of the heavy-armed men, as some translate it, but the part of the camp where the arms were accustomed to be piled. There was always a place in the Grecian camp where the arms were collected. The large shields and long spears of the Greeks would occupy much more room than our firelocks, and an ass let loose among them in the night, whether sentries or a guard were or were not set over them, might be likely enough to give origin to tumult and alarm. Hence the shrewd contrivance of Clearchus to appease the consternation and alarm that prevailed, by feigning that an ass had been allowed to escape from among the baggage animals, and get into this quarter of the camp.—τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. The ordinary silver talent was equivalent in our currency to about \$1056. Compare note on δέκα τάλαντα, i., 7, 18.

## § 21.

ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη. "That their alarm was without foundation," i. e., was not occasioned by the enemy. Literally, "was an empty one." The soldiers, deceived by the stratagem of Clearchus, believed what the herald said to be true. According to Polyænus (iii., 9, 4), a like stratagem was practiced by Iphicrates, in a case similar to this.—καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶσι. This they inferred, of course.



from the very words of the crier's announcement, προαγορεύουσι οἱ ἄρχοντες.—εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. "To station themselves under arms in the order in which they were when the battle was." Literally, "in which they had themselves." Supply ἐαυτούς with ἴχον.

## CHAPTER III.

## § 1.

ὁ δὲ δὴ ἐγραψα. "Now what I wrote a moment ago." Observe the force of the aorist.—τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. Compare note on ἐξεπλάγη δέ, ὡς τοικε, κ. τ. λ., i, 2, 18.—ἐκέλευε. Observe the difference here between the imperfect ἐκέλευε and the aorist ἐπεμψε in the succeeding clause. The demand for their arms, as made by Phalinus, was sought to be enforced by various arguments, and might, therefore, be called a prolonged one; but now the offer of a truce was prompt and immediate.—κήρυκας. "Heralds."

## § 2.

πρὸς τοὺς προφύλακας. "Unto the outposts." Compare Halbkart, "Die Vorposten."—ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. "They inquired for the commanders."—ἀπήγγελλον. "Reported this."—τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν. "Having chanced at the time to be inspecting the ranks."—εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι, κ. τ. λ. Clearchus, well acquainted with the Asiatic character, kept the Persian envoys waiting till he had drawn up his forces so as to present the most imposing aspect, and then came up to give them audience, accompanied by his colleagues, in the midst of a guard composed of the handsomest and best equipped soldiers in the army.—περιμένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. "To remain where they were until he shall have leisure."

## § 3.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στράτευμα, κ. τ. λ. "When, however, he had stationed the army so that a close phalanx was beautifully disposed to view on all sides," i. e., so that it presented on all sides to the view a phalanx beautifully drawn up in close array. Literally, "had itself beautifully to be seen." With ἔχειν supply ἐαυτό. When the phalanx was in open order, each soldier was allowed a space equal to four cubits (five and a half or six feet) each way; but when a charge was to be made, the space was reduced to two cubits each way, and this order was called πύκνωσις. The latter of these arrangements is here meant. (Compare *Ælian, Tact.*, c. 11, and the

note of Viscount Dillon, *ad loc.*)—τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα, κ. τ. λ. The unarmed were thrown into the centre of the phalanx, and were thus concealed from view; while they served, at the same time, to make the body of the phalanx appear larger.—ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους. "He summoned (unto him) the messengers," i. e., the Persian envoys, or κήρυκες.—καὶ αὐτός τε προῆλθε. "And he both came forward himself."—καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "And gave the same directions to the other generals," i. e., directed the other generals to do the same thing, namely, to come forward with the best-equipped and best-looking men of their respective commands. We have given ταῦτα, Zeune's conjecture, in place of the common reading ταῦτα

## § 4.

πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις. "Near the messengers."—ἀνθρώπα. "He inquired in a loud tone of voice." This, of course, was done for effect.—ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν, κ. τ. λ. "That they had come on the subject of a truce, as persons who will be fully qualified to announce unto the Greeks the messages from the king, and to the king those from the Greeks." Observe here the peculiar employment of ἄνδρες. A similar usage occurs in Thucydides (iv., 60): ἐπαγόμεθα αὐτούς, ἄνδρας οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστρατεύουσιν.

## § 5.

ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον. "That there is need of a battle first." The verb δεῖ, denoting want, takes the genitive of the thing wanted. (Kühner, § 529, 1.)—ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν. "For we have no breakfast." The term ἄριστον here is generally rendered "dinner;" but the time of day when the words in question were uttered forbids this. Hence Sturz prefers translating ἄριστον in the present passage by the general term "cibus;" and Halbkart, also, in his German version, explains it by "nichts zu essen," or "nothing to eat." It can not be denied that the ἄριστον would appear to have been, strictly speaking, a meal taken about the middle of the day, and answering to the Roman *prandium*; but such an explanation is here, as just remarked, entirely out of the question.—οὐδὲ ὁ τολμήσων, κ. τ. λ. "Nor is there any one who will dare to speak to the Greeks about a truce, without having (first) supplied a morning meal." Literally, "not having supplied," &c. Observe that with ὁ τολμήσων we must repeat ἔστιν from the previous clause. Clearchus's blunt speech, so characteristic of a Spartan, would answer a double purpose, namely, to encourage his own men and intimidate the foe

## § 6.

καὶ δῆλον ἦν. "From which it was even apparent."—ᾧ ἐπετέτακτο

ταῦτα πράττειν. "Unto whom it had been given in charge to transact these matters."—ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν, κ. τ. λ. "That they appeared to the king to say reasonable things," i. e., to make a very reasonable demand.—ἡγεμόνας. "Guides."—αὐτοὺς ἄξουσιν ἐνθεν. "Will lead them (to that quarter) whence." Observe that ἐνθεν is here for ἐκείσε ἐνθεν. Compare i., 3, 17.

## § 7.

εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι, κ. τ. λ. "Whether he (Clearchus) was to make a truce with the men themselves (merely), while going to and returning (from the king), or whether there should be a truce for the others also." A great deal of unnecessary trouble has been taken about this passage by some of the commentators. If we refer τοῖς ἀνδράσι to the Persian envoys, and σπένδοιτο to Clearchus, the meaning will be plain enough. (Compare Krüg., ad loc.)—ἅπασιν. Referring to all the Persians.—τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν. "Your final proposals." Literally, "the things from you."

## § 8.

μετασπασάμενος αὐτούς. "Having caused them to withdraw." Observe the force of the middle voice.—καὶ ἐδόκει τὰς σπονδὰς, κ. τ. λ. "And it appeared good (to the council) to make the truce speedily."—καθ' ἡσυχίαν. "Quietly."

## § 9.

ἐγώ. "Unto me, also."—ἀλλὰ διατρίψω, κ. τ. λ. "But I will keep delaying until the messengers shall dread lest it may have appeared to us unadvisable to conclude the truce."—οἰμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, κ. τ. λ. "I think, indeed, added he, that the same fear will be present even to our own soldiers." Krüger thinks that something has here fallen from the text, and that Clearchus, in the omitted part, requested the other commanders to explain to their troops the true cause of his delay, lest they might become discouraged at this, and might betray their despondency to the Persian envoys. (de Authent., p. 34.) The suggestion is ingenious, but unnecessary. Clearchus merely means, that he will carry on the deception so far, and so adroitly, as even to impose upon the Grecian troops themselves

## § 10.

τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει. "But nevertheless keeping his army in battle array." Observe the force here of δέ in the apodosis. The object of Clearchus, of course, was to guard against surprise.—ἀβλῶσιν. "Canals."—ἀλλ' ἐποίησαν διαβάσεις. "They made cross-

ings, however, for themselves." Observe the force of the middle. By διαβάσεις are here meant temporary bridges. Phavorinus gives both meanings of the term: διάβασις· πορεία, γέφυρα. Compare, also, Thucydides (iv., 103): ἀπέχει δὲ τὸ πόλισμα πλέον τῆς διαβάσεως, where the scholiast explains τῆς διαβάσεως by τῆς γεφύρας. (Hutch., ad loc.)—τοὺς δέ. For ἄλλους δέ. Observe the omission of μέν in the protasis. Indeed, with regard to μέν and δέ, it may be remarked that one of these particles is often omitted. Compare Cyprip., iv., 5, 46: ὁρᾶτε ἵπποι δσοὶ ἡμῖν πάρεισιν, οἱ δὲ προσάγονται.

## § 11.

καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον, κ. τ. λ. "And here was an opportunity to observe Clearchus how he exercised command." The ordinary Greek idiom for ἦν καταμαθεῖν ὡς Κλέαρχος ἐπεστάτει.—βακτηρίαν. "A truncheon," i. e., a general's baton. (Dict. Antiq., s. v. Baculus.) This was in accordance with the Spartan custom. From the well-known anecdote of Eurybiades and Themistocles, and from what Hudson has collected in his annotations on Thucydides (viii., 84), it appears that the Lacedæmonian commanders bore truncheons or batons, with which they sometimes corrected their soldiery, though in general they were merely badges of authority.—τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων. "Of those appointed to this service," i. e., to construct crossings or bridges.—βλακεύειν. "To loiter," i. e., to be remiss, or to give himself up to indolence.—ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον, κ. τ. λ. "Selecting (from the loiterers) him that was a fit object (for punishment), he would strike him (with his staff)," i. e., selecting the one whose indolence was most conspicuous. Observe the construction of ἄν with the aorist to denote the repetition of an action, so that ἐπαισεν ἄν is equivalent, as Porson remarks, to "verberare solebat." Compare note on οὐδένα ἄν πρότε ἀφείλετο, i., 9, 19.—αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν. "Took part (in the work)."—ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "So that all were ashamed not to aid in expediting (matters)." Observe that the combination μὴ οὐ, besides its other constructions, is joined with the infinitive after all words or phrases implying a negative, as, for example, those expressing shame, fear, &c., in the sense of the Latin quominus, quin, &c. The full force of the two negatives here will be rendered clearer by a paraphrase: "so that each one had not the assurance not to aid in expediting." (Compare Kühner, § 750, 2.)

## § 12.

καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "Now those who were thirty



years of age had been assigned by him (unto the work): when, however, they (who were older) saw Clearchus, also, urging it on, they also took part in it." With ἐώρων supply οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, and render the οἱ πρεσβύτεροι expressed as if a mere personal pronoun. There is great doubt about the true reading in the first part of this sentence. The common text has πρὸς αὐτόν, the meaning of which Buttmann confesses his inability to understand, and therefore conjectures πρότερον in place of it. Those, however, who retain the common reading explain it by *apud ipsum*, a signification quite at variance with the context, as Schneider correctly remarks. We have, therefore, adopted πρὸς αὐτοῦ, the conjectural emendation of the latter scholar.

## § 13.

πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος, κ. τ. λ. "Now Clearchus kept urging the matter, much more (on this account) because he suspected," &c. There is every reason to believe, as Ainsworth remarks, that the Greeks were led, on this occasion, into the interior of Babylonia. The plain of Babylonia, he adds, appears to have been in the time of Artaxerxes very much what it is at the present day, intersected by numerous canals of derivation and irrigation, and every village having its grove of date-trees.—οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα, κ. τ. λ. "For it was not a proper season to water the plain." Literally, "it was not (such) a season as for watering," &c. Supply τοῖα before ὥρα, as the correlative of οἷα. The suspicions of Clearchus were apparently well grounded. The battle of Cunaxa was fought, according to Rennell and others, on the 7th of September, whereas the season of irrigation was during the intense heats of the summer months. In Lower Mesopotamia and Babylonia, productiveness has ever depended on the industry and judgment with which the inhabitants dispense the ample supplies afforded by the Tigris and Euphrates. (*Fraser's Mesopotamia and Assyria*, p. 26.)

ἤδη. "Even now," i. e., even in the outset of their return home.—πολλὰ δεινά. "Many difficulties."—τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι. "Had let in the water." More literally, "had let loose." According to modern travelers, the ancient canals of Babylonia, instead of having been sunk in the earth, like those of the present day, were entirely constructed on the surface. By what means the water was raised to fill these conduits does not in every case appear. It may either have been done by dikes thrown across the river, or by depressing its bed at the point of derivation. (*Fraser*, p. 31.)

## § 14.

ἀπέδειξαν λαμβίνειν. "Directed them to take." Literally, "pointed out to them to take."—οἶνος φοινίκων. "Wine of dates," i. e., date-wine, wine made of the fruit of the date-palm. According to Ainsworth, wine is not made of the fruit of this tree, at the present day, in the same country, but a spirit is distilled from it. Palm wine is now made from the trunk of the tree. For this purpose, the leaves are cut off, and a circular incision is made a little below the summit of the tree; then a deep vertical fissure is cut, and a vase is placed below to receive the juice, which is protected from evaporation.—καὶ ὁξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. "And an acidulous drink obtained from the same by boiling." More literally, "boiled from the same."

## § 15.

αὗται δὲ βάλανοι, κ. τ. λ. "Those same dates of the palms, however, such as one may see among the Greeks, were put aside for the domestics; but those that were laid by for the masters were picked ones." We have retained αὗται, the reading of the common text, as preferable to αὐταὶ, the conjectural emendation of Larcher, and which has been adopted by Dindorf and Poppo. According to Salmasius, the dates accustomed to be imported into Greece at this time were the smaller or common ones, called δάκτυλοι; the ἀπόλεκτοι, on the other hand, appear to have been the same with those termed subsequently καρνώτιδες, and which were large of size and shaped like a walnut. (*Salmas., Exercit. Plin.*, p. 1321.)—ἡ δὲ ὀψις ἤλεκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερε. "And their appearance differed in nothing from electrum." By ἤλεκτρον is here meant, not amber, as many suppose, but a metallic substance, well known in those days, compounded of four parts of gold and one of silver, and having a bright yellow color like that of amber. But whether the latter substance took its Greek name from the metal, or the metal from it, is quite uncertain. Most probably the former was the case. At all events, the metal electrum was much more generally known in Xenophon's time than amber, and hence it is most likely to be here meant. Galen, besides, when making mention of this same kind of date, calls it expressly χρυσοβάλανος, or "the gold-date."

τὰς δὲ τινας. "Some of these, however."—τραγήματα ἀπετίθεισαν. "They put by for sweetmeats." By τραγήμα is meant, strictly, "that which is eaten for eating's sake;" and hence, in the plural, "sweetmeats, confectionery, dessert," and the like. Compare the Latin *bellaria*, and the French *dragées*.—καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον, κ. τ. λ. "And it was a pleasant article, also, during drinking," i. e., this con-

section was very palatable, when eaten as a dessert over their wine. Observe the change of number in ἤν ἡδύ from the plural to the singular, i. e., τοῦτο (scil. ταῦτα τὰ τραγήματα) ἤν ἡδύ. The adjective, as a predicate (not as an epithet) of things and persons, often stands in the neuter singular, although the subject is in the plural. (*Matthia*, § 437.)

## § 16.

τὸν ἐγκέφαλον. "The pith." Literally, "the brain." This is a large terminal bud on the top of the palm-tree, and by which it exclusively grows. In the species of palm termed the Areca, it is called its cabbage. It is composed, says Sir Joseph Banks, of the rudiments of the future leaves of the palm-tree, enveloped in the bases, or foot-stalks, of the actual leaves; which inclose them as a tight box or trunk would do. It is eaten as a delicacy when boiled. Ainsworth, however, remarks, that he never saw the Arabs eat the pith.—τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. "The peculiarity of its sweetness," i. e., its peculiarly sweet taste.—ὅλος ἀναίνετο. "Withered entirely." This is confirmed by modern accounts, and would, of course, be expected from the nature of the ἐγκέφαλος, as above described.

## § 17.

ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφός. The queen of Artaxerxes was Statira, the daughter of the satrap Hydarnes, called by Ctesias Idernes. But who her "brother" was, as Xenophon styles him, is hard to say, since, according to Ctesias, the whole family had been put to death, with the single exception of Statira, by Parysatis during the reign of Darius Ochus. (*Ctes.*, 53, *seqq.*)—δι' ἑρμηνέως. "Through an interpreter." Observe the employment of διὰ to denote the agent through whom one acts, and compare iv., 2, 18, and v., 34.

## § 18.

καὶ ἐπεὶ. "And when."—εἰς πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα. "Into many evils, and inextricable ones too." Observe here the strengthening force of καὶ. It is often employed in this way when something stronger is subjoined to what has just preceded, and answers to the English and . . . too. (*Matthia*, § 620, d.)—εὖρημα ἐποησάμην. "I considered it a piece of good luck." Observe the force of the middle. The term εὖρημα is employed to signify "any thing found accidentally," "a prize," &c.—εἰ πως δύναίμην. "If in any way I might be able."—δοῦναι ἑμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι, κ. τ. λ. "To grant unto me to save you from (your present dangers) and restore you to Greece." Observe here the same construction to which we have more than

once alluded, the preposition εἰς supplying the place of a verb of motion, and to be rendered as if one were expressed with it.—οὐκ ἂν ἀχαρίστως μοι ἐξείν, κ. τ. λ. "That there will, in all likelihood, be no want of gratitude toward me, either from you, or," &c. More literally, "that it will have itself not ungratefully for me." Observe here the employment of ἂν with the future infinitive, having the same signification which the optative with ἂν would have in the resolution by means of the finite verb. (*Matthia*, § 597, 1, a.) We have given οὐκ ἂν, with Poppo, instead of ἂν οὐκ, as Dindorf and others have it. The collocation ἂν οὐκ appears just as objectionable as if one were to say τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν οὐ ποιοίης, instead of τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποιοίης. (*Poppo*, *ad loc.*)

## § 19.

ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο. "That he would gratify me (in this) on just grounds," i. e., that he would bestow this favor upon me, if he should feel inclined so to do, as a just return for what I had done in his cause.—ὅτι αὐτῷ Κύρον τε, κ. τ. λ. Consult i., 2, 4.—καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, κ. τ. λ. Consult i., 10, 4, *seqq.*—συνέμιξα. "Joined."—ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε. "After he had slain Cyrus." According to Plutarch (*Vit. Artax.*, 14), Artaxerxes claimed to have slain Cyrus with his own hand.—αὐτῷ. Referring to the king.

## § 20.

καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων, κ. τ. λ. "And he promised me to deliberate about these things." Observe that the aorist infinitive is here employed, because there is no reference either to the continuance or the time of the action, but simply to its completion. (*Kühner*, § 405, *Obs.* 2.)—ἔρεσθαι ὑμᾶς, . . . τίνος ἕνεκεν. "To ask you, why."—μετρίως. "In a moderate spirit."—ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾖ, κ. τ. λ. "In order that it may be more easy to be effected by me, in case I shall be able to work out any good for you from him," i. e., in order that if I shall obtain from him any favorable terms for you, I may obtain them with the less difficulty.

## § 21.

μεταστάντες. "Having gone apart."—Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν. "But Clearchus spoke (for them)."—συνήλθομεν. "Came together," i. e., from the different quarters where we previously were. He alludes to the assembling of the Grecian army.—ὡς πολεμήσοντες. "In order to make war upon." Compare note on ὡς ἀποκτενῶν, i., 1, 3.—οὐτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα. "Nor did we begin our march against the king," i. e., nor did we march, in the first instance, against him.



Observe the force of the imperfect. What Clearchus says here appears to have been true enough as regarded the main body of the Greeks. But he himself, and very probably others of the commanders, would seem to have been well aware of the ultimate designs of Cyrus, from the very first.—*ἐβρίσκεν*. "Kept inventing."

## § 22.

*ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη*. "But when now."—*ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα*. "Involved in danger," i. e., having cast the die, and involved himself in danger, by openly declaring himself a competitor for the throne. The more usual expression is *ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς*, i. e., *ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις*.—*ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους*, κ. τ. λ. "We had respect for both gods and men, so as not to abandon him," i. e., we were ashamed, before both gods and men, to abandon him. Observe that the verbs *αἰσχύνεσθαι* and *αἰδεῖσθαι* take the infinitive, when the feelings prevent the person from acting; but the participle, when the person has done something which causes them. (Kühner, § 695, Obs.)—*παρέχοντες ἡμῖς αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιεῖν*. "Affording ourselves (unto him) to bestow favors (upon us)," i. e., allowing him to bestow favors upon us. It would be base, therefore, in them, after sharing his prosperity, to have abandoned him in the hour of danger.

## § 23.

*ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρος τέθνηκεν*, κ. τ. λ. "Since, however, Cyrus is dead, we neither contend with the king for his kingdom, nor is there any thing on account of which we should feel inclined," &c.—*σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι*. "With the help of the gods, to punish."—*ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς*, κ. τ. λ. "But if any one shall even begin to do good, unto this one, also, to the utmost of our power at least, we will not prove inferior in doing good."

## § 24.

*μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω*, κ. τ. λ. "But until I shall have come (again), let the truce continue." Observe that *μενόντων* is the 3 plur. pres. imperative act. for *μενέτωσαν*. In its origin this form belongs to the old Homeric language, but as it is especially, and almost exclusively, adopted by the older Attic writers, it is called the Attic imperative; though it is frequently found in the other dialects. (Kühner, § 196, 3.)—*ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν*. "We will also furnish a market," i. e., will bring you provisions which you can purchase.

## § 25.

*εἰς γὰρ τὴν ὑστεραίαν*. "For the next day."—*ἐφρόντιζον*. "Began

to be anxious." More literally, "began to ponder (upon the matter)."—*ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἦκοι*, κ. τ. λ. "That he had come, having obtained from the king that it be allowed him to save the Greeks," i. e., permission to save.—*ὥς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ*, κ. τ. λ. "That it was not becoming for the king to allow those to depart (unpunished) who had served against him." More literally, "to let those go." Observe that *ἄξιος*, when it denotes what is becoming or fitting, is construed with the dative. The same usage occurs in Latin, in the case of the adjective *dignus*. Thus, Plaut., Poen., i., 2, 46, "*dignum diem Veneri*."

## § 26.

*τέλος δὲ εἶπε*. "In conclusion, however, he said."—*ἡ μὲν φίλιαν παρέξειν*, κ. τ. λ. "That we will, in very truth, make the country (through which you may pass) friendly unto you." More literally, "will afford the country friendly," &c.—*ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ᾖ πρίασθαι*. "But wherever it may not be possible (for you) to purchase (them)," i. e., wherever we may not be able to supply you with a market.

## § 27.

*ἡ μὲν πορεύεσθαι*, κ. τ. λ. "In very truth, to march as through a friendly country, without doing any harm," i. e., faithfully to march, &c., without plundering. Lion follows Stephens and Schneider in giving the future *πορεύσεσθαι*, in which Dindorf also concurs, but there is no necessity whatever for the change.—*ὠνούμενους ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*. "That you will get your provisions by purchase." More literally, "that you will have your provisions, purchasing them."

## § 28.

*ταῦτα ἔδοξε*. "These conditions were agreed upon." Literally "these things appeared good."—*δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν*. Compare i., 6, 6; ii., 4, 1.—*ἔλαβον*. "Received (theirs)."

## § 29.

*ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα*. "I will go back to the king." Observe the employment of the present in a future sense, to which we have already often referred.—*ἃ θέλω*. "What I want (to accomplish)." Supply *διαπράξασθαι*, on which *ἃ* depends.—*ἤξω συσκευασάμενος*. "I will come with my baggage packed up." Literally, "after having packed up my baggage."—*ὥς ἀπάξω ὑμᾶς*, κ. τ. λ. "In order to lead you away into Greece, and to go back myself to my own government." Observe here the employment of *ὥς* with the future participle, to mark an intention.—*ἀπιών*. The present participle of *ἄπειμι* used as a future one. (Buttmann, p. 236, ed. Rob.)

## CHAPTER IV.

## § 1.

περίμενον Τισσαφέρην. "Waited where they were for Tissaphernes."—ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. During this interval the king returned to Babylon with his army, and there distributed rewards among all who had distinguished themselves in the recent contest. On Tissaphernes, however, who had accompanied him to the capital, he bestowed the highest rewards of all, and gave him his daughter in marriage, together with the government over which Cyrus had presided. Tissaphernes thereupon promised the king, that if an army were intrusted to him, and he could effect a reconciliation with Ariæus, he would destroy for him the whole Grecian army. The monarch accordingly allowed him to take as large a force as he pleased, and to select for this purpose the bravest men from the whole army. Such is the account given by Diodorus Siculus, xiv., 26.—ἀναγκαῖοι. "Near relations." By ἀναγκαῖοι are meant those connected by necessary or natural ties, i. e., blood relations or kinsfolk.—Περσῶν. Depending on *τινες*, not on *τούς*.—παρεθάρσυνόν τε. "And encouraged them." We have given *παρεθάρσυνον* and *ἔφερον*, with Dindorf and Poppo, as resting on the authority of the best MSS., and far superior to the common reading *παραθάρρυνοντες τε . . . φέροντες*.—δεξιὰς. "Assurances." Literally, "right hands." That is, they offered their right hand, in the name of the king, as a pledge that what they promised would be fulfilled; which was viewed in the same light as if the king himself had given his right hand, and not merely these, his authorized agents, had given theirs. Compare Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, ii., 84.—μὴ μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "Will harbor no grudge against them, for," &c. Observe the construction of this verb with the dative of the person and the genitive of the thing.—τῶν παρωχημένων. "Of the things that were past." Literally, "that were gone by."

## § 2.

τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων, κ. τ. λ. "Now while these things were being done, Ariæus and his followers were evidently less attentive to the Greeks." Literally, "were evident as applying their minds less to the Greeks." Compare note on *ὁ ἄλλος ἦν Κύρος σπεύδων*, i., 5, 9.—οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίων. The phrase *οἱ περὶ* or *οἱ ἀμφί*, with the accusative, is used in three different senses: 1. As designating a person and his followers, of whatever sort, which is its meaning in the present

instance: 2. The followers alone, without the person named. This is of less frequent occurrence: 3. The principal person named alone, without his followers, i. e., his essence, the properties which constitute him. But this last usage commences with the Attic dialect (Kühner, § 436, d.)—καὶ διὰ τοῦτο. "On this account, also."

## § 3.

τί μένομεν; "Why do we stay (here)?"—ἡμῶς ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιτο. "Would deem it of the highest importance unto himself to destroy us." Literally, "would make it above every thing unto himself to destroy us." Observe the force of the middle voice. Compare, also, note on *ὅτι περὶ πλείστον ποιοῖτο*, i., 9, 7.—στρατεύειν. "Of serving."—ἡμῶς ὑπάγεται, κ. τ. λ. "He is deceitfully leading us on to stay (here), because his army is scattered about," i. e., on account of the dispersion of his army.—οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως, κ. τ. λ. "It can not but be that he will attack us." Literally, "there is no how that he will not attack us." Observe the distinction between *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως*, "it is not, (can not) be that;" and *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ*, "it can not but be that," like the Latin, *non fieri potest quin*."

## § 4.

ἴσως δέ που, κ. τ. λ. "Perhaps, too, he is either cutting us off somewhere by some trench, or by some wall, in order that the road may be impassable."—ἐκὼν γε. "Willingly, at least," i. e., at least, if he can possibly help it.—τοσοῖδε. "So many, (merely)," i. e., so few. When *τόσος* refers to a well-known magnitude, which is either great or small, according to the context, it carries with it the idea either of a great or a small number, as the case may require. A similar usage prevails with the Latin *tantus*; and in English, also, we say, "so great, and no greater;" "so many, and no more."—ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ. "At his very gates." A species of hyperbolical expression, as Weiske remarks, for "in his very territories, not far from his very capital and palace-gates." The battle-field of Cunaxa, it will be remembered, was not far from Babylon.—καταγέλασαντες. "Having laughed him to scorn." Literally, "having laughed at him," "having laughed in his face."

## § 5.

καὶ ταῦτα πάντα. "All these things, too," i. e., not only other things, but these too.—ἐννοῶ δέ. "I think, however."—ἄπιμεν. Present, as before, in a future sense.—ἐπὶ πολέμῳ. "For war," i. e., with the view of recommencing warlike operations. The



preposition has here its causal sense, denoting the object or aim of an action considered as the motive or foundation thereof. (Kühner, § 634, 3.)—ποιεῖν. "To be acting."—οὐδὲ ὅθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα. "Nor a place from which we shall procure provisions for ourselves." Observe that παρέξει extends its government into this clause, and that the full expression would be, οὐδὲ παρέξει χώραν ὅθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα.—αὐθις δέ. "And, in the second place."—ὁ ἡγησόμενος. "Who will guide us."—καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιοῦντων ἡμῶν, κ. τ. λ. "Moreover, the moment we begin to do these things, Ariæus will stand aloof." The time is accustomed to be more accurately expressed in Greek, by the addition of the temporal adverbs, ἅμα, αὐτίκα, &c., to the genitive absolute. (Kühner, § 696, Obs. 5.)—ἀφ'εσθήξει. Observe that ἀφ'εσθήξω is a future formed from the perfect ἀφέστηκα, "I stand aloof," in order to suit this present meaning of the perfect. This peculiarity of formation, however, only takes place in those verbs whose perfects active have a present sense; as, for example, ἵστημι, θνήσκω, κλύω. (Kühner, § 238, 4.)—λελειπεται. "Will straightway be left." Sometimes, as in the present instance, the third future is used for the simple future, to express more vividly the immediate occurrence of some future action. It is this meaning that has given to the tense in question the erroneous name of paulo-post-futurum. (Kühner, § 407, 2.)—ὄντες. Supply φίλοι.

## § 6.

ὅ εἰ μὲν. "Whether, too."—ὅ οὖν οἶδαμεν. "But, then, we do know." Observe here the force of οὖν, when united with the adversative particle, and compare Hartung, vol. ii., p. 12, § 5.—κωλύοντων πολεμίων. "If enemies strive to prevent." There is no need of inserting the article here before πολεμίων, as Schaefer has done. The allusion is a general one to any enemies whatsoever, and is, therefore, the more forcible.—οὐ μὲν δὴ. "Nor yet, indeed."—ἰππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν ξύμμαχοι. "Have we any cavalry to fight along with us," i. e., to aid us. Their small body of horse, it will be remembered, had deserted to the king. Compare ii., 2, 7.—δέ. "Whereas."—πλείστον ἄξιοι. "Very efficient." Literally, "worth very much."—τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν. "Whom should we kill?" i. e., since we would have no horse to pursue the flying foe.—οἷόν τε. "It would be possible." Supply ἂν εἴη.

## § 7.

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, κ. τ. λ. "I, for my part, then, do not know what need the king has, unto whom there are so many things which aid

for the fight (I say, I do not know what need) he has, if, indeed, he desires to destroy us, of taking an oath, and giving an assurance of good faith, and then of committing perjury before the gods, and making his own pledges faithless ones unto both Greeks and barbarians." Observe here the peculiar construction of βασιλέα, which, when the writer commenced the sentence, was intended to be the accusative before ὁμοῖαι, but which, in consequence of the increase of intervening matter, is superseded, for greater perspicuity's sake, by the pronoun αὐτόν. We have endeavored to imitate this construction in our rendering of the passage.—δεξιάν. Literally, "a right hand." Supply χεῖρα, and consult note on δεξιός, § 1.—θεοὺς ἐπιorkῆσαι. Verbs of swearing, perjuring, &c., take the accusative of the deity, &c., by whom one swears. (Matth., § 413.—Kühner, § 566, 2.)

## § 8.

ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν. Compare the account given from Diodorus Siculus in the note on ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἰκοσιν, § 1.—ὡς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιών. "As if intending to return home."—καὶ Ὀρόντας. Supply ἦκεν ἔχων. The Orontas here mentioned appears to have been the same with the one who is subsequently called satrap of Armenia. (iii., 5, 17. Compare iv., 3, 4.)—ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, κ. τ. λ. "The latter was also leading (with him) the king's daughter, upon marriage." Observe that the reference in ἦγε is not to Tissaphernes, but to Orontas, as plainly appears from iii., 4, 13. The name of the daughter of Artaxerxes here meant, appears from Plutarch (Vit. Artax., c. 27) to have been Rhodogune (Ῥοδογούνη). Compare the account already given from Diodorus Siculus, where Artaxerxes is said to have given his daughter to Tissaphernes, and consult the remarks of Wesseling, *ad loc.*—ἐπὶ γάμφ. We have given to this phrase here its strict and literal signification. What, however, Xenophon actually means by it is not so easy to say. In all probability, Krüger is correct, who thinks that the idea intended to be conveyed is not "in order to wed her," but "in order to live with her in wedlock;" the marriage having already, as he supposes, been solemnized at Babylon. The strongest argument, however, in favor of this opinion may be drawn from the language employed at iii., 4, 13, τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, which could not well be said of any other than a marriage-state already existing.

## § 9.

ἤδη. "Now at length," i. e., after all this long delay.—ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντα. This, as well as the circumstance of his en-

camping with them, shows that Ariæus had been successfully tampered with. Ainsworth strangely confounds the Orontas of whom Xenophon speaks in the present chapter, with the one whose trial and condemnation are mentioned in book i. (6, 1, *seqq.*), and who, he supposes, was not put to death by Cyrus! (*Travels*, &c., p. 107.) Mitford's conjecture is a much happier one, namely, that Orontas may have been the son of the person executed for treachery to Cyrus, and that the satrapy of Armenia, and the king's daughter, may have been the recompense for the sufferings of the family.

## § 10.

ὑφορῶντες τούτους. "Suspecting these." Compare § 2.—αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν. "Went by themselves." Literally, "went themselves by themselves," i. e., alone by themselves. Observe here the peculiar force of ἐπὶ, properly, "resting or depending on themselves." (*Kühner*, § 633, 3, *e.*)—ἐκάστοτε. "Each time," i. e., always.—ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων. "Being distant from one another," i. e., at the distance from one another of.—καὶ μείον. "Or less," i. e., or nearly so.—ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέροι, κ. τ. λ. "Both parties, moreover, were on their guard against one another, as against enemies." Observe the force of the middle. More literally, "guarded themselves against one another." A new transitive notion, in fact, arises, deduced from or implied in the reflexive notion, and hence the accusative follows. (*Kühner*, § 362, 8.)

## § 11.

ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. "While procuring wood from the same quarter." After αὐτοῦ supply τόπον. Observe that ξυλιζεσθαι is the same with the Latin *lignari*.—πληγὰς ἐντέτεινον ἀλλήλοις. "They threatened one another with blows." Literally, "they stretched out blows at one another." Compare the Latin, "*plagas intendere*." Some erroneously render πληγὰς ἐντέτεινον "they inflicted blows," an idea adopted even by Sturz (*Lex. Xen.*, s. v. ἐντέτειναι), on the authority of Hesychius, and in more than one *Index Græcitatibus* to the *Anabasis*. But "to inflict blows" is πληγὰς ἐμβάλλειν, as may be plainly seen from i., 5, 11.

## § 12.

πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος. "To what was called the wall of Media." This wall has already been alluded to, and its direction given, in the note on μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τεύχους, i., 7, 15. A few additional particulars may here be given. The traces of this cele-

brated wall appear to have been first discovered in modern times by Mr. Ross, surgeon to the residency at Bagdad. It was afterward visited by the officers of the Euphrates expedition, and has since been more carefully examined by Captain Lynch and his party. The ruins indicate a construction similar to what is described by Xenophon. It is wide enough for two persons to ride abreast, and is still in many places thirty to forty feet in height. Its position appears to have been precisely such as would have been chosen for a wall of this nature, since its direction marks very nearly the line of limitation of the alluvial plain of Babylonia, from where it is succeeded, to the north, by low, hilly, infertile, and rocky districts. (*Ainsworth*, p. 108.)

καὶ παρῆλθον εἰς αὐτοῦ. "And passed within it." Ainsworth thinks that this going through the Median wall was done to mislead the Greeks. He supposes that Tissaphernes led the Greeks three days' march, or about thirty-six miles, by *Sifeirah*, at which point he turned round, and conducted them through the wall into Sittacene, thus leaving them in perplexity with regard to the relations of that rich and fertile province to the city of Babylon. (*Travels*, &c., p. 108, *seq.*)—πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς, κ. τ. λ. "With burned bricks, laid in bitumen." Literally, "lying in bitumen." The substance here meant is the compact bitumen or asphaltum. According to Rich (*Narrative*, &c., p. 100), the bitumen, to deprive it of its brittleness, and render it capable of being applied to the brick, must be boiled with a certain proportion of oil. It is then applied in its hot state, and, on cooling, forms a good cement, but, in the opinion of Rich, one far inferior to the lime cement, which, according to him, the Babylonians most generally employed. There are two places in the pashalic of Bagdad where bitumen is found: the first is near *Kerkouk*; the second at *Hect*, the Is of Herodotus, whence the Babylonians drew their supplies. (*Rich*, p. 101.)—εὗρος εἰκοσι ποδῶν. Consult note on εὗρος δύο πλέθρων, i., 2, 23.—εἰκοσι παρασαγγῶν. Reckoning the parasang at three and a half miles, or thereabouts, the length of the wall would be about seventy English miles.

## § 13.

τὴν δ' ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτά. "And the other connected by seven boats," i. e., having its banks joined by seven boats or pontoons.—κατετέμνητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "Ditches, also, were cut from them over the face of the country."—μεγάλοι. "Broad."—ἐλάττους. "Narrower ones."—ὄχετοί. "Water-courses."—ὥς περ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κ. τ. λ. "Just as (they are cut) in Greece, over the fields of panic." Lit



erally, "upon or over the panic." Supply κατατέμνηται.—μελίνας Consult note on μελίνην, i., 2, 22.—πρὸς ᾧ. "Near which." The intervening distance between the city and the river is given immediately after as fifteen stadia, or somewhat over a mile and a half.—Σιττάκη. Ainsworth seeks to identify Sittace with Akbara, on the old bed of the Tigris. Ross, on the other hand, sought for it at Sheriat el Beitha, or the White River, where are very extensive ruins. The calculation of distances appears to be in favor of the former opinion. Rennell, cramped in his inquiries by the paucity of geographical materials existing in his time, placed Sittace as low down on the river as he could, without having to make the Greeks cross an additional river; that is to say, immediately above the Diyalah River. Vincent and D'Anville sought for Sittace at Bagdad, without many probabilities being in their favor. (Ainsworth, p. 112.)

## § 14.

παρ' αὐτήν. "Alongside of it."—παραδείσων. Consult note on παράδεισος, i., 2, 7.—δασέος παντοίων δένδρων. "Thick with trees of every kind." The adjective δασέος takes the genitive here, as denoting fullness. Sometimes, however, it is construed with the instrumental dative. (Kühner, § 539, 2.)—οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι. Supply ἐσκήνησαν. We have adopted here the punctuation of Krüger, namely, a comma after δένδρων, and a colon after Τίγρητα. The ordinary pointing is decidedly inferior, which places a colon after δένδρων and a comma after Τίγρητα. According to this last, βάρβαροι becomes the nominative to ἦσαν.—οὐ μέντοι καταφανείς ἦσαν. "They were not, however, visible." The reference is to the barbarians, who had, as usual, encamped at a distance from the Greeks.

## § 15.

ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες, κ. τ. λ. "Happened to be walking up and down in front of the place of arms." This, among the Greeks, was the place where the arms were piled, and was at the head of the camp, and always strongly guarded. Consult note on ii., 2, 20, and compare the version of Count de la Luzerne; "a la tête du camp, en avant des armes."—ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι. "Where he could see," i. e., see and speak with.—Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτει, κ. τ. λ. "For Menon, however, he inquired not, and that, too, although he was from Arizus," &c. This made his visit the more suspicious, since, had there been any danger to be really apprehended, Menon, the friend of Arizus, ought to have been apprised of it first of all.

## § 16.

ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι. "I am he." Observe that ὅτι, in Greek, is often followed by the very words of a speech, and in this case the conjunction is not translated, but its place is supplied by inverted commas.—ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος, κ. τ. λ. Observe that ἐπεμψε here agrees with Ἀριαῖος, as the more important personage of the two, and one best known to the Greeks. In κελεύουσι, however, the number changes, and the plural is employed as expressing a joint recommendation.—καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι. "And exhort you to be on your guard."—ἔστι δέ. "For there is."

## § 17.

ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. This is the bridge mentioned afterward in § 24.—ὥς διανοεῖται Τισσαφέρνης. "Inasmuch as Tissaphernes intends."—τῆς νυκτός. "This night."—ὥς μὴ διαβῆτε, κ. τ. λ. "That you may not cross over, but may be intercepted between the river and the canal." The canal here meant is the one over which they had passed on seven boats. Compare § 13.

## § 19.

νεανίσκος δέ τις, κ. τ. λ. Zeune thinks that perhaps Xenophon means himself here. Such a supposition, however, is not very probable, since Xenophon, when speaking of himself on similar occasions, always mentions his own name.—ἐννοήσας. "Having reflected for a moment." Observe the force of the aorist.—ὥς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἴη, κ. τ. λ. "That the design of making an attack, and that of breaking down the bridge, were inconsistent." Observe the force of the future infinitive to indicate intention or design.—ἐπιτιθεμένους δεήσει. "It will be necessary for them, in case they attack us."—οὐδὲ γὰρ, ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὦσιν, κ. τ. λ. "For not even if there be many bridges, should we have whither to flee, and be saved." More literally, "should we have (any place), on having fled whither we might be saved."

## § 20.

λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας. "The bridge having been (previously) broken down (by them)."—οὐχ ἐξουσιν ὅποι, κ. τ. λ. The young man's argument is briefly this: If Tissaphernes meant to attack them, he would not destroy the bridge, which would be useful to him if he should be defeated, and could be of no service to them should he prove victorious. This remark opened the eyes of Clearchus to the enemy's real object.—πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν

'Though many be on the further side,' i. e., many of the Persians, prevented from lending aid in consequence of the bridge having been destroyed, should such a thing be done by Tissaphernes.—*πέραν*. The difference between *πέραν* and *πέρα* is laid down by Hermann (*ad Soph.*, *Æd. Col.*, 889) to be, that *πέραν* means *beyond* in a place, without reference to motion, and is never used metaphorically; whereas *πέρα* means *beyond* with a sense of motion, and is most commonly used metaphorically, *beyond* or *exceeding* measure. Buttmann (*Lexil.*, s. v.) compares *πέρα* to the Latin *ultra*, and *πέραν* to *trans*, and draws out the distinction to great length

## § 21.

*πόση τις εἴη χώρα, κ. τ. λ.* "How large a kind of region might be this one between the Tigris and the canal." Observe here the peculiar employment of *τις*. When appended to adjectives of any kind it serves to make them less precise. So that *πόση τις* means here, in fact, "of what extent," or "of what kind of size," whether large or small. Clearchus, it will be perceived, is inquiring about the region in which the Greeks are at present encamped, and which was formed into an island by the Tigris and the canal.—*ὅτι πολλή*. "That it is of great extent." Supply *ἐστὶ*. Literally, "that there is much of it."

## § 22.

*ἐγνώσθη*. "It was immediately perceived." Observe the force of the aorist.—*ὑποπέμπαιεν*. "Had insidiously sent." Observe the force of *ὑπό* in composition. The verb *ὑποπέμπω* is, properly, "to send under," and hence "to send as a spy," "to send in a false character." Compare the Latin *submittere*, *subornare*.—*διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν*. "Having taken to pieces the bridge." The common text has *διελθόντες*, "having crossed," which can not possibly be correct, for if the Greeks crossed the bridge over the Tigris, which is the one here meant, they would, as a matter of course, be no longer remaining in the island. In order, therefore, to remedy the common lection, Larcher recommends the insertion of the negative *οὐ* before *διελθόντες*, which Zeune actually adopts. But it seems a much less violent change to adopt, with the best editors, the conjecture of Holtzmann, namely, *διελόντες*, by merely dropping a single letter, especially since *διελόντες* accords precisely with the idea of taking to pieces a bridge of boats, as was the one over the Tigris.

*ἐρύματα*. "As defenses."—*ἐνθεν μὲν . . . ἐνθεν δέ*. "On the one side . . . on the other." More literally, "from on this side

. . . . from on that."—*ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας*. "From the intermediate region," i. e., from the island itself.—*καὶ τῶν ἐργασουμένων ἐνόντων*. "And with those in it who would cultivate it," i. e., there would be no want of laborers to cultivate the soil, since the population, which was numerous, would be compelled to perform that service.—*ἀποστροφή*. "A place of retreat." The island would prove, in other words, a fit base of operations against the king, from which they could sally forth, and into which retreat, at pleasure. From all that had passed, it became evident enough that Tissaphernes was apprehensive lest the Greeks, attracted by the advantages which the island offered, should choose to remain and settle there, and had, therefore, endeavored to scare them away from it, by a stratagem similar to that by which Themistocles was said to have hurried Xerxes away from Greece. (*Thirlwall*, vol. iv., p. 319.)

## § 23.

*ἀνεπαύοντο*. "They went to rest."—*καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο, κ. τ. λ.* "And neither did any one attack them from any quarter."

## § 24.

*ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ*. "Connected by means of thirty-seven boats," i. e., formed of thirty-seven boats connected together. This would form a long bridge. Ainsworth, however, remarks, that in June, 1836, he found the bridge at Bagdad, lower down the river, to be two hundred and fifty-three paces in length, and supported by thirty-five boats acting as pontoons. (*Travels*, p. 114.)—*ὥς ὁλόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως*. "As cautiously as possible."—*τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων*. "Some of the Greeks with Tissaphernes." Attraction for *τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει Ἑλλήνων*, the local relation *where* being changed into that of *whence*. (Consult Buttmann, § 150, 1, 8.)—*ὥς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσασθαι*. "That the enemy intended to attack (them) as they were crossing." With *μέλλοιεν* supply *οἱ πολέμοι*, and *αὐτοῖς* with *ἐπιθήσασθαι*, and observe that *διαβαινόντων* is the genitive absolute.—*ψευδῆ*. An adjective, from the nominative *ψευδής*. Observe the accentuation: the noun would be *ψεύδη*.—*διαβαινόντων*. Genitive absolute again.—*ὁ Γλοῦς*. The article here deserves notice, as a case of renewed mention. Glus is now found on the Persian side. Consult note on i., 4, 16.—*σκοπῶν εἰ διαβαίνοιεν*. "Observing whether they crossed."—*ᾧχετο ἀπελαύνων*. "He rode off immediately." The verb *οἶχομαι*, when construed with a participle, carries with it the idea of something rapidly done. Literally, "riding away, he was gone." Compare note on *παρὼν ἐτύγγαν*, i., 1, 2.



## § 25.

Φύσκον. The Phycus is supposed to be the modern *A'dhem*. (Ainsworth, p. 115.) Mannert and Ritter, with whom Reichard agrees, mean the same river when they call it the *Odoan* or *Odorneh*. —ὤκειτο. Compare i., 4, 11.—Ὀπίς. The ruins of a city, situated upon the *A'dhem*, and identified with Opis, were first visited by Mr. Ross, and subsequently by Captain Lynch and his party. They are said to be extensive, but consist chiefly of mounds and fragments, without any thing architectural. Opis, says Dr. Vincent appears to have risen into eminence upon the decline of the Assyrian cities on the Tigris, several of which Xenophon found deserted, and it seems to have decayed in its turn, as Seleucia and Apamea became conspicuous. It was only a village in the time of Strabo. (Ainsworth, p. 115.)—πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε, κ. τ. λ. "Near which a natural brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes met the Greeks." Observe here the idea of nearness expressed by πρὸς with the accusative. In this construction, however, a motion toward is always supposed, and therefore πρὸς ἣν actually means "as they were drawing near unto which place." (Kühner, § 638, 1.)

Σούσων. Susa was a celebrated city of Susiana, in Persia, on the eastern side of the Eulæus or Choaspes. It was the residence of the Persian monarchs during the spring months. Compare note on παρῖναι, i., 1, 1.—Ἐκδατάνων. Ecbatana was the ancient capital of Media, and the residence of the Persian kings during the two hottest summer months. The modern *Hammedan* answers to the ancient site.—ὡς βοηθήσων. "To lend aid."—ἐθεώρει. "He surveyed."

## § 26.

εἰς δύο. "Two by two." Clearchus, in order to produce the greatest effect on the barbarian spectators, made the Greeks defile in a column, two abreast, and lengthened the time of their march by frequent stoppings.—ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος. "Halting from time to time."—ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον, κ. τ. λ. "And during as long a time as he halted the van of the army, during so long a time was it necessary for the halt to take place throughout the whole force." Observe that τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος means, literally, "the leading portion of the army," where we may supply μέρος.—τὸν Πέρσην. The natural brother of the king, already mentioned.

## § 27.

αἱ τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας. The villages were so called because

the revenue that accrued from them was given to the queen mother toward her support. Their situation, according to the distance stated in the text, would, both in Lynch's and in Rich's maps, fall pretty nearly at the position marked as *Tel Kunus* in the first, and *Tel Geloos* in the second.—Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν. "Insulting Cyrus," i. e., as an insult to the memory of Cyrus.—πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. "Excepting slaves." Among the booty to be obtained here, no slaves were to be included; but whether this means that none of the inhabitants were to be made slaves, or that no slaves belonging to the inhabitants were to be carried off, is quite uncertain. Krüger is in favor of the former opinion, which appears the more natural one. Had the latter meaning been intended, the article would probably have been added.—ἐνῇν δέ. "There were in them, however." Observe the force of δέ: though they were not allowed to make any slaves, the most valuable kind of plunder, yet they had, as some compensation for this, abundance of other booty.

## § 28.

ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ. "But at the first station," i. e., at the end of the first day's march.—Καταλ. A long march from *Tel Kunus* would have brought the Greeks to a point where *Cænæ* would have been opposite to them, supposing that place to be represented by the existing mounds and ruins called *Senn*, over against the junction of the Upper Zab with the Tigris. Ainsworth, Mannert, Haken, and Rennell all agree in favor of *Senn*. Kinneir, however, seeks to identify *Cænæ* with *Tekrit*, but this place is only between 50 and 60 miles above the *A'dhem*, instead of 120 at least, as indicated by Xenophon's account. *Tekrit* answers rather to the *Scenæ* of Strabo, the chief city of the Scenite Arabs, and situated in the southern and desert part of Mesopotamia. (Ainsworth, p. 118.)—σχεδιαὶ διφθερίναις. "Floats made of skins." Compare i., 5, 10. These appear to have been the same with what Arrian, in his *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea (p. 157, ed. Blancard), calls σχεδιαὶ δερματίνας ἐξ ἄσκων. The actual ferry over the river at the present day is about 30 miles from the junction of the Zab with the Tigris, at a place called *Kelek Izedi*, or the ferry of the *Izedis*, from the village opposite to it being occupied by that curious sect of Kurds. The crossing is performed by means of rafts supported on inflated skins, somewhat after the ancient manner probably, if not identical with it. (Ainsworth, p. 119.)

## CHAPTER V.

## § 1.

*Ζάπατον*. This form of the name is sanctioned by good MS. authority. Dindorf also adopts it, but with the accent on the penult. The common text has *Ζάβατον*. The river here mentioned appears to have been the same with the Upper or Greater *Zab*, called by Rich and others the *Zab A'la*. It was also termed *Lycus* (*Λύκος*), or "the Wolf," by some of the Greek geographers. It is surprising that Xenophon makes no mention of the Lower *Zab*, now the *Zab Asfal*, or *Altun-sou*, and which the Greeks must have crossed in their march before coming to the villages of *Parysatis*. (*Ainsworth*, p. 119.)—*φανερὰ δὲ οὐδεμία*, κ. τ. λ. "But no plot appeared evident," i. e., no signs of any treacherous intent were apparent on the part of the Persians.

## § 2.

*ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ*, κ. τ. λ. "It seemed good, therefore, unto Clearchus to have a conference with Tissaphernes."—*παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας*. "To cause the (existing) suspicions to cease." Observe the force of the active.—*καὶ ἐπεμψε*, κ. τ. λ. "And he sent (accordingly) a person to say."—*ὃ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἔχειν*. "He thereupon readily bade him come."

## § 3.

*οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὅρκους γεγενημένους*. "Know that there have been oaths between us."—*μὴ ἀδικήσῃν ἀλλήλους*. "That we will not injure one another."—*φυλαττόμενον δέ σε*, κ. τ. λ. "I both see you, however, on your guard against us as if we were enemies."—*ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα*. Supply *ὑμᾶς*.

## § 4.

*ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν*. "But since, upon careful observation." Literally, "observing."—*ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα*. "And (since) I clearly know." Supply *ἐπεὶ* from the previous clause.—*ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινοοῦμεν*. "That we, at least, do not intend."—*εἰς λόγους σοι*. "To a conference with you."—*ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστία*. "We might remove the distrust of one another," i. e., the distrust that appears to influence both parties.

## § 5.

*τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς*. "Some, in consequence of a charge actually

*preferred*," i. e., a direct accusation. Observe that *διαβολή* here answers not to the Latin "*calumnia*," as some explain it, but to "*criminatio*," and is directly opposed to *ὑποψία*, or mere suspicion.—*οἱ φοβηθέντες*. We would here naturally expect *φοβηθέντας* . . . *βουλομένους* . . . *ποιήσαντας*; but, as this accumulation of participles would have a harsh effect on the ear, the construction is changed, and a new one commences, instead of a continuation of the former (*Krüg.*, *ad loc.*—Compare *Matthiæ*, § 633.)—*φθάσαι βουλομένοι πρὶν παθεῖν*. "Wishing to anticipate (the opposite party) before suffering an injury (from them)," i. e., wishing to be beforehand in inflicting an injury.—*ἐποίησαν*. Observe the double accusative with this verb.—*ἀνήκεστα κακά*. "Irremediable evils."—*τοὺς οὐτε μέλλοντας*, κ. τ. λ. "Unto those who neither intended, nor, moreover, even wished any such thing." Observe here the force of *αὐ*, answering to the Latin *porro*.

## § 6.

*τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας*, κ. τ. λ. "Thinking, then, that such misunderstandings as these may be made to cease most of all by meetings (of the parties)." Observe that *παύεσθαι* is here in the passive voice.—*ὥς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς*. "That you distrust us without cause." Literally, "not rightfully."

## § 7.

*πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον*. "For, first and chiefly."—*οἱ θεῶν ὅρκοι*. "The oaths (taken by both parties) unto the gods," i. e., in the name of the gods. By *ὅρκοι θεῶν* are meant, in fact, oaths deriving all their binding influence from the gods, and hence the genitive is here used objectively, a relation which, in English, is expressed by a preposition. (*Matthiæ*, § 367.)—*ἡμᾶς*. Both Greeks and Persians are of course meant.—*ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύννοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς*, κ. τ. λ. "And whoever is conscious unto himself of having disregarded these, this one I, for my part, would never esteem happy." Verbs signifying to concern one's self about a thing, to disregard, to neglect, &c., are followed by a genitive, since they necessarily imply an antecedent notion of the cause (person or thing) whence the case arises. (*Kühner*, § 496.)—*τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον*. "The hostility of the gods." Literally, "the war of the gods," i. e., proceeding from them.

*ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους*, κ. τ. λ. "With what degree of speed, or whither fleeing." Observe throughout the whole sentence the frequent recurrence of the particle *ἂν*, and how strongly the idea of uncertainty or improbability is expressed by this in conjunction with the re-



spective optatives.—ἀποφύγοι. Consult, as regards the distinction between ἀποφεύγω and ἀποδιδράσκω, the note on i., 4, 8.—οὐθ' ὅπως ἐν εἰς ἐχυρόν, κ. τ. λ. "Nor how he might go into any strong-hold, and there keep aloof (from their power)." Observe here, as before, the preposition εἰς supplying the place of a verb of motion. Weiske makes ὅπως belong to ἐχυρόν, and the meaning to be *quomodo munitum*, an idea adopted also by Krüger. This, however, is both a harsh and unnecessary construction—ὑποχα. "Are subject." Supply ἔστι.—καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἴσων, κ. τ. λ. "And every where the gods are equally masters over all." The verb κρατέω, "to be superior to," or "to govern," has the genitive, from the relative notion, κράτος, "power." But when it means "to conquer," it has an accusative, from the positive notion, κράτος, "strength." It is sometimes, though rarely, construed with a local dative, as νεκύεσσιν, in *Od.*, xi., 485. (Kühner, § 518, *Obs.* 1.)

## § 8.

οὕτω γινώσκω. "Thus do I think," i. e., these are my sentiments.—παρ' οἷς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν, κ. τ. λ. "With whom we, having made a compact with one another, have deposited our friendship," i. e., in whose custody, by mutual agreement, we have deposited, &c. We have not hesitated to adopt παρ' οἷς, the conjectural emendation of Muretus, sanctioned, subsequently, by one of the best MSS. All the other MSS. have παρ' οὗς, which makes a very inferior reading. If, however, παρ' οὗς be preferred, the meaning will then be, "unto whom, by mutual agreement, we drew near, and with whom we deposited our friendship." In this case, παρά would supply the place of a verb of motion.—τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων, κ. τ. λ. "While, of human things, I consider you to be, at the present moment, our greatest good," i. e., to be our chief source of good among earthly things.

## § 9.

πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὐπορος. "Every road is easy to travel."—οὐκ ἀπορία. "There is no want."—πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκοτούς ἡ ὁδός. "The whole route (to our homes) is through darkness," i. e., is like so much groping in the dark.—πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερός, κ. τ. λ. "And every multitude a source of alarm; but solitude the most alarming (thing)." With φοβερώτατον supply χρῆμα. The general idea is this: while wandering about, as it were, in the dark, every body of men which they might chance to meet would be more or less a source of alarm; while, on the other hand, their being left entirely to themselves, and to their own resources, would be by far the most alarming thing of all, since want would then stare them in the face

## § 10.

εἰ δὲ δὴ, κ. τ. λ. "But if, then, having even become insane, we should kill you," i. e., if we should be even so mad as to kill you.—ἄλλο τι ἂν ᾦ, κ. τ. λ. "Would we not, after having slain our benefactor, be contending with a king the most powerful avenger?" The expression ἄλλο τι ᾦ is an elliptical compound question for ἄλλο τι γένοιτ' ἂν ᾦ, "would any thing else happen than," &c.; but, from its frequent use, it became a mere adverbial form, and equivalent, as in the present instance, to *nonne*. (Kühner, § 875, *c.*)—ἐφεδρον. This is the reading of the best editions, although MS. authority appears to be in favor of ἐφορον, the common lection. By ἐφεδρος is meant "a third combatant, who sits by (ἐπί and ἐδρα) while two are contending, in order to engage with the conqueror," and hence, in general, "one who waits to take another's place," i. e., "a successor," or, as here, "an avenger." (Wesseling, *ad Diod. Sic.*, iv., 50.—Lobeck, *ad Soph.*, *Aj.*, 610.—Blomf., *ad Æsch.*, *Choëph.*, 853, in *Gloss.*) If, however, we read ἐφορον, the meaning will be, "with a king the most powerful watcher (of his foes)."—εἰ σέ τι κακὸν, κ. τ. λ. Observe the double accusative with ποιεῖν.

## § 11.

ἐγὼ γὰρ Κῦρον, κ. τ. λ. Clearchus now goes on, in further explanation, to observe, that all his hopes of fortune depended on the favor of Tissaphernes, who was able to gratify all the desires by which he had been drawn into the service of Cyrus.—νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον, κ. τ. λ. "Thinking that, of the men of that time, he was most able to do good unto whomsoever he would." The full construction would be, εὖ ποιεῖν ἐκείνῳ ὃν βούλοιο εὖ ποιεῖν.—σὲ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ, κ. τ. λ. Consult note on ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν, ii., 4, 1. Tissaphernes had been invested by Artaxerxes with all the power (δύναμις) which Cyrus had formerly possessed, as well as with the territory (χώραν) over which that prince had been satrap. Some make δύναμιν refer here merely to the army of Ariæus, but this is altogether too limited a meaning; it answers rather to the Latin *opes*, or *potentiam*.—τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σώζοντα. "Retaining your own government," i. e., retaining your own satrapy in addition to that of Cyrus. Observe here the peculiar force of σώζοντα.—τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, κ. τ. λ. "And the army of the king, which Cyrus experienced as hostile, this being an ally unto you." We must not regard ταύτην here as at all pleonastic; on the contrary, it is brought in with great emphasis, and, as such, takes the place of δύναμιν, the regular accusative which precedes. Compare note on ἐγὼ μὲν ρένε βασιλέα, κ. τ. λ., ii., 4, 7.

## § 12.

οὕτων ἐξ τοιούτων ὄντων. "These things now being such," i. e., affairs being now in such a situation.—ὅστις οὐ βούλεται. Observe here the employment of the relative ὅστις with the finite verb, after οὕτω in the previous clause, instead of ὥστε with the infinitive. (Matthiae, § 479, Obs. 1.)—ἀλλὰ μὴν (ἐρῶ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ. "But in very truth, (for I will mention, also, those things from which I have hopes that you, likewise, will wish to be a friend to us): For I know, indeed, that the Mysians are troublesome to you," &c. Leunclavius conjectures ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γε. But if the text be correct, we have here an anacoluthon very similar to that in iii., 2, 11. Xenophon was going to say, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλὰ ὑμῶς ὠφελεῖν δυνησόμεθα, "But the truth is, we will even be able to aid you in many respects." This, however, was broken off by the parenthesis, at the close of which a new construction is brought in, and the particle γὰρ is employed as an index of what has been thus suppressed. (Krüg., ad loc.)

## § 13.

Μυσούς. Compare i., 6, 7.—σὺν τῇ παρουσίᾳ δυνάμει. "With my present force." Here δυνάμει refers to the Grecian army, since in this the whole power of Clearchus, such as it is, at present consists.—ταπεινούς. "Submissive."—Πισίδας. Compare i., 1, 11.—τοὶ αὐταί. "Such as they," i. e., resembling the Mysians and Pisidians in their want of submission to your authority.—ἀ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι, κ. τ. λ. "Which I think I could cause to cease from always disturbing your happiness," i. e., from disturbing more or less, by their continual turbulence and inroads, the prosperity and repose of the Persian Empire. Among the nations here referred to by Clearchus may be mentioned the Lycaones (iii., 2, 23) and the Carduchi (iii., 5, 16).—Αἰγυπτίους. Compare ii., 1, 14.—τεθυμωμένους. "Incensed."—οὐχ ὁρῶ ποῖα δυνάμει, κ. τ. λ. "I do not see, what auxiliary force having employed, you will be likely to chastise, rather than that which is now with me." The regular construction here, in place of τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὐσης, would be ἢ τῇ νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὐσῇ (χρησάμενοι), "rather than having employed that which," &c. But in Greek the genitive is even used after a comparative, when in the resolution with ἢ a different case would be employed. (Matthiae, § 454.)—ἂν κολάσσεσθε. Compare ii., 3, 18.

## § 14.

ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν γε, κ. τ. λ. "In very truth, moreover, among those, at least, that dwell around," &c., i. e., I do assure you, moreover, that

among the neighboring communities, at least.—τῷ. Attic for τινί.—ὥς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης. "You might become as great a one as possible," i. e., one of the most valuable of friends. He means, of course, with the aid of the Greeks, which is expressed immediately after, in the succeeding clause, by the words ἔχων ἡμῶς ὑπηρέτας.—ὥς δεσπότης ἀναστρέφοιο. "You might act, (in his case), as a master," i. e., you might treat him as a master would his slave. Observe that ἂν is to be supplied before ἀναστρέφοιο, from the previous clause. The verb ἀναστρέφω in the middle means, properly, "to turn one's self about in a place," and hence, in a more general sense, "to comport one's self," "to act."—ὑπηρέτας. "As assistants."—ἂν ὑπηρετοῖμεν. "Would serve."—ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος, κ. τ. λ. "But also on account of the gratitude which, having been saved by you, we should justly entertain toward you." Observe that ἦς is by attraction for ἦν, and that χάριν ἔχειν τινί τινος is "to feel gratitude toward one for a thing."

## § 15.

οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "Your distrusting us appears to be so wonderful." Observe that τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν is the subject of δοκεῖ.—ὥστε καὶ ἡδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι, κ. τ. λ. "That I would most gladly hear the name (of the individual) who is so clever at speaking," &c. We have here a blending of two constructions, namely, ἀκούειν τίς . . . , and ἀκούειν τὸ ὄνομα τούτου ὅστις.—λέγων. "By what he says."—ἀπημείβη. "Answered." The verb ἀπαμείβομαι is properly a poetical one, being employed by Homer. The Homeric usage, however, is always to add a second more definite verb. The aorist passive is here employed in a middle sense.

## § 16.

ἀλλ' ἡδομαί μὲν. "Well, I am, indeed, delighted."—ταῦτα γινώσκων. "Entertaining these sentiments."—εἰ βουλεύοις. "If you should design."—καὶ σταντῷ κακόνους εἶναι. "To be ill-intentioned toward yourself also."—ὥς δ' ἂν μάθης. "But, in order that you may earn."—ἀντάκουσον. "Listen in turn."

## § 17.

ἀπορεῖν. Observe that the infinitive is here employed without ἂν, because an actual fact is referred to (οὐκ ἀποροῦμεν), whereas, in the next section, we have ἀπορεῖν joined with ἂν, because there the reference is merely to a possible case (οὐκ ἂν ἀποροῖμεν).—ὁπλίσεως. "Of warlike equipments." Analogous to the Latin arma-



*ταρα*. Some take *ὀπλίσεως* here for *ὀπλιτῶν*, and *πεζῶν* for *ψιλῶν*, erroneously, however.—*ἐν ᾧ*. “By means of which.” (*Sturz, Lex. Xen., s. v. ἐν*, 2.) The preposition *ἐν* is sometimes employed in a causal sense, to denote the means and instrument, when an object may be considered as received into, contained, held, existing in the means. This mode of expression is frequently employed by the poets, since it brings the means more fairly before the eyes than the mere instrumental dative. (*Kühner, § 622.*)—*ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος*. “While there would be no danger of receiving any harm in turn.” After *κίνδυνος* supply *ἀν εἶη*.

## § 18.

*ἀλλὰ χωρίων, ἐπιτηδείων, κ. τ. λ.* “Well, then, do we seem to you likely to want places suitable for attacking you.” Observe the force of *ἀν*, and compare note on *ἀπορεῖν*, in the preceding paragraph.—*οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία, κ. τ. λ.* In the common text *ἂ ὑμεῖς* are wanting. We have inserted them, with Dindorf, on good MS. authority.—*ὑμῖν ὄντα πορευτέα*. “That are to be crossed by you.”—*ἂ ἡμῖν ἐξεστὶ προκαταλαβοῦσιν, κ. τ. λ.* “Which it is in our power, by having previously seized upon, to render impassable to you.”—*τοσούτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοί, κ. τ. λ.* “And are there not so many rivers, at which we have it in our power to determine with how many of you we may choose to engage.” The verb *ταμιεύω*, and, as a deponent middle, *ταμιεύομαι*, means, properly, “to be a *ταμίας*,” “to be a housekeeper or manager.” Hence, in a general sense, it signifies “to regulate,” “to manage;” and thus, “to control,” “to determine at one’s pleasure,” &c. Tissaphernes means, that they had the Greeks so completely in their power as to be able to choose just such a number to engage with, on crossing any river, as they might feel inclined to select. In other words, to carve out for themselves just as large a body of opponents as they pleased. Compare *Thucydides*, vi., 18, and *Poppo, ad loc.*—*εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἓν, κ. τ. λ.* “And are there not some of them which you could not even cross at all, if we did not help you over them?” Literally, “if we did not cause you to cross them.” With *εἰσὶ* supply *τινές*, and observe that the negative *οὐ*, in the earlier part of the paragraph, is to be repeated throughout.

## § 19.

*ἡττώμεθα*. We have given the optative here, with Dindorf and others, as far more correct than the indicative *ἡττώμεθα*, the common reading.—*ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι, κ. τ. λ.* “Yet at least, however, *fre* is more powerful than the produce of the earth,” i. e., enjoys the mas-

tery over it whenever the two come in contact. Observe here the force of *γέ τοι*, and compare the explanation of Hermann (*ad Vig.*, p. 297).—*λίμην ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι*. “To set famine in array against you.”

## § 20.

*τοσούτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν*. “So many means for waging war with you.”—*ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον*. “Attended with danger to us.”—*ἐπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων, κ. τ. λ.* “Should we thereupon choose out of all of these the very way,” &c. Observe here the repetition of *ἀν*. This, as already remarked, is usually done when the sentence is broken by other sentences, or when a good many words precede the verb to which *ἀν* belongs. (*Kühner, § 432.*)—*πρὸς θεῶν . . . πρὸς ἀνθρώπων*. “In the sight of gods . . . in the sight of men.”

## § 21.

*παντάσσι δὲ ἀπόρων, κ. τ. λ.* “Now it is altogether the part of men involved in utter perplexity, and destitute of means, and held down by necessity, and these wicked in their very natures.”—*οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι, κ. τ. λ.* The regular construction here would be *ἐθέλειν* alone; but *οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι* is employed in its place, just as if *ἄποροί εἰσι*, &c., preceded. A similar blending of constructions occurs in ii., 6, 6. Compare *Thucydides*, iv., 18: *σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν οἵτινες τάγαθὰ εἰς ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς ἐθεντο*.—*ἀλόγιστοι*. “Inconsiderate.”

## § 22.

*ἐξόν*. “It being in our power.” Supply *ἡμῖν*. Impersonal verbs when construed as participles, are not put in the genitive, but in the nominative absolute. (*Matthiæ, § 564.*—*Hermann, ad Vig.*, p. 769.)—*οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦλθομεν*. “Did we not come to this?” i. e., did we not attempt it?—*εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως, κ. τ. λ.* “Know well that the cause of this was my desire, as regarded my becoming a faithful (friend) unto the Greeks, and my going down strengthened on account of kindness (shown to them) by that foreign force, with which Cyrus went up by reason of the giving of pay.” Observe that *τούτου* is here equivalent to *τοῦ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν*. The common text has, in the succeeding clause, *τοῦ . . . γενέσθαι*, for which we have substituted the far more elegant reading *τὸ . . . γενέσθαι*, sanctioned by good MS. authority, and received by Dindorf and Bornemann. The infinitive is often put with the accusative of the article, where the genitive might have been expected. Compare *Plato*, *ἐγὼ αἰτίος τὸ σε ἀποκόλυσθαι* (*Lach.*, p. 190, E.), and the numerous

other examples cited by *Matthiae* (§ 543, *Obs.* 3) and *Kühner* (§ 670), the latter of whom cites also the present one from Xenophon, as an instance of the accusative even when *τούτου* has preceded.

§ 23.

ὅσα δέ μοι ὑμεῖς, κ. τ. λ. "As to how many things you are useful to me in," i. e., with regard to as many things as you are useful, &c.—τὸ δὲ μέγιστον. "But the principal one."—τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, κ. τ. λ. "For it is lawful for the king alone to wear his tiara upright on his head, but that upon the heart, perhaps, if you are present (to assist), even another may easily wear so." The meaning of Tissaphernes is simply this, that, with such a body of auxiliaries as the Greeks, any one might easily enjoy a spirit as erect as the king's tiara. The King of Persia wore an erect tiara, while those of his subjects were soft and flexible, falling on one side. The cap worn by the Persians is called by Greek authors *κυρβάσια* or *τιάρα*. According to *Mæris*, *κυρβάσια* was the Attic term, *τιάρα* meaning the same thing in common Greek. *Strabo* calls the Persian cap *πίλημα πυργωτόν*, "felt in the shape of a tower" (xv., p. 231). The king was also distinguished by the splendid colors of his tiara, and by a diadema which encircled it, and which was variegated by white spots upon a blue ground. The following wood-cut shows the tiara as worn by a sovereign of Armenia.



§ 24.

—αὐτὰ εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ, κ. τ. λ. These arguments convinced Clearchus; for they were not only extremely specious, but, as the wily Persian perhaps knew, they were his own.—ἐφη. A usual pleonasm, when *εἶπε* has neither *τάδε* nor *ὥδε* added to it. (*Krüg.*, *ad loc.*)—οἵτινες. "They, who."—τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων. "When such inducements to friendship exist for us," i. e., when such circumstances concur to make us friends.—διαβάλλοντες. "By bringing (secret) charges against."—τὰ ἔσχατα. "The extremity of punishment." Literally, "the uttermost," or "last things."

§ 25.

ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ. "In a public manner." *Krüger* suspects that *εἰς λόγους* has fallen from the text after *λοχαγοί*. Its presence would certainly improve the construction.—λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας. "I will mention those who tell me."—ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις, κ. τ. λ. The common text has *ἐπιβουλεύεις ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ*, κ. τ. λ.

§ 27.

ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων. "After these speeches." Observe the employment here of *ἐκ*, to denote an immediate succession in time. The particle *δὴ* is often connected with pronouns, to mark the person or thing more strongly.—φιλοφρονούμενος. "Displaying a friendly manner."—σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. "Made him his companion at table."—δηλὸς τ' ἦν πάνν φιλικῶς, κ. τ. λ. "Both evidently appeared to think that Tissaphernes was very kindly affected (toward him)," i. e., it was evident that he had the most agreeable impressions of the satrap's disposition toward him. Literally, "was both evident as thinking," &c. We have adopted here, without any hesitation, the conjecture of *Schneider*, namely, τὸν Τισσαφέρην, in place of the common reading, τῷ Τισσαφέρει. If we retain the latter, the meaning can only be, "that he was very kindly disposed toward Tissaphernes." Clearchus, however, was not thinking of his own feelings toward the Persian satrap, but of those which the latter appeared to entertain toward him. (Compare *Poppo*, *ad loc.*)—χρῆναι λέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρην, κ. τ. λ. "That those ought to go to Tissaphernes, whom the latter had bid come." These were the στρατηγοί and λοχαγοί spoken of in § 25.—οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων. "Whosoever of the Greeks shall have been convicted of uttering charges (against their countrymen)."



## § 28.

εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα. "That Menon was the one who uttered these charges." Clearchus had persuaded himself that Menon, whom he believed to be his enemy and his rival, was the person who had traduced him to Ariæus and Tissaphernes, for the purpose of supplanting him. He hoped to witness the shame and punishment of his adversary, and to establish himself in the undivided command of the army; and he therefore disregarded all the remonstrances of his disinterested counselors. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 322.)—αὐτὸν καὶ συγγενημένον, κ. τ. λ. "That he had both, along with Ariæus, had a conference with Tissaphernes, and was forming a party against him, and intriguing," &c. Observe that αὐτῷ refers to Clearchus.

## § 29.

ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα, κ. τ. λ. "That the whole army should have their thoughts directed toward himself," i. e., should think of him alone as their head.—τοὺς παραλυποῦντας. "Those who annoyed him."—ἀντέλεγον αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. "Spoke in opposition to him; that all the captains and generals should not go," &c. More literally, "for all the captains and generals not to go."

## § 30.

ισχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, κ. τ. λ. "Contended vehemently, until he brought it about that five generals should go."—ὡς εἰς ἀγοράν. "As to market," i. e., as if going to procure provisions, and, consequently, unarmed. Compare Diodorus Siculus (xiv., 26): καὶ στρατιωτῶν δὲ πρὸς ἀγορὰν ἐλθεῖν βουλομένων ἠκολούθησαν ὡς διακόσιοι. The soldiers who followed under color of going to market, would seem, of course, to have been partly induced by Clearchus himself to go, in order to render the visit of the generals a more public one, as Tissaphernes had requested (§ 25), and partly to have been attracted by curiosity.

## § 31.

ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις. Compare ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, i., 2, 11.—εἰσω. For this Diodorus has εἰς τὴν σκηνήν. (xiv., 26.)—Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, κ. τ. λ. The names of the five generals are now given. One of the five, it will be perceived, is Clearchus himself.—ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔμενον. Diodorus has πρὸς ταῖς θύραις διέτριβον. (xiv., 26.)

## § 32.

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου. "At the same signal." Literally, "from

(i. e., by reason of) the same signal." Observe that ἀπὸ is here causal. The signal referred to in the text was a crimson banner, raised on a sudden above the tent of Tissaphernes. Thus, Diodorus remarks, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκ τῆς Τισσαφέρνους σκηνῆς ἠρθείσης φοινικίδος, κ. τ. λ. (xiv., 26.)—οἱ ἔξω. Referring to both the λοχαγοὶ and the common soldiers without. Compare Diod. Sic., l. c.—ὅτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἕλλησι, κ. τ. λ. "With whatsoever Greek they chanced to meet, whether slave or freeman, slew all." As regards the plural πάντα, consult note on i., 1, 5.—ἐκτεινον. Observe the force of the imperfect, as denoting a succession of acts.

## § 33.

τὴν ἵππασίαν αὐτῶν. "Their riding up and down."—καὶ ὅ τι ἐποίουν ἠμφιγνόουν. "And were in doubt as to what they were doing."—πρίν. "Until." The particle πρίν is put with the indicative when referring to past facts. (Kühner, § 848.)

## § 34.

ἐκ τούτου δὴ. "Upon this, then." Compare note on ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων, § 27.—ἐκπεπληγμένοι. "Struck (with consternation)."—καὶ νομίζοντες, κ. τ. λ. "And thinking that they will straightway come against the camp." Observe that αὐτοὺς here refers to the Persians. Rennell correctly remarks, that the Persians did not take "such advantages as the occasion offered. Had they kept the main body of their cavalry ready to attack the Grecian camp at the instant of the massacre, instead of sending a detachment only, to scour the plain, and cut off stragglers, irreparable mischief might have been done." (Illustrations, &c., p. 135.)

## § 35.

Μιθραδάτης. We have given here the more correct form of this name, and the one that occurs on coins and in inscriptions. It appears to have been formed from *Mithra*, or *Mitra*, the Persian name for the sun, and the root *da*, signifying "to give," which occurs in most of the Indo-European languages. The common mode of writing the name is *Μιθριδάτης*.—οἱ ἦσαν. "Who used to be."—τεθωακισμένοι. "Armed with corselets."

## § 36.

προσελθεῖν. "To come unto them," i. e., to come forth.—εἰ τις εἴη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κ. τ. λ. "If there was either any general or captain of the Greeks," i. e., whatever general or captain of the Greeks might

be at the time in the camp.—*ἵνα ἀπαγγέλῃσι*. Observe the employment of the subjunctive here, where the optative might have been expected, and the air of animation and reality which this change produces in the sentence.

## § 37.

*ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι, κ. τ. λ.* "There went forth, with proper precautions, Cleanor an Orchomenian, and Sophanetus a Stymphalian, generals of the Greeks." Observe the force of the middle in *φυλαττόμενοι*, literally, "guarding themselves," or "being on their guard."—*Ὀρχομένιος*. The Orchomenus of which Cleanor was a native, was the Arcadian city of that name, situate some distance to the northwest of Mantinea. It must not be confounded with the Orchomenus of Boeotia, to the northwest of the Lake Copais.—*ἐτύχχανεν ἄπῳν*. "Happened to be away." Had he been present, he would, as a commander, have gone forth with the other officers. Compare i., 4, 3.

## § 38.

*ἐπεὶ δὲ ἴστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον*. "But when they stood within hearing." More literally, "within hearing distance," *τόπον* being understood.—*ἐπεὶ ἐπιorkῶν τε ἐφάνη, κ. τ. λ.* "Since he appeared both to be committing perjury," &c., i. e., since he was discovered to be guilty of perjury, &c.—*ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθνηκε*. "Has his punishment and is dead," i. e., has death as the punishment which he merited.—*ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν*. "Because they denounced his intrigue."—*ὁμᾶς τὰ ὄπλα ἀπαιτεῖ*. "Demands of you your arms."—*τοῦ ἰκείνου δούλου*. Compare note on *δούλου ὄντος*, i., 9, 29.

## § 39.

*Κλεάνωρ*. Cleanor, says Mitford, an honest old soldier, and no politician, without at all considering what the pressing interests of the moment required, uselessly vented his just indignation.—*καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι*. "And ye others." Supply *ὑμεῖς*.—*οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, κ. τ. λ.* Compare chapter iii., § 22.—*τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν*. "That you will regard the same persons as friends and enemies, (that we may)." Observe that *νομιεῖν* is the Attic future for *νομίσειν*.—*σὺν Τισσαφέρνῃ*. "In concert with Tissaphernes."—*ἀπολωλέκατε*. All the MSS. but one insert *ὡς* before *ἀπολωλέκατε*. Larcher, on the other hand, finding this particle omitted in one MS., removes it, accordingly, from the text, with the approbation of Porson and Schneider. We have followed the authority of these scholars. If *ὡς* be retained, we must either suppose, with Dindorf, that the

speaker, more intent on accumulating reproaches than on any elegance or clearness of arrangement, forgets the construction which had preceded, and in his excitement brings in a new one; or else we must adopt the ingenious conjecture of Jacobs, who explains *ὡς* here by *quam*, i. e., *quam turpiter! quam impie!*

## § 40.

*Κλέαρχος γάρ*. Observe here, what very often happens, that the sentence whereof *γάρ* gives the premise is suppressed, and must be supplied by the mind. (*Kühner*, § 786, *Obs.* 1) It is the same, therefore, as saying here, "(Yes! and rightly have we acted), for Clearchus," &c.—*πρόσθεν*. "First."—*τοῖς ξὺν τούτοις*. "That are with these."

## § 41.

*Ξενοφῶν τὰδε εἶπε*. Xenophon's speech is very cogent, and to the purpose. If Clearchus was guilty of the offenses imputed to him, he had no doubt suffered justly. But since Proxenus and Menon had conferred an obligation on the Persians, it was reasonable that they should be restored to their troops; for, as they had shown themselves the friends of both parties, both might expect benefit from their counsels. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 324.)

## CHAPTER VI.

## § 1.

*ἀνηχθῆσαν ὡς βασιλέα*. "Were carried up to the king." As regards *ὡς* with the accusative, compare note on i., 2, 4. The generals were carried up to Babylon in chains, according to Ctesias (c. 60) and Diodorus Siculus (xiv., 27). For some remarks on their treatment there previous to execution, consult the concluding note to this chapter.—*ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς*. "Having had their heads cut off." When the operation of the verb is more exactly defined by stating the very part or parts where it operated, this is put in the accusative, as being merely another way of expressing, by a sort of apposition, the operation of the verb. So *κεφαλὰς* is here in the accusative, as being the part really cut off. (*Kühner*, § 545, 5.)—*εἰς μὲν*. Observe that *μὲν* here stands opposed to *δέ*, in the expression *Πρόξενος δέ*, § 16.—*ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων, κ. τ. λ.* "As was confessed by all who had experience of his character." Literally, "confessedly by all who had (themselves in a state of experience



with regard to him."—δόξας γενέσθαι. "Having appeared to be," i. e., having shown himself to be. Equivalent, in reality, to *γενόμενος*, the Attics often adding some part of *δοκέω* even to clauses plainly indicative of certainty. This is said to be done "*per Atticam urbanitatem*." (Poppo, *Ind. Græc.*, s. v.)

## § 3.

καὶ γὰρ δὲ. "And (no wonder), for accordingly."—παρέμεινε. "He remained with them," i. e., he remained with his countrymen, the Lacedæmonians, fighting on their side. The period alluded to here was that of the Peloponnesian war, during which Clearchus played no unimportant part. In the congress which the Spartans held at Corinth, in B.C. 412, it was determined to employ him as commander in the Hellespont, after Chios and Lesbos should be gained from the Athenians; and in the same year, the eleven commissioners, who were sent out from Sparta to take cognizance of the conduct of Astyochus, were intrusted with the discretionary power of dispatching a force to the Hellespont under Clearchus. (*Thucyd.*, viii., 8, 39.) In B.C. 410, he was present at the battle of Cyzicus, under Mindarus, who appointed him to lead that part of the force which was specially opposed to Thrasybulus. (*Diod. Sic.*, xiii., 51.—*Xen.*, *Hist. Gr.*, i., 1, 16, &c.) In the same year, on the proposal of Agis, he was sent to Chalcedon and Byzantium, with the latter of which states he had a connection of hospitality, to endeavor to cut off the Athenian supplies of corn in that quarter, and he accordingly fixed his residence at Byzantium as harmost. When the town was besieged by the Athenians, B.C. 408, Clearchus reserved all the provisions, when they became scarce, for the Lacedæmonian soldiers; and the consequent sufferings of the inhabitants, as well as the general tyranny of his rule, led some parties within the place to surrender it to the enemy, and served afterward to justify them even in the eyes of Spartan judges, when they were brought to trial for the alleged treachery. At the time of the surrender, Clearchus had crossed over to Asia to obtain money from Pharnabazus, and to collect a force sufficient to raise the siege. He was afterward tried for the loss of the town, and fined. (*Xen.*, *Hist. Gr.*, i., 1, 35.—*Id. ib.*, 3, 15, &c.—*Diod. Sic.*, xiii., 67.—*Plut.*, *Vit. Alc.*, 31.) In B.C. 406, he was present at the battle of Arginusæ, and was named by Callicratidas as the man most fit to act as commander, should he himself be slain. (*Diod. Sic.*, xiii., 98.) This brings us to the end of the Peloponnesian war. Xenophon then proceeds to detail his subsequent movements, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη

ἐγένετο, κ. τ. λ. (*Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biography*, &c., s. v.) ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. The time referred to is the close of the Peloponnesian war.—τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν. Sparta.—καὶ διαπραξάμενος, κ. τ. λ. "And having obtained, as well as he was able, (the requisite means) from the Ephori." Weiske explains ὡς ἐδύνατο by "*maximâ deditâ operâ*," but the Greek for this would be ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. Xenophon appears to hint, by the phrase, that Clearchus had practiced some deception upon the Ephori.—Ἐφόρων. Magistrates, called Ἐφόροι, were common to many Dorian constitutions in times of remote antiquity. The Spartan Ephori were five in number, who, by gradual encroachments on the royal authority, made themselves virtually supreme in the state. They became, in fact, the executive of Sparta.—ὡς πολεμήσων. "In order to make war."—ὑπὲρ Χερρόνησου. Consult notes on i., 2, 9.—Περὶνθου. Perinthus was a city of Thrace, on the coast of the Propontis, to the west of Byzantium.

## § 3.

μεταγρόντες πως. "Having for some reason or other changed their minds."—ἔξω. "Abroad." Literally, "without," i. e., without their immediate jurisdiction.—ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρώντο, κ. τ. λ. "Endeavored to recall him from the Isthmus." Literally, "to turn him away (i. e., back) from." The Isthmus here meant is the Corinthian one. Some erroneously refer the term to the Thracian Chersonese, which the words ὤχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον show very plainly can not be meant.—ὤχετο πλέων. "Sailed quickly away." Compare note on ὤχετο ἀπελαύνων, ii., 4, 24.

## § 4.

καὶ ἐθανατώθη, κ. τ. λ. "He was even condemned to death by the magistrates in Sparta," i. e., by the Ephori, already mentioned.—τελών. Magistrates are called τέλη in Greek, because filling the highest or last station (τέλος) in civil life.—ἤδη δὲ φygὰς ὢν, κ. τ. λ. After reaching the Hellespont, on this occasion, he took up his residence at Byzantium. Here he behaved with great cruelty, and, having put to death many of the chief citizens and seized their property, he raised a body of mercenaries with the money, and made himself master of the place. The Spartans, according to Diodorus, having remonstrated with him to no purpose, sent a force against him under Panthoides, and Clearchus, thinking it no longer safe to remain in Byzantium, withdrew to Selymbria. Here he was defeat-

ed, and besieged, but effected his escape by night, and, passing over to Asia, proceeded to the court of Cyrus. (Smith, Dict., s. v.)

ἐπεισε Κύρον. Not to make war upon his brother, as Weiske thinks; on the contrary, ἐπεισε refers to what comes after, namely, δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ Κύρος, κ. τ. λ.—ἄλλη γέγραπται. "Has been written elsewhere." This can only refer to i., 1, 9, where it is merely said δ Κύρος ἡγάσθη τε αὐτόν, but no arguments on the part of Clearchus are at all stated. Krüger thinks that Xenophon here forgets what he had previously written in the early part of the work; a very clumsy explanation at best.—μυρίους δαρεικούς. Consult note on δαρεικούς τριγχιλίους, i., 8, 18.

## § 5.

οὐκ ἐπὶ βραθυμίαν ἐγράπετο. "Did not turn his thoughts to indolence." Observe the force of the middle.—ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξί. Compare i., 3, 4.—καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δῆ, κ. τ. λ. "And from this time now kept sweeping their country of all its plunder." In the phrase ἀγειν καὶ φέρειν, when thus employed, φέρειν strictly refers to things, and ἀγειν to men and cattle. Compare the Latin, "agere et ferre." (Liv. xxii., 3, &c.)—διεγένετο. "Continued."—μέχρι Κύρος ἐδεήθη, κ. τ. λ. "Until Cyrus wanted his army." We have given μέχρι here, with Dindorf, Poppo, and others, in place of the common reading μέχρις οὐ.

## § 6.

ἔργα. "The actions."—ἐξόν. Consult note on chap. v., § 22.—ἀπρεῖται πολεμεῖν. "Prefers to war." Literally, "chooses for himself," &c.—βραθυμεῖν. "To lead a life of indolence."—ὥστε πολεμεῖν. "So as to be engaged in war," i. e., so that it be for war.—χρήματα ἔχειν. "To possess riches."—πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. "To make these less by carrying on war," i. e., to diminish these by going to war.—ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικά. "Just as (he might have done) upon a favorite."—δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. "To spend (his resources) upon war."—οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. "So fond of war was he."

## § 7.

πολεμικός δὲ αὐ, κ. τ. λ. "And again he appeared in this way to be a man fitted for war, in that he was," &c., i. e., he showed himself, moreover, to be not only fond of war, but actually well fitted for it, by this, namely, in that he was, &c. With ταύτη supply δόξω.—καὶ ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. "And (was) leading against the enemy." Supply τὸ στράτευμα, for a fuller translation. Observe here the employment of ἦν ἄγων for ἦγε. The verbal form is resolved into the participle with εἶναι, when emphasis is sought to be given to the

predicate. (Kühner, § 375, 4.) This, however, is rather a poetic than a prose construction.—καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρίνιμος. "And (was) prudent in dangers."—ὥς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "As they who were present with him every where, all confessed."

## § 8.

ἀρχικός. "Fitted for command."—ὥς δυνατόν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου προ-  
που, κ. τ. λ. "As far as was possible from such a disposition as he even possessed." Observe here the causal force of ἐκ, as denoting origin, and compare the language of Buttmann (ad Philoct., 91): "In omnibus his dictionibus ἐκ (ἐξ) designat id unde vim agendi sumas," &c.—ικανός. "As capable."—φροντίζειν. "Of devising."—ἐξεῖ. We have given the future here as the more regular construction after ὅπως. (Matthiae, § 519, 7.—Buttmann, § 139, 4.) Poppo reads ἔχοι, with Dindorf and others; but this, though found in many good MSS., is a much less usual construction. Compare i., 8, 13.—ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, κ. τ. λ. "Of producing in those who were present the conviction that Clearchus must be obeyed," i. e., those who were present with him and under his command.—ὥς πειστέον εἶη Κλεάρχῳ. Supply αὐτοῖς with πειστέον. Literally, "that they must obey Clearchus." These verbals in τέον, it will be remembered, govern the dative of the pronoun, together with the case of their own verb.

## § 9.

ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι. "From his being severe of manner." Observe here the nominative with the infinitive, the reference being to the same person that is indicated by the subject of the verb.—ὀρᾶν στυγνός, κ. τ. λ. "Gloomy of look, and harsh in his tone of voice." Literally, "gloomy to behold." The term στυγνός here denotes what is gloomy and repulsive, and stands opposed to φαιδρός, in § 11.—ἰσχυρῶς. "Severely."—ὥς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν, κ. τ. λ. "So that he even sometimes repented (of what he had thus done)." With ἐσθ' ὅτε compare the analogous Latin expression, est ubi.—γνώμη. "From principle," i. e., in accordance with regular system. Compare the explanation of Weiske, "cum ratione:" "nach Grundsätzen."

## § 10.

ἄλλα καὶ λέγειν, κ. τ. λ. "Nay, they even reported that he said, that the soldier ought, in his opinion," &c. Observe the employment of the optative in δέοι, to denote the opinion of the individual himself.—εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακῆς φυλάξειν, κ. τ. λ. "If he would either keep guard well, or refrain from friends, or advance without hesitation



against the enemy." The expression φυλακὺς φυλάττειν (literally "to watch watches") is much stronger than φυλακὺς ἔχειν, and implies the discharging of this duty in a proper and soldier-like manner. This idea we have expressed here by the adverb "well."—ἀπροφασίστως. Literally, "without pretext" or "excuse."

## § 11.

ἐν μὲν τοῖς δεινοῖς. Compare § 7.—ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα "Were exceedingly willing to obey him." More literally, "to give ear unto him," "to hearken unto him." The verb ἀκούω in this sense takes the genitive, the person who is hearkened unto being considered as the source whence the obligation is derived. (Kühner, § 487, 4.)—τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν, κ. τ. λ. "That what was gloomy in his looks then appeared beaming with animation." Literally, "then appeared bright," or "beaming." Observe here the opposition between στυγνὸν and φαιδρὸν, and compare note on ὁρᾶν στυγνός, § 9.—καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν, κ. τ. λ. "And his severity of manner seemed to be strength of courage against the foe." Literally, "seemed to be what was strong," &c.—ὥστε σωτήριον, καὶ οὐκέτι, κ. τ. λ. "So that it appeared something calculated to save, and no longer what was severe."

## § 12.

ὅτε δ' ἐξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο, κ. τ. λ. "But whenever they were out of their danger, and it was allowed them to go as soldiers unto others." Observe that ἀρχομένους is here the passive participle, and means literally, "as persons commanded," i. e., accustomed to the orders of others. Dunbar renders ἀρχομένους, "to be commanded;" but this suits rather ἀρξομένους, the conjecture of Schaefer. Some, again, translate the word in question by "the soldiers;" this, however, would be τοὺς ἀρχομένους. All the MSS. give ἀρχομένους. The dative ἀρχομένοις is a bad conjecture of Stephens', though adopted by Hutchinson and Poppo. Dindorf suggests ἀρχοντας.—τὸ γὰρ ἐπιχαρὶ οὐκ εἶχεν. "For he had no pleasantness of manner." Literally, "he had not that which was pleasing" or "agreeable."—ὁμός. "Unfeeling."—διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτόν. "Were affected toward him."

## § 13.

καὶ γὰρ οὖν. Compare i., 9, 8.—ἐπομένους. "Any persons following him."—ἢ τεταγμένοι. "Either having been ordered (so to do)," i. e., to follow him, or be present with him.—ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, κ. τ. λ. "Or being compelled by want, or any other necessity"—σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἐχρήτο. "He rendered implicitly obedient." Literally, "he made use of as extremely obedient."

## § 14.

ἤδη μεγάλα ἦν, κ. τ. λ. "Now were the inducements great, that made the soldiers with him to be good ones." Literally, "useful." Schneider objects to this whole section as not being at all connected with what precedes. But, as Dindorf correctly remarks, no connection of the kind is intended; on the contrary, the narrative now returns to where it was interrupted, at the end of § 8, by an account of the manners and habits of Clearchus.—τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, κ. τ. λ. "For both the feeling confident against the enemy was present (unto them)," i. e., they both had a feeling of confidence against the enemy. Literally, "the having themselves confidently (i. e., in a confident state) against the enemy."—καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου, κ. τ. λ. "And their fearing punishment from him made them well observant of order," i. e., well disciplined and orderly. Observe that φοβεῖσθαι belongs to that class of middle verbs which have assumed a new transitive notion, deduced from or implied in the reflexive notion; and, moreover, that verbs expressing fear, hope, confidence, &c., take an accusative of the feeling, or that wherein it consists. (Kühner, § 362, 8; § 550.)

## § 15.

οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν. "Not to like much."—ἀμφὶ τα πεντήκοντα ἔτη. The article stands with cardinal numerals when the number is to be decidedly marked. For some remarks on the death of Clearchus, consult note on § 29.

## § 16.

εὐθὺς μὲν, μειράκιον ὢν. "From his very boyhood." More literally, "straightway, being (as yet) a mere boy." Compare note on εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες, i., 9, 4.—ἔδωκε Γοργίᾳ ἀργύριον, κ. τ. λ. "He gave a sum of money to Gorgias the Leontinian," i. e., the native of Leontini, a town of Sicily to the south of Catana. Gorgias was celebrated among his contemporaries as a statesman, sophist, and orator, as well as a teacher of rhetoric. At an advanced age, in B.C. 427, he was sent by his fellow-citizens as ambassador to Athens, for the purpose of soliciting aid against the threatening power of Syracuse. His showy eloquence so captivated the Athenians as to procure for him a successful termination of his mission. He seems to have returned to Leontini only for a short time, and to have spent the remaining years of his vigorous old age in the towns of Greece proper, especially at Athens and the Thessalian Larissa. His professional labors as a teacher of rhetoric appear to have been attended with great profit, and his charges to have been by no means

moderate. According to Cicero (*de Orat.*, i., 22; iii., 32), he was the first who engaged to deliver impromptu a public address upon any given subject. These oratorical displays were characterized by the poetical ornament and elegance of the language, and the antithetical structure of the sentence, rather than by the depth and vigor of the thought; and the coldness of his eloquence soon passed into a proverb among the ancients. (*Penny Cyclop.*, vol. xi., p. 312.)

## § 17.

συνεγένετο. "He had been with."—ικανὸς ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι. "Having thought that he was now able," i. e., having considered himself now well qualified. Observe the nominative with the infinitive, the reference being to the same person to whom νομίσας refers.—φίλος ὢν τοῖς πρώτοις. "If he were on a friendly footing with the great." Literally, "being a friend unto the first (men.)" His friendly relations with these would supply him with means and opportunities.—μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν. "Not to be outdone in conferring favors." Literally, "not to be overcome," "not to be inferior."—ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις. "He engaged in this enterprise with Cyrus." Literally, "these doings with Cyrus."

## § 18.

σφόδρα ἐνδελον αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. "He, on the other hand, had this, also, very manifest (in his conduct)."—τούτων. We ought, probably, to read τοιούτων, as conjectured by Krüger.—μετὰ ἀδικίας. "With injustice," i. e., by unjust means.—σὺν τῷ δίκαιῳ καὶ καλῷ. "In close connection with what was just and honorable," i. e., by just and honorable means. Observe here how much stronger σὺν τῷ δίκαιῳ is than μετὰ ἀδικίας.—ἀνευ δὲ τούτων μὴ. "But without these not at all," i. e., in no supposable case; and hence the employment here of αὐτῷ, not οὐ.

## § 19.

ἄρχειν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν. "To command honorable and good men." In the expression καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, the term ἀγαθός properly refers to internal qualities, and καλός to external movements; and hence the two combined are employed to express a perfect man, or a man as he should be, ὁ τελειῶς σπουδαῖος, or, in other words, the perfection of moral rectitude. Compare the explanation of Sturz (*Lex. Xen.*, s. v. καλός, 20): καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός proprie dicitur sic, ut ἀγαθὸς ad animi virtutem et probitatem, pertineat, καλὸς autem ad actiones externas.—οὐτ' αἰδῶ ταυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον. "Either respect for him

self or fear."—ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον, κ. τ. λ. "But he even stood more in awe of his soldiers, than those under his command of him." Compare, as regards the meaning of ἀρχόμενοι here, the note on ὅτε δ' ἐξῶ τοῦ δεινοῦ, κ. τ. λ., § 12.—τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. "The being hated by his soldiers."—τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. "The disobeying him."

## § 20.

ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν, κ. τ. λ. "He thought it, moreover, to be sufficient for the being and seeming (to be) fitted for command, to praise him that acted well," &c.—τῶν συνόντων. "Of those who were with him," i. e., of his followers.—ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. "As being (a man) easily managed," i. e., easy to be imposed upon. Xenophon draws the character of Proxenus with all the frankness of a true friend. As regards the intimacy between them, compare iii., 1, 7, seqq.

## § 21.

Μένων ὁ Θεσσαλός. Menon was a Thessalian adventurer, and a favorite of Aristippus of Larissa (§ 28), who, it will be remembered, placed him in command of the forces which he sent to Cyrus. Xenophon's account of the man is supposed by some to owe much of its high coloring to private animosity, as Diogenes Laertius expressly asserts (2, 50). But that Menon was a most worthless man, there can be no doubt; and Xenophon's statement, from the numerous opportunities which he had of observing his movements, must have had a good foundation on which to rest. (Compare Becker's German version, p. 107, note.) Menon's name, in fact, passed subsequently into a proverb, and became indicative of every thing base and treacherous. (*Larcher, ad loc.*—*D'Orville, ad Charit.*, p. 90.) Plato's dialogue, entitled "Menon," relates to this same individual; and some have thought, that the manner in which that writer speaks of him is another proof that Xenophon's portrait is overcharged, or else that he seeks to vilify him through private pique toward Plato (*Aul. Gell.*, xiv., 3.—*Marcellin., Vit. Thucyd.*—*Ξενοφῶν δὲ Μένωνι λοιδορεῖται, τῷ Πλάτωνος ἐταίρῳ, διὰ τὸν πρὸς Πλάτωνα ζῆλον.*) This charge, however, is a very unjust one, since Plato represents Menon as still a young man, whereas Xenophon depicts his character in more advanced life. (Compare *Cousin, ad Plat., Men.*—*Œuvres de Platon*, tom. vi., p. 137, note.)

δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν, κ. τ. λ. "Was evidently very desirous of being rich." Literally, "was evident desiring strongly," &c.—ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι. "That he might take more." Observe that λαμβάνοι here refers to the taking forcibly what belongs to another, and



which his station as commander would the more easily enable him to do. Compare *Sturz, Lex. Xen. s. v. λαμβάνειν*, 4.—*ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι*. "That he might gain more," i. e., in the shape of gifts from those by whom he might be honored. The common text has *κερδάνοι*, which Porson very correctly changed into *κερδαίνοι*.—*ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ δίδωται δίκην*. "In order that, when guilty of injustice, he might not suffer punishment."

## § 22.

*ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι*, κ. τ. λ. "Toward the accomplishing, moreover, of (the things) which he might desire, he thought that the shortest way was through perjury, and falsehood, and deceit." Literally, "through swearing falsely, and lying and deceiving." Observe that *ὧν ἐπιθυμοῖη* is for *ταῦτα ὧν ἐπιθυμοῖη*, and that *ὧν* is not an instance of attraction, but the regular government of the verb.—*τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀληθές*, κ. τ. λ. "But sincerity and truth he considered to be the same thing with folly." Literally, "but what was simple and true he considered," &c. The early editions and several of the MSS. have *ἐνομίζετο αὐτῷ*. The reading which we have given, however, is far preferable, and is adopted by the best editors.

## § 23.

*τούτῳ ἐνδηλος ἐγένετο ἐπιβουλεύων*. "Against this one he was manifestly designing mischief."—*τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων*, κ. τ. λ. "But he always conversed (about them in such a way) as if ridiculing all those who associated with him." Most commentators render this as follows: "But he always conversed with those who associated with him (in such a way) as if he were ridiculing them." This, however, would require the Greek to be *διελέγετο σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς συνοῦσιν ὡς καταγελάων*. We have followed, therefore, the explanation of Wyttenbach: "*ita de familiaribus ipse suis loqui solebat, ut qui eos contemneret.*"

## § 24.

*οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε*. "He formed no designs against."—*τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων*. "The property of those who were on their guard." Observe the force of the middle in *φυλαττομένων*.—*τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾔετο*, κ. τ. λ. "But he imagined that he alone knew that it was very easy to seize the unguarded possessions of friends." The common text has *ὅτι ῥᾶστον*, and omits *ὅν*. It has already been remarked that verbs of sensual or mental perception take the participle, instead of the infinitive, when the action or state referred

to is either antecedent to, or coincident with the perception. *Kühner*, § 683, 1).

## § 25.

*δσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο*. The common text has *ἀν* before *αἰσθάνοιτο*. But the omission of the particle is more correct here. (*Matthiæ*, § 527, *Obs.* 2).—*ὡς εὖ ὠπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο*. "He feared as well armed."—*τοῖς ὀσίοις*. "The pious."—*χρηθαι*. "To make use of," i. e., to work upon for his own purposes.

## § 26.

*ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ*. "Prides himself upon piety."—*δικαιοσύνη*. "Just dealing." The word *δικαιοσύνης* is found only in Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, viii., 8, 13; *Cyneg.*, i., 1; and the present passage. It is suspected by Fischer. Other writers, as well as Xenophon himself elsewhere, use *δικαιοσύνη*. (*Hickie, ad loc.*—Compare *Poppo, ad Cyrop.*, l. c.)—*τῷ πλίσσασθαι ψευδῇ*. "On fabricating falsehoods." Porson prefers *πλάσαι* here, from Suidas, and compares *Soph.*, *Aj.*, 148, and *Demosth.*, *Phil.*, i., 16. But Demosthenes also employs the middle elsewhere, and this voice seems to be required in the present passage, for greater emphasis' sake, since the reference is to falsehoods coined expressly for one's own advantage.—*τῷ φίλους διαγελάων*. "On sneering at friends." Observe that *διαγελάω* has a more diminished meaning than *καταγελάω*, and conveys here the idea of smiling contemptuously or sneering at one. On the general force of the verb, consult *Stephens, Thes. G. L.*, p. 1123, *ed. Hase*.—*τὸν δὲ μὴ πανούργον*, κ. τ. λ. "And him, who was not master of every act of villainy, he always considered to be of the number of the untaught," i. e., to be an ignorant and untaught man. The term *πανούργος* means, strictly, "ready to do any thing," and hence is almost always taken in a bad sense. Observe that *ἀπαιδεύτων* is the partitive genitive, and that there is no need of supplying any ellipsis here. (Compare *Hermann, de Ellipsi*, &c., vii., and the note on *τῶν στρατευομένων*, i., 2, 3.)—*καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει*, κ. τ. λ. "And with whomsoever he strove to occupy the first place in friendship, these he thought he ought to gain over by bringing charges against those who already were foremost there," i. e., already foremost, or occupying the first place in their esteem. Observe that *διαβάλλον* here refers, of course, to calumnies and false charges, as is plainly to be inferred from the nature of the one who makes them.

## § 27.

*τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς οὐ πατιώτας*, κ. τ. λ. "He contrived, more

over, to make his soldiers obedient by co-operating with them in the commission of wrong," i. e., by being an associate with them in wrongdoing, and, therefore, keeping them obedient, as well by the prospect of future plunder as by the dread of exposure for past misdeeds. Literally, "he contrived the rendering of his soldiers obedient from the being a wrong-doer along with them."—ἡξίου. "He claimed." More freely, "he expected."—ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλεῖστα, κ. τ. λ. "By showing that he could and would injure most extensively," i. e., that he had both the power and the will to be a wrong-doer on the most extensive scale.—ἐπεργασίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν. "He used, moreover, to call it an act of kindness (on his own part)."—ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ. "That while using his services."

## § 28.

καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄφανῃ, κ. τ. λ. "And as regards his private character, one, it is true, may speak falsely concerning him." Literally, "as regards the things (relating to him) that were not open to observation." Xenophon passes now to his more public character, where his actions would speak for themselves; observing that while, in depicting his private character, there might be room for misrepresentation, and some parts of the portrait might be overcharged, there could be no such mistake made with regard to those parts of his conduct which were notorious to all, and which he forthwith proceeds to state. The inference, therefore, which he wishes the reader to draw is this, not that he himself is conscious of any intentional misrepresentation, but that, making all due allowance for exaggeration in the accounts which he has received from others respecting Menon's private character, he must still be pronounced a bad man, because his public conduct was bad.

ἔτι ὥραιος ὢν. "While still in the bloom of youth."—στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων. "He managed to obtain the command of the foreign troops," i. e., the mercenaries, or hired troops. Literally, "he worked it out to command," &c.—βαρβάρῳ ὄντι. "Although a barbarian."—οἰκειότατος. "Very intimate."—ἀγένειος ὢν γενειῶντα. "Though beardless, (having) one that had already a beard," i. e., though quite young himself, having nevertheless for a favorite a much older person.

## § 29.

ταῦτὰ πεποιηκώς. "Although he had done the same things."—ἠωρηθείς. "Having been punished."—ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτόν, κ. τ. λ. "But having been tortured alive a whole year, as a malefactor,

as is said (at length) to have met with his end." The following remarks from Bishop Thirlwall may not be inappropriate here: "Xenophon adds but very few particulars as to the fate of Clearchus and his fellow-prisoners. The anecdotes related by Plutarch, from Ctesias and other writers, are of doubtful credit. But it seems certain that neither Clearchus nor any of his companions were immediately put to death, but were carried to court, and that they were kept for some time in custody. During this interval Parysatis, who regarded them with good-will as friends of her best beloved son, is said to have exerted all her influence to save their lives. But her efforts were counteracted by her rival Statira, the favorite queen of Artaxerxes, whose suit, as it happened to be more in accordance with his own inclination, was on this occasion preferred; and all the generals, except Menon, lost their heads. Xenophon, who describes Menon's character in a strain of satirical invective, mentions the exception made in his favor, apparently to confirm a suspicion, which he elsewhere insinuates, that Menon was privy to the treachery of Tissaphernes. Ctesias distinctly charged him with this baseness; and we may easily believe, if he was such a man as Xenophon represents, that he was quite capable of it. It is not so clear in what way he could have promoted the success of the stratagem; and there is no reason for supposing that he suggested it; the credit of the invention is unquestionably due to Tissaphernes alone. Menon, however, was spared—whatever may have been the motive—only to be reserved for a death of lingering torture, such as we scarcely hear of any where but in the court chronicles of ancient Persia; for it lasted a whole year. This refinement of cruelty seems to indicate the intervention of Parysatis; and it is not improbable that she obtained permission to wreak her vengeance upon him, as a compensation for the disappointment she had suffered in her contest with Statira." (Thirlwall's Greece, vol. iv., p. 324.)

## § 30.

Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκάς, κ. τ. λ. Observe that Ἀγίας and Σωκράτης are here nominatives absolute, since τοῦτω, the nominative dual, intervenes between them and the verb.—καὶ τοῦτω ἀπεθανέτην. "These two, also, lost their lives." Literally, "died."—εἰς φίλων. "In regard to friendship," i. e., in matters where their friends were concerned; since they treated them as friends ought to be treated, and not after the manner of Menon.



## BOOK III

### CHAPTER I

#### § 1.

ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου. "In the march upward that (had been made) along with Cyrus." With the second τῇ supply γενομένη—ἐγένετο, ἀπionτων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κ. τ. λ. "Took place during the truce, when the Greeks were departing with Tissaphernes." Morus places a comma after Τισσαφέρνηι, as we have done since ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς is to be construed with ἐγένετο. (Weiske, ad loc.)

#### § 2.

συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν. "Had been seized."—ἀπολώλεσαν. They had been cut to pieces, it will be remembered, while without the tent of Tissaphernes, or while scattered over the plain. (ii., 5, 31.)—ἐν πολλῇ δὲ ἀπορίᾳ. "In great perplexity, indeed." Observe the strengthening power which δὲ imparts to the adjective.—ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλείω θύραις. Compare ii., 4, 4.—κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντῃ. "And every where round about for them." The Eton MS. omits πάντῃ, but we find it supplied in Arrian also. (i., 28).—παρέξειν ἐμελλεν. "Was going to furnish."—ὃ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια. We have followed here the reading of some of the best MSS., as adopted by Dindorf, Poppo, Bornemann, Lion, &c. The common text has πλέον, which Schneider and Krüger (ed. 1826) both give; but the latter, in his edition of 1845, restores ὃ μείον. The distance in a direct line from Ephesus (for by Greece in the text Ionia is meant) would agree very nearly with the number of stadia given. The Greeks, it is true, had traversed 16,000 stadia, but in doing this they had not only made a wide circuit, but had frequently deviated from the direct route. (Compare Rennell, p. 137, note, and Haken, i., p. 315.) Ten thousand stadia would make, in round numbers, about 1150 English miles.

ποταμοὶ δὲ διεῖργον ἀδιάβατοι, κ. τ. λ. "And unfordable rivers, intervening in their route homeward, shut them out (from a return)," i. e., cut them off from returning. Sturz well explains ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ by "interjacentes inter viam."—προεδέωκεσαν αὐτούς. "Had abandoned them."—μόνοι δὲ καταλελειμένοι ἦσαν. "And they were left completely alone."—ἰππία οὐδένα. "A single horseman."—οὐδένα ἐν κατακάνοιεν. Owing to the want of cavalry to pursue.—οὐδεὶς "No one (of their own number)."

#### § 3.

ἀθύμως ἔχοντες. "Being disheartened."—εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν. "For that evening."—ἐπὶ τὰ δπλα. "To the quarter where the arms were deposited," i. e., to the ordinary resting-place near their arms. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 327.) Compare note on πρὸ τῶν δπλων, ii., 4, 15.—ὅπου ἐτύχχανεν ἕκαστος. "Where each happened to be." Observe here the absence of the participle ὄν. The verb τυγχάνω is not unfrequently thus employed without the participle of the verb εἶμι. Compare v 4, 34.—διακειμενοί. "Disposed," i. e., affected in mind.

#### § 4.

τις Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος. "A certain Xenophon, an Athenian." Observe the modest air with which the writer introduces the mention of himself.—συνηκολούθει. Xenophon had accompanied the expedition as a private adventurer, without any military rank.—μετεπέμψατο οἰκοθεν. Xenophon had spent a great part of his youth at Athens, in familiar and habitual intercourse with Socrates, who, struck, it is said, by his promising physiognomy, had drawn him, by a gentle constraint, into his society. It was probably at Athens, also, that he had formed his intimacy with Proxenus. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 327.)—ξένος ὃν ἀρχαῖος. "Being an old friend of his." More literally, "being connected with him by the ties of hospitality from of old." Compare the explanation of Sturz (Lex. Xen., s. v. ἀρχαῖος): "inde ab antiquo, inde a multo tempore."—ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω, κ. τ. λ. "Whom he himself said he esteemed of greater value to himself than his own country," i. e., whose favor he said he himself valued above any thing that his country had to offer.

#### § 5.

ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει, κ. τ. λ. "Communicates with Socrates, the Athenian, concerning the journey." Such an invitation as was that of Proxenus would have had powerful attractions for a man of adventurous spirit, even if he was strongly attached to his native city. To Xenophon, however, the most tempting part, perhaps, of the prospect was a long absence from Athens, or a permanent settlement in a foreign land. He seems, though it may be unconsciously, to have determined on accepting the proposal of Proxenus, when he communicated it to Socrates, as if for his advice. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 327.)—ὑποπτεύσας μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως, κ. τ. λ. "Having feared lest it might in any way be a ground of blame against him, from his government, to have become a friend unto Cyrus." Literally, "having suspected," &c. As ὑποπτεύω, however, involves the idea of fear

ing, it may often be rendered freely by "timere." Compare Stura (*Lex. Xen.*, s. v.). Socrates was immediately struck with the effect which such a step was likely to produce on the minds of the Athenians, who could not, without some feelings of jealousy, see one of their citizens seeking his fortune in the patronage of the man who had shown himself their implacable enemy, and had been the chief author of their late calamities and degradation. (*Thirlwall*, l. c.)—συμπολεμήσαι. This alludes to the pecuniary aid which Cyrus afforded to the Lacedæmonians in the course of the Peloponnesian war, through the agency and address of Lysander.—Δελφοῦς. Delphi was in Phocis, on the southern side of Mount Parnassus, and was celebrated as the seat of the oracle of Apollo.—τῷ θεῷ. Apollo is meant. The authority of the oracle might either put an end to the project, or give a better color to the proceedings.

## § 6.

ἐπῆρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω. Observe here the abbreviated form of the accusative Ἀπόλλω. It is only used in Attic prose, and generally with the article prefixed. (*Kühner*, § 95, Obs. 13.)—τίμι δὲ θεῶν θύων, κ. τ. λ. "On sacrificing and praying to what one of the gods, he should most honorably and successfully perform the journey which he intends, and, having come off well, return in safety." Literally, "should be saved." Observe the force of καλῶς πράττειν, "to accomplish one's object," "to succeed in an undertaking," &c. Xenophon, it will be perceived, does not, as directed by Socrates, submit his plan to the decision of the oracle, but only inquires about the religious ceremonies by which the adventure which he meditates may be brought to a happy issue.—ἀνείλεν αὐτῷ θεοῖς οἷς. "Told him, in reply, (the gods) unto whom." Observe that θεοῖς οἷς is, by attraction, for θεοὺς οἷς.

## § 7.

ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε. "And when he came back," i. e., to Athens from Delphi.—τὴν μαντείαν. "The oracle," i. e., the response of Apollo.—ἠτιᾶτο αὐτόν. Socrates blamed his disciple for having shown more concern about the success of the enterprise than about its expediency or fitness.—ἀλλ', αὐτὸς κρίνας, κ. τ. λ. "But (because) having himself decided that it was requisite to go."—ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἦρον. "Since, however, you put the question in this way." Socrates now opposed no further hinderance, and Xenophon, having observed the rites which the oracle had prescribed, embarked for Asia.

## § 8.

θυοάμενος οἷς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεός. "Having sacrificed to whom the god told (him) in his reply (to sacrifice)." With ἀνείλεν supply θύεσθαι. Observe that in θυοάμενος here the idea of consulting the entrails is also implied, in accordance with the peculiar meaning of the middle voice.—καταλαμβάνει. "Finds."—μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν, κ. τ. λ. "On the point, now, of starting on their way upward," i. e., of commencing the expedition into Upper Asia. Observe the accusative after a verb indicating motion along. The notion of going implies, as coincident with it, the notion of a space along which the motion takes place. (*Kühner*, § 557, 1.)—καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. "And he was presented to Cyrus." The verb συνίστημι gets the meaning of presenting from that of bringing persons together as friends; literally, of placing or setting together.

## § 9.

προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου, κ. τ. λ. "Now, Proxenus being strongly desirous, Cyrus also joined in the same strong desire that he should remain." Literally, "Cyrus, also, was strongly desirous along with (him)."—ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ. "As soon as the expedition shall have ceased." Observe that ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα is equivalent to the Latin *simul ac* or *quum primum*.—ὁ στόλος. "The destination." The term στόλος here indicates the cause or motive of the intended march. Compare *Soph.*, *Phil.*, 244; *Æd. R.*, 359; and *Ellendt*, *Lex. Soph.*, s. v.—Πισίδας. Compare i., 1, 11.

## § 10.

ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ, οὕτως ἐξαπατηθείς. We must believe that Xenophon was deceived by the professions of Cyrus, since he here asserts it himself. He does not inform us when the truth, which had from the beginning been evident to Tissaphernes, first dawned upon his mind. On the arrival of the army in Cilicia, when no further doubt could remain as to the prince's intentions, he was, according to his own account, one of those whom a sense of honor induced reluctantly to proceed. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 328.)—οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν. "For he knew not of the movement against the king," i. e., that the movement was against the king; as if the Greek had been ἐπὶ βασιλέα τὴν ὁρμὴν εὔσαν.—τὴν ὁδόν. "The distance."—οἱ πολλοί. "The most (of them)." Equivalent here to the Latin *plerique*. (*Kühner*, § 454, 3.) Besides Xenias and Pasion, a few others had left.—οἱ αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου. "Through a sense of shame as regarded both each other and Cyrus," i. e., lest



they should appear both cowards in each other's eyes, and ungrateful in those of Cyrus. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)

## § 11.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν. "But when (all now) was utter perplexity."—μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν. "At length, however, having got a little sleep." As λαγχάνω means, properly, "to obtain by lot," &c., the idea intended to be conveyed here would seem to be, in strictness, "having been so lucky as to get," &c.—ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, βροντῆς γενομένης, κ. τ. λ. "A bolt appeared to him, there having been thunder, to have fallen upon his father's house, and that thereupon it was all lighted up," i. e., was all in a light blaze. Observe here the employment of πᾶσαν in the accusative, where we would naturally expect πᾶσα in the nominative; the verb ἔδοξεν, in the sense of "it appeared," having to be supplied by the mind from the previous clause. The dream here related was, as Thirlwall remarks, just such a one as might naturally occur to a Greek, who, like Xenophon, was deeply conversant with the interpretation of omens.

## § 12.

εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη. "He immediately awoke." Observe that ἀνηγέρθη is here equivalent to ἀνήγερτο, or, in other words, it is the passive in a middle sense. (Poppo, *ad loc.*)—πῇ μὲν ἀγαθόν. "In part favorable."—ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε. "He seemed to have seen."—πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο. "In part, however, he was even alarmed."—ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως. "From regal Jove," i. e., from Jove, monarch of the skies. This feature of the dream appeared unfavorable, because Jove, as king of heaven, would naturally have earthly kings under his protecting care, and would therefore prove a source of aid, rather than otherwise, to the Persian monarch; and, besides, Jove was regarded as the founder of the royal line of Persia, whence he is called in the *Cyropædia* (i., 6, 1), Ζεὺς πατρώος. Compare Kleuker, *ad Zend-Avest.*, vol. ii., p. 2, who thinks that by this expression Ormuzd is meant.—κύκλῳ. "All around." Another evil feature, indicating that they were encompassed on every side by evil.—μὴ οὐ δύναίτο. "Lest he should not be able." In such constructions as this, μὴ performs the functions of a conjunction, while οὐ belongs to the clause depending on that conjunction. (Kühner, § 750, 1.)—ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀποριῶν. "By some inextricable difficulties (or other)."

## § 13.

ἁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ. "What sort of a thing, indeed, it is to see such a dream as this." More freely, "what it is to see such a

dream," &c., i. e., what a dream of this kind means.—ἔξεο. i. σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων, κ. τ. λ. Xenophon means, that the events which followed furnished the best solution of the dream. Compare the German version of Becker: "Was aber der Traum wirklich bedeutete, wird man aus den folgenden Eräugnissen sehn."—ἐννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει. "The thought occurs to him."—τί κατάκειμαι; "Why am I lying down?"—εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, κ. τ. λ. "And if we shall fall into the power of the king, what prevents our dying with ignominy, after having beheld all the most grievous things, and suffered all the most dreadful ones." Literally, "our dying insulted." Observe the employment here of μὴ οὐ, after a word denoting hinderance, with the infinitive mood, and in the sense of the Latin *quin*. Thus, in Latin, we would have here, "*quid impedit quin moriamur?*" (Kühner, § 750, 2.)

## § 14.

ὅπως ἀμυνούμεθα. "How we shall defend ourselves."—ὥς περ ἐξὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. "As if it were permitted us to live in quiet," i. e., to enjoy security from every foe.—ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ πόλεως πόλεως, κ. τ. λ. "The general from what city do I, then, expect will do these things?" i. e., from what city do I, then, expect that there will be a general who will do these things. Xenophon's meaning in this and what immediately succeeds is simply as follows: "if I wait for another more experienced general to step forward, the season for action will have passed by." (Thirlwall, iv., p. 329.)—οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼγ' ἐτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, κ. τ. λ. "For I, at least, will not be yet older, if I shall abandon myself this day to the enemy," i. e., will never be any older. He alludes merely to the certainty of losing his life, in common with the other Greeks, in case he should fall into the hands of the enemy.

## § 15.

τοὺς Προξένου λοχαγούς. With these he was most intimate, on account of the friendship which had subsisted between himself and Proxenus, and because his quarters were with the forces of this commander.—ὥς περ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὅμως. "Even as I think you neither are," i. e., able to sleep. Supply, for a full version, καθεύδειν οὐκ ἔστιν—ἐν οἷς ἐσμέν. "In what circumstances we are."

## § 16.

δῆλον. Supply ἐστὶ.—οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν. "Did not openly make hostile demonstrations against us." Literally, "did not show forth the war against us."—καλῶς τὰ ἐαυτῶν παρασκευά-

σασθαι. "That they had made all their arrangements properly." More literally, "that they had prepared their own affairs well."—οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελείται. "Takes any heed in turn;" i. e., on our side.—ὡς κάλλιστα. "In the best manner possible."

## § 17.

εἰ ὑφησόμεθα. "If we shall prove remiss."—δε. "For he." The relative serves, as in Latin, to connect propositions, and is here equivalent to the demonstrative ἐκεῖνος, with γάρ. (Matthia, § 477, d.)—ἀδελφοῦ. Cyrus.—καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη. "And that, too, when now dead," i. e., even after he was dead. Observe that καὶ is here equivalent to καὶ ταῦτα.—ἀνεσταύρωσεν. "Fixed them up on a stake." Compare i., 10, 1.—ἡμᾶς δέ. "As regards us, however." Lobeck (ad Phryn., p. 751) and Schaefer (ad Bos. Ellips., p. 224) both regard ἡμᾶς here as the accusative before παθεῖν. Schneider, however, thinks that such a construction would require ἡμεῖς, the reference being to the same persons that form the subject of οἴομεθα. But to this it may be replied, that the accusative in such a case would be correct enough, since an emphasis is to be given to the subject of the infinitive. (Matthia, § 536, Obs.) The true objection to our connecting ἡμᾶς with παθεῖν lies in the position of the two words, and the long interval between them. We must either, therefore, with Krüger, regard the sentence as an anacoluthon, or render ἡμᾶς, as we have done, by itself, and throw the emphasis upon this.

οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν. "Unto whom no one is present as a supporter." This, as Weiske remarks, alludes to the circumstance of Cyrus's having had a supporter and source of protection in his mother Parysatis, whereas the Greeks have no one to aid them.—ἐστρατεύσαμεν δέ. "And who marched."—ὡς ποιήσοντες. "With the intention of making (him)."—τί ἂν οἴομεθα παθεῖν; "What do we think that we would be likely to suffer?"

## § 18.

ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐλθοι. "Would he not have recourse to every expedient?" i. e., would he not try every means in his power?—ἡμᾶς τὰ ἄσχατα αἰκισάμενος. "Having punished us with the last degree of severity." Observe that τὰ ἄσχατα is here the accusative of nearer definition.—τοῦ στρατεύσαι ποτε. "Of ever marching."

## § 19.

ἐγὼ μὲν. The participle μὲν here stands opposed to μέντοι in § 21.—ἔστε. "As long as."—μακαρίζων. "Regarding as happy." Eve

since they had concluded the truce with Tissaphernes, he had observed with envy and regret the rich possessions of the barbarians, and had lamented that his comrades had subjected themselves to the obligation of abstaining from the good things which they constantly saw within their reach, except so far as they were able to purchase or taste of them, at an expense which he had feared would soon exhaust their scanty means. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 329.)—διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν. "Seeing every where as regards them," i. e., in their case. Observe here the peculiar employment of αὐτῶν. To explain this genitive more exactly, the clause would run thus, "Seeing every where *this* of them, or as regards them," as if the Greek had been τόδε αὐτῶν. The idea *this*, however, need never be expressed when the thing itself follows. (Buttmann, § 132, note 7. Compare Matthia, § 317; Kühner, § 485.)

## § 20.

τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "But, on the other hand, when I reflected on the circumstances of our soldiers," i. e., the condition in which they were, as contrasted with that of the enemy.—ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων, κ. τ. λ. "That there was no share for us of any one of all these good things."—δρου δ' ὠνησόμεθα ἡδεῖν, κ. τ. λ. "And (when) I knew that few (of us) any longer had wherewith we shall purchase," i. e., had that with which, &c. Observe that δρου is the genitive of price. We have given ἐτι, the conjecture of Stephens, and which Hutchinson found in the Eton MS., instead of the common reading ὅτι. This last can only be defended by an awkward *confusio locutionum*.—ἄλλως δέ πως πορίζεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. "And that our oaths now restrained us from procuring provisions for ourselves in any other way than buying."

## § 21.

λελύσθαι. "To be (likewise) broken," i. e., brought to an end. The insolence of the enemy was now to be met and put down by open force; and the suspicions of the Greeks, as to the intentions of those with whom they had thus far been acting, were now to be converted into actual certainty, so that they were now to be released from the restraint which they had hitherto imposed upon themselves; and the good things which they had coveted, but had scrupulously forbore to touch, would henceforth, as he goes on to remark, be the fair prizes of their valor.—ἐν μέσῳ. "In the middle," i. e., between us and the foe, and for which we may now openly contend. Hence ἐν μέσῳ often gets the signification of "before



all," "openly," &c. Compare the Latin *in medio ponere*.—ἀθλα ὁπότεροι ἀν ἡμῶν, κ. τ. λ. "As prizes for whichever of us may prove the better men." After ἀθλα, for a literal translation, supply τούτων, "as prizes of those, whichever of us," &c.—ἀγωνοθέται. "Judges of the contest." A metaphor borrowed from the public games of Greece. The term ἀγωνοθέτης properly denotes "a president in the games," and then, in a general sense, "a judge."

## § 22.

οὔτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν. "For these have committed perjury against them." The enemy had provoked the gods by their perjury, and the latter, therefore, would naturally be disposed to side with the Greeks.—ὁρῶντες. "Although seeing."—στερβῶς. "Firmly."—ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μοι δοκεῖ, κ. τ. λ. "So that it appears to me to be allowed (us) to go to the contest with much greater confidence than (it is allowed) these." After ἐξεῖναι supply ἡμῖν. Observe, moreover, that πολὺ is to be construed with μείζονι, and compare *Thucyd.*, vi., 86: πολὺ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀληθεστέραν γε σωτηρίαν.

## § 23.

ἐτι δ'. "And, besides."—ψύχη καὶ θάλη. Observe here the employment of these terms in the plural, where we have to render them by the singular. The same usage occurs in *Cyrop.*, i., 2, 10; *Mem.*, i., 4, 13; *Æc.*, v., 4, &c.—ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας. "Minds, through the favor of the gods, actuated by better principles," i. e., far more observant of right, and far more influenced by conscientious motives.—οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες. Referring to the Persians.—καὶ τρατοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον. "Are more exposed to both wounds and death." Literally, "are both more vulnerable and mortal." He refers to the circumstance of the Grecian armor being so superior to that of the Persians.

## § 24.

ἀλλ', ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι, κ. τ. λ. The particle ἀλλ' here belongs to πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμένωμεν, and we have, therefore, placed a comma after it. Lion, following Schneider and others, puts a full stop after ἐνθυμούνται, which is decidedly erroneous. (*Krüg.*, *de Authent.*, p. 61.—*Schaefer*, *Mel. Crit.*, p. 75.)—πρὸς τῶν θεῶν. Wyttenbach conjectures πρὸς οὖν θεῶν, of which Schneider approves; but it is very deservedly condemned by Bornemann.—ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν. Xenophon exhorts the officers of Proxenus not to wait until they were called upon by others, but to take the lead and

aspire to a glorious pre-eminence among their fellows.—παρακαλοῦντας. Attic contracted future participle, for παρακαλέσοντας. Consult note on ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον, κ. τ. λ., i., 3, 16.—ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμήσαι, κ. τ. λ. "But let us begin the instigating the others, also, to valor," i. e., to arouse our comrades to an exhibition of valiant deeds.—φάνητε. "Show yourselves." The full construction would be φάνητε ὄντες, "Show yourselves to be."—τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. "More worthy of command than those who are at present commanders."

## § 25.

ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. "To give the impulse toward these things," i. e., to be the prime movers in this affair.—οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, κ. τ. λ. "I, in no respect, seek to make my age an excuse (for shrinking from this), but think that I am even in the full vigor of it to repel injuries from myself." This passage plays an important part in the discussion respecting the age of Xenophon at the time of the Anabasis, or expedition into Upper Asia. Spelman makes the historian to have been then near fifty; a computation which Clinton justly calls extravagant. Mitford successfully combats Spelman, and supposes Xenophon to have been between twenty-five and thirty. Clinton thinks that he might have been about forty-two. (*Fast. Hellen.*, vol. ii., p. 89.) Bishop Thirlwall inclines to Mitford's opinion, though with some reservation. (*Philol. Museum*, vol. i., p. 507, *seqq.*)

## § 26.

πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν. "Only there was a certain Apollonides." The common form of expression would have been πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδου τινός, "except a certain Apollonides." Instead of this, πλὴν is used in the text as an adverb.—Βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ. "Resembling a Bæotian in his manner of speaking," i. e., employing not only the broad, rough dialect of Bæotia, but also speaking with the thickness of tone for which that nation were remarkable. Compare the explanation of Morus: "*rustico vocis sono, pleno gutture loquens*;" and that of Krüger: "*Bæotorum dialecto et vocis sono utens*." That the Bæotian dialect had a barbarous sound to Attic ears we learn from Eustathius (p. 304, 2.—Compare *Ahrens*, *de Gr. Ling. Dialect.*, p. 216, *seq.*).—ὅτι φλυαροῖη. "That that person talked nonsense."—ἢ βασιλέα πείσας. "Than by having persuaded the king (to consent to such a course)." He said it was idle to talk of saving themselves, otherwise than by the king's good pleasure.—λέγειν τὰς

ἀπορίας "To talk of the inextricable difficulties (by which they were encompassed)."

## § 27.

μεταξὺ ὑπολαβών. "Having taken him up in the midst of his speech." The full and more ordinary form of expression would be μεταξὺ λέγοντα, the participle being usually joined with μεταξὺ, ἅμα, ἀντίκα, &c., in definitions of time. (Matthiæ, § 565, Obs. 2.)—ὦ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε. "O most wonderful man!" Ironical.—οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γινώσκεις, κ. τ. λ. "Neither, on seeing, understand; nor, on hearing, remember." Observe that we have here not οὔτε repeated, but οὐδέ, the first οὐδέ being equivalent to *ne quidem*, and the second to *neque*.—ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τοῦτοις. "Yet you were certainly in the same place with these," i. e., with these other lochagi who are now present. The words which signify equality, suitableness, resemblance, or the contrary, as ὁ αὐτός, ὁμοίος, ἴσος, &c., govern the dative. (Matthiæ, § 385, 1.)—μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ. "In high spirits at this," i. e., the defeat and death of his brother.—πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι, κ. τ. λ. Compare ii., 1, 8.

## § 28.

ἐξοπλισόμενοι. Schneider insists on the reading ἐξοπλισμένοι being adopted, unless we write καὶ ἐλθόντες immediately after. But the whole difficulty may be obviated by placing a comma after ἐξοπλισόμενοι, and pronouncing ἐλθόντες with only a slight emphasis. (Porro, *ad loc.*)—τί οὐκ ἐποίησε; "What did he not do?" i. e., to get rid of us.—ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν. "Until he obtained a truce."

## § 29.

ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ. "But when, on the other hand."—εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς. "To a conference with them."—οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παύμενοι, κ. τ. λ. "Are not they now being beaten, goaded, insulted, unable, the wretched men! even to die, although, I think, greatly desirous of this." The participle κεντούμενοι here refers, not, as some suppose, to scourging with a lash armed with iron stimuli, but rather to a species of torturing by piercing with sharp instruments. Compare the remarks of D'Orville, *ad Charit.*, p. 637, and consult *Ælian*, V. H., ix., 8, where a horrid instance of this mode of punishment is mentioned, by the inserting of needles under the finger nails.—τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνασθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν. "That those who urge us to defend ourselves talk nonsense."—πεῖθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις λόγας; "And do you bid us go again and try persuasion?" i. e., try to persuade the king to save us.

## § 30.

τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε, κ. τ. λ. "That we neither admit this man into the same (place) with ourselves."—ἀφελομένους. The middle here implies that this would be done for their own interests; whereas the active ἀναθέντας, immediately after, refers to what is done for another, i. e., for the punishment of another.—σκεύη. "Articles of baggage."—ὡς τοιούτῳ. "In that capacity." Literally, "as such," i. e., as a σκευοφόρος, or baggage-carrier.—τοιούτός ἐστιν. "He is such a person (as this)," i. e., such a cowardly wretch.

## § 31.

ὑπολαβών. "Having taken up the discourse."—ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας, κ. τ. λ. "But to this man, at least, nothing appertains either of Bœotia or of Greece at all," i. e., this man has nothing to do with either Bœotia or any other part of Greece.—ἑμφοτέρα τὰ ὦτα τετυνημένον. "Having both his ears bored." Zeune thinks that this is meant to indicate his being of servile origin, and cites Bartholinus (*de Inauribus*, p. 114) and the commentators on Petronius (c. 102), to show that slaves in the East were accustomed to have their ears bored and rings inserted. But, as Weiske more correctly remarks, earrings were worn also by free persons among the Eastern nations, and by both sexes too. The reference in the text, therefore, is a general one to the Oriental and unhellenic origin of Apollonides, not to his having been a slave at any time.—καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. "And it was so," i. e., and this was actually found to be the case. Literally, "it had itself so."

## § 32.

ἀπήλασαν. "They drove away," i. e., they expelled from their number.—παρὰ τὰς τάξεις. "Unto the (different) ranks," i. e., unto the different quarters of the camp where the troops were arranged under their respective leaders.—ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο. "But from whatever quarter he was gone," i. e., wherever the general was cut off. Observe that οἴχοιτο is here equivalent to *periisset*.—τὸν ὑποστρατηγόν. "The under-general." The ὑποστρατηγός discharged the duties of the στρατηγός when the latter was absent, or succeeded to his office when he was slain. Compare v., 9, 36, and vi., 2, 11, as also § 37 of the present chapter.

## § 33.

εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὀπλων. Consult note on πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων, ii., 4, 15—ἄμφι τοὺς ἑκατόν. "About a hundred in all." The article, as already remarked, stands with cardinal numerals, to give the notion



of the whole. (Kühner, § 455, 1.)—μέσαι νύκτες. "Midnight." The plural appears to be here employed, because the night was divided into several parts or watches. (Graff, *ad loc.*)

## § 34.

ἴρωσι. "On seeing."—καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν. "Both to come together ourselves."—ὅπως βουλευσάμεθα, κ. τ. λ. "In order that we might, if possible, determine among ourselves upon some advantageous plan." Literally, "in order that we might determine upon, among ourselves, if we should be able (to determine upon) something advantageous."—ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. "What things you even (said) unto us." Supply ἐλεξας.

## § 35.

οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν, κ. τ. λ. "Have seized upon (those) of us whom they could." Supply τούτους before ἡμῶν.—ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν. "That they are now laying snares for." Literally, "that they are now plotting against."—ἐκεῖνοι. Supply γένωνται.

## § 36.

εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε, κ. τ. λ. "Know well, then, that you, being so many as you have now come together, have a most important responsibility (resting upon you)." Literally, "have a most important opportunity," i. e., either for good or for evil. Toup explains μέγιστον ἔχετε καίρον, by "maximum momentum habetis." (Emend. in Suid. et Hesych.) Schneider, on the other hand, makes these words refer to the ἐπικαίριοι, mentioned in *Cyrop.*, iii., 3, 12; but this opinion seems, as Thirlwall remarks, to the last degree improbable.—οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὗτοι, κ. τ. λ. The eyes of the common soldiers, says Xenophon, are fixed upon you; the influence of your example will be felt throughout the ranks, to infuse either despondency or courage into every bosom.—κακοί. "Cowards."—καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖτε. "And exhort the rest (to do the same)," i. e., to prepare themselves against the foe.

## § 37.

ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ. "Perhaps, too, it is even right that you should differ in some respect from these," i. e., that there should be some difference between you and the common soldiers. Xenophon here proceeds to remark, that their superior station, as it conferred peculiar advantages, imposed more arduous duties, and obliged them to watch and labor in behalf of those who were placed under them.—ταξίαρχοι. "Taxiarchs." Zeune supposes a ταξίαρχος

to be the same with a ὑποστρατηγός. Krüger, on the other hand, thinks that a τάξις consisted of two λόχοι, and that the senior of the two λοχαγοί was the taxiarch. The language of the text, where we have ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί, not ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοί, ὑμεῖς λοχαγοί, appears to favor this latter opinion, as well as the circumstance of στρατηγοί and λοχαγοί being elsewhere most commonly united in the same clause.—ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς, κ. τ. λ. "You had the advantage of these both in high pay and in honors." Literally, "you had more than these both in riches and in honors." Observe that the genitive τούτων is here required by the idea of comparison implied in the verb.—ἀξιούν δὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, κ. τ. λ. "You yourselves ought both to claim to be superior to the soldiery at large, and to take the lead of these in devising and in laboring, if it be any where needed." Literally, "to devise before these and labor before (them)." His meaning is, that their superior station, as it conferred peculiar advantages, imposed more arduous duties, and obliged them to watch and labor in behalf of those who were placed under them.

## § 38.

οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα. "I am persuaded that you would greatly benefit the army." Some editions give οἶμαι, but this form is only to be employed when a less positive tone is required, just as in English we use the expression "I believe." (Compare Buttman, *Irreg. Verbs*, p. 184, ed. Fishl.)—ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων. "In the place of those who have perished."—οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθόν, κ. τ. λ. "Nothing either glorious or good can happen, to speak briefly, any where, but assuredly in warlike affairs (nothing such) at all," i. e., but certainly nothing of the kind can at all happen in warlike operations.—ὥς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν. We frequently find a seemingly independent parenthesis introduced by ὥς with the infinitive. The force of such a sentence is generally restrictive. In the present case we must supply λόγῳ with συνελόντι, the literal translation being "to speak in comprehensive language." (Kühner, § 864, 1.—Bos, *Ellips.*, p. 148, ed. Schaefer.)—σώζειν δοκεῖ. "Appears to preserve (armies)." The meaning, in fact, is, "preserves (armies)," but δοκέω is often added, by a species of Attic urbanity and reserve, even where the idea intended to be conveyed is strictly certain. Compare τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι, i., 9, 1.

## § 39.

δσους δεῖ. Supply καταστήσαι.—ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας, κ. τ. λ. "I think that if you also assemble and encourage the other sol-

diers, you will have acted very much in season." Observe here the peculiar construction, by which *οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς*, κ. τ. λ., becomes, in fact, the leading clause or protasis.

## § 40.

*καὶ ὑμεῖς*. "You also."—ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ δπλα. "How dispiritedly they came to the place of arms," i. e., to the quarter where their arms were to be deposited for the night. Compare note on *πρὸ τῶν δπλων*, ii., 4, 15.—οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων. "While they are in this frame of mind, at least." Literally, "while they have themselves thus, at least."—δ τι. "For what."—εἴτε δεοί τι. "Whether any thing might be needed."

## § 41.

*ἦν δέ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας*. "But if some one turn their thoughts."—ὡς μὴ ἐννοῶνται. We would rather expect here ὡς μὴ ἐννοεῖσθαι. (Matthiae, § 545.)—τί ποιήσουσι. "What they shall do."—πολὺν εὐθυμότεροι. "Much more inspirited."

## § 42.

*ὅτι οὔτε πληθὺς ἐστίν, οὔτε ἰσχυς*, κ. τ. λ. "That it is neither multitude nor strength that produces victories in war, but whichever party," &c. Observe that the participle is here made to agree with the nearer and more important noun.—ἐρρωμενέστεροι. "More resolute."—ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. "For the most part," i. e., in general.

## § 43.

*ἐντεθύμημαι δ' ἐγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες*, κ. τ. λ. "For my own part, O men, I have noticed this also." More literally, "have revolved in mind," and hence, "I have remarked, as the result of frequent reflection." The verb *ἐνθυμείσθαι* properly denotes, "to lay to heart," and hence "to consider well," "to ponder," &c.—μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου. "Desire to live at any rate," i. e., to prolong existence in any way. Observe that *μαστεύω*, though here employed by Xenophon, is, in fact, an old poetic word, and akin to *μάσσω*.—ἐγνώκασιν. "Are sensible."—περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται. "And contend about the dying honorably," i. e., strive to die honorably.—*ἡμῶν πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένων*. "Somehow rather arriving at old age." Observe here the peculiar force of *πῶς* in connection with the comparative.—*διάγοντας*. "Passing their time." Supply *τὸν χρόνον*.

## § 44.

*καταμαθόντας*. "Having understood."—αὐτοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς

*εἶναι*, κ. τ. λ. "Both to be ourselves brave men, and to exhort the rest (to be so)."

## § 45.

*Χειρίσσοφος*. Compare i., 4, 3, and ii., 1, 5.—ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, κ. τ. λ. "Well, heretofore, indeed, O Xenophon I knew only so much of you, as far as I heard that you were an Athenian." More freely, "I knew you only so far, that I heard you were an Athenian," i. e., all my knowledge of you was founded on the reports of others, and this knowledge merely amounted to the circumstance of your being a native of Athens.—ἐφ' οἷς. "For what." Attraction for *ἐπὶ τοῖς* ἄ.—ὅτι πλείστον εἶναι τοιούτους. "That there were as many as possible such (as you are)."

## § 46.

*μὴ μέλλωμεν*. "Let us not procrastinate."—ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας. "Do you who want (them) immediately choose commanders." Observe the force of *ἤδη*. With *δεόμενοι* supply *αὐτῶν*, i. e., ἄρχόντων.—*συγκαλοῦμεν*. Attic contracted future for *συγκαλέσομεν*. Compare note on *ποιουμένων*, i., 3, 16.

## § 47.

*ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο*, κ. τ. λ. "That the necessary measures might not be delayed, but be carried into execution." The verb *μέλλω* is also used passively by Thucydides (v., 111), *ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπίζόμενα μέλλεται*, and by Demosthenes (*Phil.*, i., p. 50, ed. Steph.), *εἰτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται*, κ. τ. λ., where Reiske, less correctly, gives *μέλλετε*, but Bekker and Rüdiger *μέλλεται*. (Schæf., ad loc.)—*Δαρδανεύς*. "A Dardanian," i. e., a native of Dardanus, a city of Troas, in Asia Minor, to the south of Abydos, and distant from it 70 stadia. (*Strab.*, xiii., p. 102.)—*Ἀγίου*. The common text has *Ἀρκάδος* after *Ἀγίου*, which we have omitted on good MS. authority. It is certainly not needed, since the names of the other lost commanders are given without any such designation.—*ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου*. Xenophon was elected to supply the place of his friend Proxenus.

## CHAPTER II.

## § 1.

*ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέβαινε*. "Both day was nearly dawning." Observe the peculiar force of *ὑπό* here, in composition, as referring to the gradual breaking of day.—*εἰς τὸ μέσον*. "Into the centre (of the



camp) "Supply τοῦ στρατοπέδου. The full expression has just occurred in chapter i., § 46.—καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς. We have given καὶ, with Dindorf, on MS. authority. It is usually omitted. Krüger suggests ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς.—καταστήσαντας. Observe here the accusative agreeing with αὐτοῖς understood, where the plain construction would have been the dative of the participle.—πρῶτον μὲν. To this ἐπὶ τούτῳ answers in § 4.

## § 2.

χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα. "Our present circumstances are fraught with difficulty, it is true." Observe the force of μὲν.—ὅποτε. "Since."—πρὸς δ' ἐτι καὶ. "And, besides, also."—προδεδώκασιν ἡμῖν Compare ii., 4, § 2, 9.

## § 3.

δμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, κ. τ. λ. "Still, however, it behooves us both to come out of our present troubles as brave men." Compare the version of Leunclavius: "E presentibus hisce malis ut viros fortes decet (or rather, ut viris fortibus) nobis emergendum est." (Krüg., ad loc.)—καὶ μὴ ὑφίστασθαι. "And not to give up," i. e., to lose courage.—σωζόμεθα. "We may save ourselves."—ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν. "Yet, at least, let us die honorably." Krüger supplies ὅπως, from the preceding clause, but this appears less natural.—ζῶντες. "While we live."—ὁλομαι γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, κ. τ. λ. "For I think that we in that event would suffer such things as may the gods do unto our foes." Observe that the optative (ποιήσαιεν) in the latter clause, being without ἂν, is expressive of a wish. Compare the version of Weiske: "quæ utinam dii in Persarum capita vertant."

## § 4.

ἐπὶ τούτῳ. "After this one." Not equivalent, as Krüger remarks, to μετὰ τούτων, but a much stronger expression, since it means, in fact, "immediately after this one." Compare *Matthiæ*, § 586.—ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν. "You see, then."—λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἶη, κ. τ. λ. Compare ii., 3, 18.—καὶ περὶ πλείστον ἂν ποιήσαιτο, κ. τ. λ. "And would esteem it the highest privilege to save us." Literally, "would make it a thing above very much for himself." The optative in the *oratio obliqua* is properly employed without ἂν; here, however, that particle is added to ποιήσαιτο, because σώσαι is equivalent in sense to εἰ σώσειε, "if he could save." (*Thiersch*, § 334, 3, 9.—*Poppo*, ad loc.)—καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας. "And having himself sworn to these things." Compare the German form of expression, "auf etwas

schwören."—αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε. "Did himself deceive (us) and seize our leaders." Observe the force which the repetition of αὐτὸς imparts to the whole sentence, forming what grammarians term the figure *anaphora*.—ξένιον. "The god of hospitality," i. e., who presides over and protects the rights of hospitality. Compare *Herodotus*, i., 44.—ἀλλά, Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος, κ. τ. λ. "But, after having become a companion at table unto Clearchus, has by these very means deceived and destroyed the men," i. e., after having received Clearchus at his board, has by all these means, namely, his oaths and pledges of friendship, &c., deceived and destroyed those who trusted to him.

## § 5.

Ἀριαῖος δέ. "Ariæus, too." Observe that Ἀριαῖος here is a nominative absolute, its place being supplied, for purposes of emphasis, by οὗτος, further on in the sentence.—βασίλεια καθιστάται. Compare ii., 1, 4.—καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν, κ. τ. λ. "And gave and received pledges," &c., i. e., and to whom we gave, and from whom we received pledges. The full form of expression would be, καὶ ὃ ἐδώκαμεν, καὶ ὃ ὃ ἐλάβομεν.—καὶ οὗτος. "Even this one."—αἰδεσθεῖς. "Having respected," i. e., having shown respect to his memory.—τιμώμενος μάλιστα. "Although honored in the highest degree."—πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους. "Unto his bitterest enemies." The more ordinary idiom would require the dative with ἐχθίστους. Here, however, it is to be taken more as a substantive. (Compare *Kühner*, § 520.)

## § 6.

ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιτο. "May the gods, however, pay these men back." Observe, again, the employment of the optative without ἂν to denote a wish. The middle voice, too, is peculiarly emphatic: literally, "pay these back for themselves," i. e., avenge themselves on these for their impiety, &c.—μήποτε ἐτι. "Never any more."—ὅτι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς. "Whatsoever may seem good to the gods."

## § 7.

ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον, κ. τ. λ. "Equipped for war as harnessed as he was able." Compare *Ælian*, V. H., iii., 24.—τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον, κ. τ. λ. "That the fairest array became victory," i. e., the conquering.—ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευταίας τυγχάνειν. "To meet his end in these."—τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε. "His speech, however, he began as follows." We have given τοῦ λόγου δέ, with the best editors; the

common reading, τοῦ δὲ λόγου, does not mark the opposition sufficiently.

## § 8.

λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ. "Cleanor tells you of," i. e., has just told you of.—εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "If, then, we make up our minds to be again on a friendly footing with them." Literally, "to go through friendship with them." The preposition διὰ forms various periphrases, founded on the literal sense of "through" with ἵεναι, ἔρχεσθαι, εἶναι, &c. In the present case, διὰ φιλίας ἵεναι is the same as φίλοι εἶναι. (Matth., § 579, 2, c.)—ὁρῶντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἱα πεπόνθασιν. For ὁρῶντες οἱα καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πεπόνθασιν.—οἱ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "Who through confidence (in them) placed themselves in their hands."—εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα. "If, however, we design."—ὣν πεποιήκασιν δίκην. "Punishment for the things which they have done." Observe that ὣν is by attraction for τούτων &c.—διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἵεναι. "To engage in every kind of warfare with them." Compare note on διὰ φιλίας ἵεναι above. Krüger very unnecessarily attempts an emendation here, and, regarding διὰ παντός as equivalent to "perpetuo," suggests as a reading, διὰ παντός διὰ πολέμου, than which nothing can be clumsier (de Authent., p. 45.)

## § 9.

πτάρνυται τις. "Some one sneezes." Xenophon's harangue was interrupted at this point by an omen, which a modern historian can scarcely mention with gravity, but which, ever since the time of Homer, had been regarded by all religious Greeks as an intimation of the divine blessing. Things apparently of no importance in common life, were thought by the ancients, when occurring at a critical moment, to be signs sent from the gods respecting the future. Among these common occurrences we may mention sneezing, twinkling of the eyes, tinkling of the ears, &c. (Dict. Ant., s. v. Divinatio.)—μὴ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν. "With one impulse worshipped the god (who had sent the propitious sound)."—οἶωνός τοῦ Διός, κ. τ. λ. "An omen of Jupiter, the preserver, appeared." The omen befell at the word σωτηρίας, and therefore Xenophon presumed that it came from Ζεὺς Σωτήρ. (Balfour, ad loc.)—εὐχασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ, κ. τ. λ. "That we vow that we will offer up to this same god thank-offerings for our deliverance; when," &c. With σωτήρια supply θύματα. Observe, moreover, that ἐπὶ is here a particle of time.—συνεπεύξασθαι δέ. "And that we vow at the same time."—ἐκ τούτου εὐξάντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. "Upon this they made their vows and

εὐχὰς αἰνῶν." Consult note on ἐπαιάνισαν, i., 8, 17, and, as regards the form of the verb, compare Blomf. ad Æsch., Sept. c. Theb., 254.—ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν. "And when the rites of the gods were duly celebrated." Literally, "and when the things of the gods had themselves well."

## § 10.

ἐτύχανον λέγων. "I happened to be remarking," i. e., at the time when this favorable interruption took place.—ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν. "We, indeed, firmly observe."—καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους. This is either the interpolation of some copyist, as it makes an awkward pleonasm, or else we ought to read παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους, the preposition παρὰ being interlined for καὶ in one of the MSS., and appearing in the margin of another.—οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων. "Things, then, being thus." Supply πραγμάτων.—κὰν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι. "Even though they be in the midst of dangers."

## § 11.

ἔπειτα δέ. "In the next place." In the previous section he had said, that the hopes of which he had spoken rested mainly on their assurance of the divine favor, which the enemy had forfeited by their impious treachery. And now, in the next place, they rest on the trophies which their forefathers had raised over the countless hosts of their barbarian invaders, and of which they had already shown themselves worthy, when they encountered and defeated the multitudes which Artaxerxes arrayed against them at Cunaxa. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 333.)—ἀναμνήσω. "I will remind."—ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "That it both belongs to you to be brave, and that the brave are saved," &c.—ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν, κ. τ. λ. The allusion is to the invasion of Greece by Datis and Artaphernes, in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, and which was terminated by the victory at Marathon.—καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς. Referring to the various nations composing the Persian host on this occasion.—παμπληθεὶ στόλῳ. "In a most numerous host." It is difficult to give with any degree of exactness the numbers of the Persian army in this battle. Cornelius Nepos (Vit. Milt., 5) makes the infantry to have been 100,000, and the cavalry 10,000. As the whole invading army, according to Herodotus, was conveyed over the sea in 600 ships, this, on the footing which he fixes elsewhere, of 200 men to each trireme, would give 120,000, which accords nearly with the statement of Nepos, and which we ought, probably, to consider as the utmost limit to which the numbers of the invaders can be reasonably carried. (Thirlwall, ii., p. 242.)



ὡς ἀφανισόντων αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. "In order to annihilate Athens itself." Literally, "in order to make Athens itself unseen," i. e., to disappear from the view. Observe that ἀφανισόντων is the Attic contracted future participle for ἀφανισόντων. This construction of ὡς with the genitive absolute has already been referred to, as intended to indicate, in fact, something supposed or thought of, &c., and hence the true meaning of the clause will be, "in order to annihilate, as they thought," &c., or "thinking that they were going to annihilate," &c. (Kühner, § 701.)—αὐτὰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. Some of the best MSS. have αὐθις τὰς Ἀθήνας, and they are followed by Dindorf, Bornemann, &c. Other editors omit αὐθις, and read merely τὰς Ἀθήνας. The presence of αὐθις certainly makes a difficulty, since, in its ordinary sense of "again," it could only refer to the subsequent invasion of Xerxes. Various attempts, therefore, have been made to explain it, but all more or less unsatisfactorily. The best is that of Spohn (*Lect. Theocr.*, i., p. 33), as cited by Bornemann: ὡς αὐθις ἀφανῶς ποιήσοντες τὰς Ἀθήνας, "in cum statum reducturi urbem, quo Athenæ nondum extructæ erant." Since, however, the true reading is so very uncertain, we have ventured to give, on conjecture, αὐτὰς, which appears, moreover, to harmonize well with the article before Ἀθήνας.

Ἀθηναῖοι. The battle of Marathon was won, in fact, by the Athenians and Platæans. The numbers of the Athenians are uniformly rated at about 10,000. It is possible that the number of the tribes had some share in grounding this tradition; it probably falls short of the truth, and certainly does not take the slaves into account, who served most likely as light-armed troops. When all these allowances are made, the numerical inequality will be reduced to a proportion of five to one. The number of Platæans at Marathon is not mentioned by Herodotus. Justin and Nepos make it amount to a thousand. (*Thirlwall*, ii., p. 242.)

## § 12.

καὶ εὐχόμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Previous to the battle's being fought, the protection of Artemis (Diana) was invoked against the arrows of the barbarians by an extraordinary vow. For every slain enemy a she-goat was to be led in solemn procession every year to her altar at Agræ, on the banks of the Ilissus, where, according to the legend of the temple, the goddess had first drawn her bow, when she came over from her native island. (*Pausan.*, i., 19, 6.) The remainder of the story is given in our text. Some authorities, however, state certain parts of the narrative rather differently. Thus,

the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Eq.*, 657) relates, that the Athenians, by their polemarch Callimachus, vowed, in the first instance, to offer up as many heifers (τοσαύτας βοῦς) as there should be enemies slain, but that too large a number of these animals being required, she-goats were substituted.—τῇ θεῇ. "Unto the goddess."—οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν. "They were not able to find enough."—καὶ ἐν καὶ νῦν ἀποθύνουσιν. Herodotus fixes the number of the Persians dead at 6400, so that, at the rate of 500 she-goats annually, thirteen years would have sufficed for the fulfillment of the vow in question. As, however, we find the Athenians still offering up this sacrifice at the date of the present speech (B.C. 400), about 90 years after the battle had been fought, and as the same sacrifice existed in Plutarch's time (*περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοῦ*, 26), about 600 years after the same event, it is evident that the Athenians, from motives of national vanity, greatly exaggerated the numbers of the slain, and hence, no doubt, arose the statement of Justin (ii., 9), that the Persians lost 200,000 men in the fight.

## § 13.

ἔπειτα δὲ Ξέρξης ὑστερον. The battle of Marathon was fought B.C. 490. The expedition of Xerxes took place ten years after this. (*Clinton*, *F. H.*, vol. ii., p. 26)—τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατίαν. "That innumerable army." According to the result of the inspection or calculation made by Xerxes in the plain of Doriscus, the armed part of the multitude that followed him over the Hellespont amounted to 1,700,000 foot, and 80,000 horse. The fleet consisted of 1207 ships of war, and, besides the native crews, each was manned with thirty marines, Persians, or Medes, or Sacians. But, as they proceeded southward, both the army and the fleet received an addition from the inland tribes, and from the sea-ports of Thrace and Macedonia, and the neighboring islands, which Herodotus computes at 300,000 infantry and 120 triremes. (*Thirlwall*, ii., p. 256.)—καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. The defeats by sea were at Artemisium and Salamis; those by land, at Platæa and Mycale, the last having been, in fact, both a land and sea fight, and having been gained on the same day with that at Platæa.—ὧν ἐστὶ μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια. "Of which things the trophies (erected) are proofs to behold," i. e., the proofs of all which one may see in the trophies that were then erected. A trophy was a monument of the enemy's having been defeated and put to the rout (τροπή). It consisted usually of shields, helmets &c., taken from the enemy, hung on trees, or (more commonly) fixed on upright posts or frames.—μέ

γιστον δὲ μαρτύριον. "But the strongest testimony (is)."—οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, κ. τ. λ. "For you worship no man as master, but (only) the gods." Supply *μόνον* after *θεούς*. The allusion in *προσκυνεῖτε* is to the Persian mode of rendering obeisance to their superiors. Consult note on *προσεκύνουν*, i., 7, 10.

## § 14.

οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, κ. τ. λ. "I will not, however, say this, at least, that you reflect disgrace upon them." Observe the force of *γέ*. Whatever else I may say of you, this, at least, I will not say, but will readily admit that you are worthy of your ancestors.—ἀφ' οὗ. "Since." Supply *χρόνον*.—πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. "Many times as many as yourselves." Positive adjectives, which imply a comparative notion, as, for example, the numeral multiples in *άσιος*, take the genitive. (Kühner, § 502, 3.)

## § 15.

περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας. "(When contending) about the elevation of Cyrus to the throne." Literally, "about the sovereignty of Cyrus." Supply *μαχόμενοι*.—πολὺ δὴ πον ὑμᾶς προσήκει. "Much, assuredly, does it become you."

## § 16.

εἶναι. Krüger quite unnecessarily conjectures *εἶναι*.—τὸ πλῆθος ἄμετρον. "Their immense multitude."—σὺν τῷ πατρὶ φρονήματι. "With the spirit of your fathers." Some of the MSS. give *πατρώφ*, but the distinction between the two forms, though there are occasional exceptions, appears, in general, to be this: *πατρώφ* means descending from father to son, as property, fortune; but *πάτριος*, that handed down from one's forefathers, as manners, customs, institutions, &c. Hermann lays down another distinction, but one not so satisfactory. Consult his note on *Elms. Med.*, 420 (*Opusc.*, vol. iii., p. 195), and Ellendt, *Lex. Soph.*, s. v. *πατρώφ*.—ὁπότε καὶ πεῖραν ἔχετε αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "When you now even have experience of them, that they are inclined," &c., i. e., when you now even know by actual trial that they are inclined, &c.

## § 17.

μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξητε ἔχειν. "Nor think, indeed, that you have the disadvantage in this." Literally, "that you have this less (than your opponents)."—οἱ Κυρεῖοι. "The followers of Cyrus," i. e., the Persian troops of Cyrus.—νῦν ἀφελθήκασιν. "Have now deserted us."—ἔτι κακίονες. "Still more cowardly."—ταττομένους. "Ranked."—ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει. "Than in our array," i. e., on our side, in our ranks.

## § 18.

ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἵππεις, κ. τ. λ. "That your ten thousand horse are nothing else than ten thousand men," i. e., any large body of horse about which you may choose to alarm yourselves. Observe that *μύριοι* is here meant, in fact, to indicate any large number, so that there is no need whatever of reading, with Krüger, *μυρίοι*, with the acute on the penult, in the sense of "countless," or "innumerable." Observe, moreover, the peculiarly idiomatic force of *οἱ* before *μύριοι*, and which appears precisely analogous to our unemphatic *your* in English, when used to indicate persons or things in an indeterminate sense.—δηχθεῖς. "On having been bitten." From *δάκνω*.

## § 19.

οὐκ οὖν τῶν γε ἵππέων, κ. τ. λ. "Are we not, then, upon a much safer vehicle than their horsemen at least?" i. e., upon a much safer support. The reference is to the ground on which they move to and fro.—ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμονται. "Hang upon horses," i. e., are suspended, as it were, on high upon horses.—ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες. "Moving on the ground."—πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον. "Far more powerfully," i. e., a far more powerful blow.—πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν, κ. τ. λ. "And shall much more hit whatever we may wish (to hit)." The full expression would be, *πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦτον τευξόμεθα ὅτου ἂν τυγχάνειν βουλόμεθα*.—ἐνὶ δὲ μόνῳ προέχουσιν, κ. τ. λ. Priscian (vol. ii., p. 248, ed. Krehl), in citing this passage, reads *ἐν μόνον*; but his single authority is insufficient to outweigh the common reading. With regard to the accusative *ἡμᾶς*, it may be remarked that *προέχω* is very rarely thus construed. Its ordinary government is the genitive. (Compare Poppo, *ad loc.*)

## § 20.

τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρῆετε. "You are confident for battles." Verbs expressing hope, confidence, &c., take an accusative of the feeling, or that wherein it consists. (Kühner, § 550.)—οὐκέτι ὑμῖν ἡγήσεται. "Will no longer lead the way for you." Consult note on *τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο*, ii., 2, 8.—τοῦτο ἀχθεσθε. Valckenaer, in his annotations on Lennep's *Phalaris* (p. xx.), thinks that Xenophon here wrote *τούτω*. But consult Dindorf, and also Kühner, § 549, c.—πότερον κρεῖττον. "Whether it be better."—ἢ οὐς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀνδρας λαβόντες, κ. τ. λ. "Or whatever persons we, having seized, may order to guide (us)." The full expression would be, *ἢ τούτους τοὺς ἀνδρας ἡγεμόνας ἔχειν, οὐς ἂν ἡμεῖς λαβόντες, κ. τ. λ.*—εἴσονται. "Will know."—ἢν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἁμαρτάνωσι, κ. τ. λ. "If they sin in any thing concerning us, they sin



concerning their own lives and persons," i. e., if they violate their faith and purposely lead us into any difficulties, they will either lose their lives at our hands, or suffer for it in the punishment of their persons. Compare the explanation of Zeune: "*ψυχὰς, ne interficiantur; σώματα, ne virgis cadantur.*" We have rejected the article before *σώματα*, as given by the ordinary text, since the one expressed before *ψυχὰς* is sufficient, though the two nouns be of different genders. (Consult Poppo, *ad loc.*)

## § 21.

της ἀγορᾶς, ἥς, κ. τ. λ. Attraction, for τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἥν, κ. τ. λ.—*μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου.* "Small measures for much money." Observe that *μέτρα* is in apposition with τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, and that ἀργυρίου is the genitive of price.—*μηδὲ τοῦτο ἐτι ἔχοντας.* "And no longer even having this (money to expend)" i. e., and being no longer even in a condition to give money for provisions, since the death of Cyrus has cut us off from all further receipt of pay. Observe that τοῦτο refers back to ἀργυρίου. Compare the explanation of Zeune: "*Præsertim cum ne hoc quidem (argentum) posthac (mortuo Cyro) possimus accipere;*" and also that of Larcher: "*ce que (scil. l'argent) nous ne sommes plus en état de faire.*"—*ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἢνπερ, κ. τ. λ.* "Or to take them ourselves, if we be victorious, using a measure of what size each one may wish (to use)." The common reading used to be, αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν ἢ ἢνπερ κρατῶμεν, κ. τ. λ. The text, however, as we now give it, appears in the best recent editions, and is corrected from the Eton MS. Weiske, retaining the common lection, punctuates and explains as follows: *μηδέ, τοῦτο ἐτι ἔχοντας, αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, "neque nos ipsos sumere (commeatum ex agris) ubi pecunia adhuc suppetit."*

## § 22.

εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε, κ. τ. λ. "If, however, you know that these things are better (for you)," i. e., if you are convinced, that the situation in which you at present are placed, as regards the procuring of guides and provisions, is better for you than the other in which you previously were. Literally, "if, however, you know these things that (they are) better." Supply *ἐστί*. The common text has *ὅτι οὕτω κρείττονα*, but *οὕτω* is already implied in *ταῦτα*, and probably arose from some earlier reading, *ὅτι κρείττονα ὄντα*. (Bornemann, *ad loc.*)—*ἄπορον εἶναι.* "To be a thing impassable." Supply *χρῆμα*.—*μεγάλως ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες.* "That you were greatly misled when you crossed them." The rivers referred to it

will be remembered, were the Euphrates and Tigris.—*εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον, κ. τ. λ.* "Whether the barbarians have not done in this even a most foolish thing." The Greeks often, in cases like the present, where a negation is not positively made, but where verbs and expressions implying more or less of doubt are employed, such as *σκοπῶ, οὐκ οἶδα, τίς οἶδεν*, &c., use the particle *εἰ* alone, where in English we have to add the negative. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)—*εἰ καὶ "Even though."*—*προϊοῦσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς, κ. τ. λ.* As they advanced toward their sources, they would find these rivers dwindle to mere brooks, which they might ford without wetting their knees.

## § 23.

*εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διοίσουσιν.* "But if neither the rivers shall present any difference (in any part of their courses)," i. e., if they shall be even as broad at their fountain-heads as at a distance from them. Compare the explanation of Bornemann: "*quodsi in fluminibus nullum erit discrimen; quodsi nec procul a fontibus, nec prope fontes transiri flumina poterunt.*" The common text has *διήσουσιν*, "shall let us pass," "shall allow us to cross;" but the best MSS. give *διοίσουσιν*, which has been adopted by Bornemann, Dindorf, and others.—*οὐδ' ὧς.* "Not even thus," i. e., not even though this be the case. Observe that *ὧς*, as an oxyton, is here for *οὕτως*.—*ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσούς, κ. τ. λ.* They knew how many independent nations, like the Mysians, the Pisidians, and the Lycaonians, whose country they had themselves traversed, maintained themselves within the king's dominions, in defiance of his authority, and in the possession of many fair cities.—*Μυσούς.* Compare i., 6, 7.—*οὐς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίημεν, κ. τ. λ.* "Whom we should not affirm to be braver than ourselves." Observe the construction of the relative with the infinitive, and consult *Matthiæ*, § 638.—*οἱ βασιλέως ἄκοντος, κ. τ. λ.* Schneider, in order to do away with the repetition of *βασιλέως* in the same sentence, conjectures the true reading to be *οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ χώρᾳ ἄκοντος πολλὰς τε, κ. τ. λ.*, being guided to this conjecture by the Eton MS., which has *οἱ βασιλέως χώρᾳ ἄκοντος*. He retains, however, the common reading in his text. Dindorf thinks, that, if any change is to be made, it should consist in the rejection of the words *βασιλέως ἄκοντος*, as they stand in the common lection, and which appear to him to be a mere gloss. His opinion is probably the true one.—*Πισίδας.* Compare i., 1, 11.—*Λυκάονας.* They had passed through a part of Lycaonia in their march upward with Cyrus (i. 2, 19), and hence the expression *καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν*.—*ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ, κ. τ. λ.* "That, having seized upon the strong

holds in the plains, they reap the fruit of this man's country." We have retained τούτου, the common reading, as referring to the king with Wyttenbach, Weiske, and Krüger. Dindorf, Bornemann, Poppo, and others read τούτων, from some of the MSS., as referring to the Persians.

## § 24.

καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἐφην, κ. τ. λ. "For my own part, too, I would have said that we ought not, as yet, to be openly starting for home, but to be getting ourselves ready as if about to take up our abodes somewhere hereabouts." All the MSS. have ἐφην, for which Stephens, after Castello, conjectured φαίην, and this conjecture has been adopted by almost all subsequent editors. The old reading is, nevertheless, the true one; for ἂν φαίην is the Latin *dixerim*, and would only be employed by Xenophon if he were in any doubt, or if he actually advised what he mentioned. On the other hand, ἂν ἐφην is *dicerem*, so that the clause would be the same as *dicerem . . . nisi metuerem ne*, &c., i. e., *ei μὴ ἐδεδόκειν μὴ*, κ. τ. λ.; but instead of this last, Xenophon has, after a long intervening space, ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ. Compare a similar construction in *Juvenal*, iii., 315: "*His alias poteram et plures subnectere causas; sed . . . sol inclinatus*," &c. (*Krüg., ad loc.*)—ἂν δοίη. "Would give, no doubt."—πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἰδοῦς ἐκπέμψειν. "And (would give) many hostages, too, of his intention to send them away without treachery." Observe the employment of the future ἐκπέμψειν to mark an intention or purpose.—καὶ ὁδοποιήσει γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς. "And would make a road for them." The reference is, as appears from what follows, to a road broad enough even for a four-horse chariot. Compare on this whole passage the paraphrase of Bishop Thirlwall: "If any of those tribes, as the Mysians, with whom a Greek would not think it honorable to be compared, were willing to quit the king's territory, he would, no doubt, gladly furnish them with guides, pave a highway for their retreat, and give them hostages for their safety. And he would assuredly be overjoyed to do as much for the Greeks, if, instead of betraying their anxiety to return home, they intimated an inclination to stay and settle in his empire." (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 334.)

## § 25.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα, μὴ. "But (this I do not say), for I am afraid lest." Consult note on καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἐφην, κ. τ. λ., § 24.—βιοτεύειν. "To pass our days."—μεγάλαις. A full development of frame formed one of the essential attributes of beauty among the ancients

Compare *Od.*, xv., 418; *Xen. Mem.*, ii., 1, 22; *Id.*, *Æcon.*, x., 2; *Lucian*, *Tox.*, xlv.; *Id.*, *pro Imag.*, iv.; *Quintil.*, xii., 10, 5.—ὁμιλεῖν. "To hold converse with."—οἱ λωτοφάγοι. "The lotus-eaters." The Lotophagi, properly speaking, were a people on the coast of Africa, near the Syrtes, who received this name from their living principally upon the lotus. The reference in the text, however, is to the Homeric legend respecting the strangers who might come to this quarter and eat the fruit of the lotus, which was so delicious that all who tasted of it forgot their homes and wished to remain in that country. (*Od.*, ix., 80.) The lotus here meant is the *jujube*, and is still prized at Tunis and Tripoli.

## § 26.

καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους. "And to the members of our families." Compare *Hesychius*: οἰκεῖοι· οἱ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν ἀλλήλοις προσήκοντες καὶ ἰδιοὶ, καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν πάντες.—ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται. "That they labor under poverty of their own free will," i. e., that if they are poor, it is the result of their own choice, for he goes on to remark, that all who were struggling with poverty at home might here find ample room, and abundant means of subsistence.—ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν οἰκοῖ, κ. τ. λ. "When it is in their power to see those rich, on having come hither, who now at home are there living with difficulty." More freely, "are leading hard lives there." The true reading is quite uncertain here. The one which we have given appears to have the greatest weight of MS. authority in its favor. The majority of editions, however, read ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας, "are living as unportioned citizens," i. e., without any property or means.—κομισαμένους. Observe the force of the middle. Literally, "on having conveyed or brought themselves." Halbkart thinks the allusion is to military colonies, "*bewaffnete Ansiedelungen*."—ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, κ. τ. λ. "But (why dwell any further on this subject), O men, since it is manifest," &c. Compare the explanation of *Graff*: "doch, wozu noch weiter davon reden, denn es ist ja offenbar, dass," &c.

## § 27.

ὥς κράτιστα. "To the greatest possible advantage."—δοκεῖ μοι. "It seems to me right."—ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη, κ. τ. λ. "That our cattle may not govern our march," i. e., that the care of the baggage may not decide the movements of the army. Compare the explanation of *Luzerne*: "*afin que les voitures ne décident pas les mouvemens de l'armée*."—ζεύγη. Compare the explanation of *Sturz* (*Lex. Xen.*, s. v.): "*equi et boves jugales, omninoque jumenta oneribus vehendis*



*juncta.*—συμφέρῃ. Supply πορεύεσθαι.—καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς συγκατακαῦσαι. "Go burn our tents, also, along with them." Observe the force of σύν.—αὐταὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ δχλον, κ. τ. λ. "For these, again, give trouble to carry." Observe the force of αὐ: "these, again," i. e., on their part.—συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδέν. "And contribute no advantage."

## § 28.

τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν. "Let us get rid of the superfluous articles of our other furniture."—σκευοφορῶσι. "May be carrying baggage."—Κρατουμένων μὲν γάρ, κ. τ. λ. "For you know that all things belonging to conquered persons become the property of others."—σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους. Supply εἶναι.

## § 29.

ὁρᾶτε γάρ, κ. τ. λ. "You see, namely, even the enemy, that they did not dare openly to commence war," &c. More freely, "you see, namely, that the enemy did not even dare," &c. Observe the explanatory force of γάρ, as answering to the Latin *nempe* or *scilicet*.—ἐξενεγκεῖν. Literally, "to bring out into view," and hence "to begin openly." Compare the explanation of Krüger: "*offen und thätlich anfangen*."—ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, κ. τ. λ. "That as long as our commanders existed and we obeyed (them)."—τῷ πολέμῳ. We should read, in all probability, ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.—ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. "That we would perish."

## § 30.

πολύ. To be construed with ἐπιμελεστέρας.—τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοὺς νῦν. "Our present commanders."—τῶν πρόσθεν. "Than our former ones." Alluding to those who were entrapped by Tissaphernes.—πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, κ. τ. λ. "And those who are commanded to be far more orderly and more obedient to their commanders now than they formerly were." Observe that νῦν is not to be construed with ἀρχουσι, in the sense of "our present commanders." Had this been the meaning of Xenophon, he would have written τοῖς νῦν ἀρχουσι, and then we would also have had, in the following clause, ἢ τοῖς πρόσθεν.

## § 31.

ἢν δὲ τις ἀπειθῇ, κ. τ. λ. "In case, however, any one prove disobedient, if you shall have (previously) decreed that he of you who at any time meets with (such a one) is to aid the commander in punishing him." The more logical arrangement would have been, ἢν δὲ ψυφίσσῃσθε, ἢν τις ἀπειθῇ, κ. τ. λ. The repetition here of ἢν need not

offend. We have an instance precisely similar in vii., 7, 31, ἐὰν οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται, κ. τ. λ. On the frequent repetition, moreover, of εἰ in Greek, consult the remarks of Bornemann, *ad Xen., Symp.*, iv., 55.—τὸν αἰεὶ ἐντυγχάνοντα. The adverb αἰεὶ, when preceded by the article, has a peculiar force, answering to our English phrases, "at the time," "for the time being," &c. When it has this meaning, it is generally situated between the article and a participle, perhaps always so in prose writers. The poets, however, do not confine themselves to this order. Compare Valck., *ad Adonias.*, p. 197, C; Ellendt, *Lex. Soph.*, s. v. αἰεὶ; Schweigh., *Lex. Herod.*, s. v. αἰεὶ; Monk, *ad Eurip., Alcest.*, 716; and Major, *ad Eurip., Hec.*, 1164 Cicero has imitated this Græcism: "*Omnes Sicilia semper prætores.*" (*In Verr.*, v., 12.)—οὕτως. "In this way," i. e., as the result of such a course.—ἐψευσμένοι ἐσονται. The enemy, who had hoped, by depriving them of their generals, to introduce disorder into their camp, will be deceived in their expectations, and will find that, in the room of one Clearchus who had perished, there were ten thousand always on the watch to repress any breach of discipline. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 334.)—τοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέποντας κακῷ εἶναι. "Who will permit no man to be bad," i. e., to disobey his commanders. Observe in κακῷ what is called the attraction of the infinitive, the predicate of the infinitive being put in the same case with the object that precedes. Compare Buttman, § 142, 2.

## § 32.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν, κ. τ. λ. Consult note on ἀλλὰ γάρ, § 26. Observe the presence of γάρ, moreover, in the clause immediately following, a species of repetition not uncommon in the Greek writers. Compare iv., 7, 3; *Lys. c. Agor.*, p. 453; and Bornemann, *ad Xen., Symp.*, iv., 55. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)—περαίνειν. "To finish." Observe, again, the infinitive used with a noun (ῥα) for the purpose of defining the operation of the notion contained therein. (*Köhner*, § 667, B.) With περαίνειν we may supply τὸν λόγον.—ἐπικυρώσάτω ὡς τάχιστα. "Let him ratify (them by his vote) as quickly as possible." The common text has ἐπικυρώσας, a clumsy reading, for which we have not hesitated to give ἐπικυρώσάτω, with the best editors.—ἵνα ἔργῳ περαίνηται. "That they may be accomplished in very deed," i. e., not merely talked of, but actually performed. The common text has περαίνητε, "that ye may accomplish them," &c.—εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη. The full expression would be, εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο δοκεῖ αὐτῷ βέλτιον εἶναι ἢ ταύτη ὁδὸς ταῦτα εἶναι. We would have expected here ἄλλῃ for ἄλλο, or else.

ταῦτα for ταύτη, but compare Thucydides, v., 80: ὅποσα ἀλλήλων πολέμῳ ἢ εἰ τι ἄλλο εἶχον.—τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν. "Let even the private soldier be bold enough to instruct us," i. e., let him, even though he may be a private soldier, come forth boldly and instruct us on this head.

## § 33.

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ, κ. τ. λ. "Well, if there be need of any thing else in addition to these things which Xenophon says, it will be in our power to do it, also, presently." Cheirisophus proposes, in this and what follows, that they adopt Xenophon's suggestions without delay, remarking that all other minor details can be readily attended to after the main point shall have been accomplished. Observe that οἷς is, by attraction, for ᾧ.—δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι, κ. τ. λ. "It appears to me right to vote, as quickly as possible, to be the best thing (we can do)."—ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Observe the force which the asyndeton imparts to the clause, and, for similar instances, compare v., 6, 33; and vii., 3, 6.

## § 34.

ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν. Xenophon's next proposal is for regulating the order of march. He suggests that they should move in four divisions, so as to inclose the baggage in a hollow square. The honor of leading the van he proposes to confer on Cheirisophus, as a Spartan; the command of the two flank divisions, on the two eldest generals; the rear, as the post of danger, he claimed for Timasion and himself, as the youngest.—ὣν προσδεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. "Of what there appears to me to be need in addition." The MSS. have προσδοκᾶν, which remained the acknowledged reading until Wyttenbach conjectured προσδεῖν. His emendation has been subsequently adopted by the best editors. Wyttenbach thinks that προσδοκᾶν arose in the MSS. from the error of some copyist, who was misled by the similitude of the word δοκεῖ which follows. (*Eclog. Hist.*, p. 389.—*Id. ib.*, p. 356.)—ὅπου. "To that quarter where." For ἐκεῖσε ὅπου.

## § 35.

θανμάζοιμι. Lion reads θανμάζοιμεν, which is decidedly inferior, since the reference here is to the opinion of Xenophon himself merely, not to that of the soldiers at large.—εἰ οἱ πολέμοι. Observe that πολέμοι here, by a species of anacoluthon, becomes a nominative absolute, a new nominative, αὐτοί, taking its place, after the long intervening clause, for purposes both of perspicuity and strength.—

τούς μὲν παριόντας. "Those who pass by them," i. e., who seek to avoid them.—εἰ καὶ αὐτοί, κ. τ. λ. "(I say, I should not wonder) if they themselves, also, should follow close upon us when going away." We have given αὐτοί, on good MS. authority, in place of the common reading οὗτοι.

## § 36.

πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν δπλων. "Having formed a square of the heavy-armed troops." The πλαίσιον here meant is what was technically termed πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον. Consult note on ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων, i., 8, 9.—τὰ σκευόφορα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος. "The baggage-animals and the numerous multitude." By ὄχλος are meant the whole body of camp followers, &c.—ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ εἶη. Observe here the employment of the optative, although we have a future (ἔσται) preceding and understood in the commencement of the section. It is one of the three cases where an optative follows a principal tense, namely, when the writer or speaker introduces the aim of another person, not as existing in his own mind, but in the mind of that person, so that the sentence partakes of the character of the *oratio obliqua*. (*Kühner*, § 807, b.)—ἀποδειχθεῖη. "It should be determined." Literally, "should be shown forth." Compare the explanation of Sturz (*Lex. Xen.*, s. v.), "*suffragiis constitueretur*."—ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου. "To lead the square."—καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν. "And to arrange the van," i. e., to regulate the movements of the leading division, or the front of the square.—ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων. "Upon each of the flanks."—οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοι ἔλθοιεν, κ. τ. λ. "It would not, whenever the enemy might come, be necessary for us to deliberate, but we would immediately make use of our plans (already) arranged." Literally, "but we would immediately make use of the things that had been arranged."

## § 37.

βέλτιον. "A better course (than what I am going to recommend)." —Λακεδαιμόνιος. The Lacedæmonians at this time held the sway over Greece. Compare vi., 1, 26, and 6, 12.—ἐπιμελείσθων. There can be no doubt but that the imperatives, ἡγεῖσθω, in the previous clause, and ἐπιμελείσθων here, form the true readings. The common text has ἡγοῖτο and ἐπιμελοίσθην, but the optative, as indicating a wish, is entirely unsuitable to the passage; while, if a softer and more subdued form of expression than the imperative were intended to be employed, the particle ἂν would have been inserted with the optative forms. The imperative is precisely the mood to be



employed here, and is sanctioned, moreover, by good MS. authority. It is adopted, besides, by the best editors, such as Bornemann, Poppo, Dindorf, Krüger, &c. (Compare Poppo, *ad loc.*—Schæf., *ad Greg. Cor.*, p. 173.)—τὸ νῦν εἶναι. "For the present." Consult note on τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, i., 6, 9.

## § 38.

τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν, κ. τ. λ. "Hereafter, however, on making trial of this arrangement," i. e., this mode of march.—ἀεὶ. "At any time," i. e., as any particular circumstances may occur, that would seem to require a change of this order.—δοκῇ. The conjectural emendation of Dindorf. The common reading is δοκοίη.—ἐδοξε ταῦτα. Consult note on ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες, § 33.

## § 39.

τὰ δεδογμένα. "The things that have been determined upon." Literally, "the things that have appeared good."—οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλως τοῦτον τυχεῖν. "For it is not possible to obtain this in any other way," i. e., to see again your homes and families.—τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικούντων, κ. τ. λ. "For of the victorious killing, of the vanquished dying is the lot."—καὶ τὰ ταῦτων σώζειν. "Both to preserve the things that belong to themselves." Observe here the employment of the infinitive without the article.

## CHAPTER III.

## § 1.

κατέκαιον. "They set about burning." Observe the force of the imperfect. (Balfour, *ad loc.*)—τῶν δὲ περιττῶν, κ. τ. λ. "And their superfluous things, whatever one of them any person wanted, they distributed among one another." Observe the government of μεταδίδωμι, namely, the dative of the person and genitive of the thing.—ἤριστο-ποιούντο. "They began to take their morning meal." Compare note on ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν, ii., 3, 5.—εἰς ἐπήκοον. "To a place within hearing." Supply τόπον, and compare ii., 5, 38.

## § 2.

καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὖνους. Supply εἰμὶ, from the ἦν which precedes.—καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. "And I am here, living in much fear." With διάγων supply βίον.—σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους. "Concerting any thing salutary," i. e., any thing calculated to deliver

you from your present difficulties."—τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε. "What you have in mind."—ὡς φίλον. "As to a friend." Supply πρὸς, which some editions express in the text.

## § 3.

βουλευομένοις. "On their consulting together."—καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρῖ-σοφος. Cheirisophus speaks for the rest, as senior commander.—ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα. "As harmlessly as we may be able."—ἦν δέ τις ἡμῶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύη. "But if any one attempt to debar us from our route," i. e., to hinder our return.

## § 4.

ὡς ἄπορον εἶη. "How utterly impossible it was."—ἐνθα δὲ ἐγίνω-σκετο, κ. τ. λ. "Hereupon, accordingly, it began to be perceived that he was insidiously sent." The common reading is ὑποπτος, for which Weiske restored ὑπόπεμπτος from the Eton MS. Compare ii., 4, 22: τότε δὲ καὶ ἐγνώσθη, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμπαιεν.—πίστεως ἕνεκα. "To insure his fidelity," i. e., to see that he did not play him false. Literally, "for the sake of fidelity."

## § 5.

δόγμα ποιήσασθαι. "To make a decree."—ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι. "Was to be one in which no heralds should be admitted," i. e., one in which they would listen to no overtures. Observe that the infinitive εἶναι depends, in fact, upon δόγμα.—ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ. Supply χώρα. —διέ-φθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες, κ. τ. λ. "For, by coming unto (them), they began to corrupt the soldiers, and they had actually corrupted," &c.—Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα. This is generally supposed to have been the same with the Nicarchus who came wounded to the Grecian camp after the seizure of the generals, and brought the first intelligence of their fate. But Becker, in his German version, thinks this scarcely credible, and that there must have been another Arcadian of the same name in the Grecian camp. (p. 132, *not.*)—ᾧχετο ἀπὺν νυκτός. "He went off suddenly by night."

## § 6.

διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμόν. The historian does not say whether the army crossed this river by ferry or by ford; but from the rapid manner in which the passage was effected, it is to be presumed that it was by ford; and there is no ford lower down the river than immediately above the actual ferry, near the spot called Κελεκ Γουρ, and this is only available at certain seasons. (Ains-

worth, p. 134.) The retreat which began from this point was the most memorable and brilliant period in Xenophon's life. The ability which he displayed in his command is the more remarkable, if, as we have reason to believe, it was the first he had ever held, and before this expedition he had enjoyed few opportunities of acquiring any military experience. But the qualities which this occasion drew forth were less those of the soldier and the general, than such as had been cultivated by his intercourse with Socrates. The kind of practical philosophy which he had extracted from his master's discourses was now called into constant exercise, and appears in its most advantageous light. To his presence of mind, his courage, patience, firmness, mildness, and evenness of temper, the army was mainly indebted for its safety. In the hour of danger and the place of difficulty, he was always foremost, ready to share the hardships and toils of the soldiers, and to cheer them by the example of his never-failing alacrity. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 336.)

## § 7.

ἐγένοντο. The common text has ἐγένετο, but MS. authority is in favor of the plural. — καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. "And they began to inflict wounds." We have placed a comma before these words, so as to make them refer to both the archers and slingers. The common text has no comma, so that the words in question are thus made to apply to the slingers merely. — βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον. "Shot shorter than the Persians." The Cretans were famed for their skill in archery, and, according to the legend, Apollo invented the bow among them, and taught them archery himself. (*Diod. Sic.*, v., 74.) The Persians, however, also enjoyed a high reputation in this respect, and on the present occasion, moreover, the greater length of their bows (compare chap. iv., § 17) gave them a decided advantage. (Compare *Brisson*, *de regno Pers.*, p. 268, 277.) — καὶ ἅμα φίλοι ὄντες, κ. τ. λ. "And at the same time, being lightly armed, they had taken shelter within the heavy-armed men." Literally, "they had shut themselves in." The passive in a middle sense. As light-armed troops they would be unprotected by either shield or corselet. It will be remembered that Clearchus had brought with him two hundred Cretans. (i., 2, 9.) — κατεκέλειντο. We have adopted here the conjecture of Abresch (*Dilucid. Tl.*, p. 393) and Larcher. The previous reading was κατεκέλειντο. — ὀπλων. For ὀπλιτῶν. The abstract for the concrete, as usual. — οἱ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἤκοντιζον, κ. τ. λ. "And the javelin-men hurled their javelins shorter than so as to reach the slingers." Observe the construction of ἡ ὥς and

the infinitive after a comparative degree. This occurs when the comparative expresses that a quality exists in too high or low a degree to allow something mentioned to follow. (*Matthiae*, § 448, 1, b.)

## § 8.

καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "And those of the heavy-armed and targeteers set out in pursuit, who happened to be with him guarding the rear." Supply ἐκεῖνοι with ἐδίωκον. — κατελάμβανον. "They overtook."

## § 9.

οὔτε γὰρ ἰππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Cyrus's Greek levies for the expedition had consisted entirely of infantry, his cavalry being either Asiatic or Thracian. The Thracian horse, who were not many in number, had already deserted, and the Asiatic cavalry had parted company with the Greeks, and gone over to Tissaphernes soon after the battle. The Greeks at home do not appear to have attended much to cavalry, until the times of Epaminondas, Philip, and Alexander. (*Lion*, *ad loc.*) — ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας. "Fleeing from afar." Supply διαστήματος. — ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ. "Within a small space." The movements of the infantry, in the pursuit, were limited, as a matter of course, to a much more circumscribed space than those of cavalry would have been. — πολὺ. "Far." — ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος. "From the rest of the army."

## § 10.

καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον. "Even at the same time while fleeing inflicted wounds." The time of the participle is often more accurately expressed by the addition of the temporal adverbs ἅμα, μετὰ, αὐτίκα, &c. (*Kühner*, § 696, *Obs.* 5.) The movements of the Persian cavalry, as described here and further on, remind us of the Parthians of a later age. Compare *Plutarch* (*Vit. Crass.*, c. 24): ὑπέφευγον γὰρ ἅμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι. — εἰς τοῦπισθεν. "Backward." Crasis for τὸ ὀπισθεν. Supply μέρος. — ὅσον δὲ προδιώξαιαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, κ. τ. λ. "And as far as the Greeks advanced in pursuit, so far was it necessary for them to retreat again, fighting (all the way)." Observe the employment here of the optative, indicating, in fact, that as often as this was done a certain result necessarily followed.

## § 11.

διήλθον. "They traversed." — πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων. Twenty-five stadia make very nearly three English miles. The progress of the army, therefore, on this day was slow indeed. — ἐνθα δὲ πάλιν



ἀθυμία ἦν. "Here, again, as might be expected, there was despondency." Observe the force of δὴ.—οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο. "Was able none the more."

## § 12.

ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν, κ. τ. λ. Xenophon here does not so much endeavor to vindicate his own conduct, as to urge the necessity which had been so clearly manifested by the events of the day, of immediately forming a body of cavalry and slingers capable of repelling the enemy's assaults.—καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροῖται. "And that the issue itself bore witness for them." Literally, "the thing done itself."—ἐν τῷ μένειν. "While remaining at our posts," i. e., keeping our appointed places in the line of march, and not sallying forth therefrom against the foe.

## § 13.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, κ. τ. λ. "When, however, we pursued, you say true things." More freely, "the truth is as you say." A brief form of expression, in place of the following: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν ἐγένετο διὰ περ ὑμεῖς, ἀληθῆ λέγοντες, αἰτιάσθε.

## § 14.

τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις, κ. τ. λ. "Thanks, then, to the gods, that they came not with much force, but with few men, so as not to do us any great harm, and yet to show of what we are in need." After χάρις supply ἔστω.

## § 15.

ὅσον οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται, κ. τ. λ. "As far as neither the Cretans can shoot back, nor they who throw from the hand can reach." By οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες are meant the ἀκοντισταί, or javelin-men; and hence, after βάλλοντες we may supply ἀκόντια. Compare § 7.—ἐξικνεῖσθαι. This verb is often thus employed without any defined object.—πολὸν μὲν χωρίον. "Any great distance." Literally, "for much space."—ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ οὐδ' εἰ ταχύς, κ. τ. λ. "Whereas, in a small space, not even if a foot-soldier were swift, could he overtake a foot-soldier, if pursuing him from the distance of a bow-shot." Literally, "from the drawing of a bow," i. e., if the latter have a bow-shot start of him. The Greeks could not venture to pursue them far, and hence the expression ἐν ὀλίγῳ.

## § 16.

ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν, κ. τ. λ. "If, then, we intend to keep off these men." Lion reads μέλλομεν, from two of the MSS. But the indic-

ative is required here, not the optative; for the meaning is, "if we intend, (and we certainly do so intend)."—πορευομένους. "On our march."—τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ. "We need as quickly as possible." Supply ἡμῖν with δεῖ, and ὁδόν with ταχίστην.—'Ροδίους. The Rhodians excelled in the service of light troops, particularly as darters and slingers. Compare Thucydides, vi., 43.—καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "And that their weapon carries even double the distance of the Persian slings." Observe that βέλος is here employed in a general sense as a weapon of attack, and is, therefore, equivalent, in fact, to σφενδόνην. Compare Sturz, *Lex. Xen.*, s. v.

## § 17.

αἱ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ. "For these, on account of (the Persians) sling-  
ing stones that fill the hand," i. e., stones as large as can be held in the hand. Observe that ἐκείναι refers to the Περσικαὶ σφενδοναί.—μολυβδόσιν. "Lead bullets." Frequent mention is made of this kind of missiles by the ancient writers as employed by slingers. They were used, in particular, by the inhabitants of the Balearic islands; and, according to some, were thrown occasionally with so much force as to melt in the air! Ovid, *Met.*, ii., 727; *Sil. Ital.*, ix., 233; *Virg.*, *Æn.*, ix., 588, &c.

## § 18.

ἣν οὖν αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "If, then, we see who of them possess slings, and give money for them unto this one," i. e., unto him who shall be found possessing any. Observe that αὐτῶν here is the genitive, not of price, but of exchange or barter, and consult Kühner, § 516. The reading of the present passage is very uncertain. We have given that of Dindorf.—ἄλλας πλέκειν. "To plat others."—καὶ τῷ σφενδο-  
νᾶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ, κ. τ. λ. "And if we find some other immunity for him who is willing to serve as a slinger in the place assigned him," i. e., in whatever quarter we shall see fit to station him. By ἀτέλεια is meant immunity from standing guard, keeping watch, &c. As regards the expression ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ, compare the explanation of Poppo: ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ pro in loco constituto, assignato."

## § 19.

τοὺς δὲ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καταλελειμμένους. "And others left by Clearchus."—αἰχμαλώτους. "Taken from the enemy."—σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν. "We give ordinary baggage animals in their stead."—τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν. "And accoutre the horses for cavalry." Observe here what is termed by grammarians the causal

signification of *εἰς*, namely, as denoting the intention, purpose, &c. (Kühner, § 625). Compare, also, the version of Poppo: "*die Pferd für Reiter zututzen.*" (Ind. Græc. ad Anab., s. v. κατασκευάζω.)—*τὶ ἀνιάσουσιν.* "Will prove some annoyance."

## § 20.

*σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο.* "As many as two hundred became slingers." Observe, as before, the force of *εἰς* with a numeral.—*ἐδοκιμάσθησαν.* "Were judged fit for service," i. e., upon actual examination having been made, such being the true force of *δοκιμάζω*.—*σπολάδες.* "Leathern jackets." By *σπολάς* is meant a kind of jerkin or overcoat, made of leather or skin, and serving as a protection for the person. Its lightness would render it well adapted for the slingers. Hesychius defines it, *ὁ βύρσινος θώραξ*; and Photius (*Lex.*, p. 531, ed. Pors.), *δερμάτιον ἐφαπτῶδες, πρὸς τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ μάχας χρήσιμον.* The word itself appears to have come into Attic Greek from the Æolic and Doric dialects. A various reading gives *στολάς* as another form for it. (Schæf., ad Greg. Cor., p. 364. Compare Ahrens, de Dialect. Æol., p. 40, seq.)

## CHAPTER IV.

## § 1.

*μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν.* The villages where they were stopping lay, according to Ainsworth, between the ferry, near which they had crossed, and the River Khazir or Gomar-sou. (p. 135.)—*πρωϊαίτερον.* "Earlier than usual." Thomas Magister prefers the form *πρωίτερον*, though not found in good Attic writers; for in Thucydides (viii., 101), Bekker writes *πρωϊαίτερον*.—*χαράδραν διαβῆναι.* "To cross over a ravine formed by a mountain-torrent." Ainsworth thinks that the torrent here alluded to was evidently the Khazir or Gomar-sou, a small river which has its sources in the mountainous districts of Kurdistan, to the west of the central chain, and where its principal branch is called the Gomar-sou; but after its arrival on the fertile plains of Adiabene, where it flows past the eastern part of the Mons Nicephorius of Alexander, and is joined by the river of Akra, it is more generally known by the name of Khazir-sou. It is the Bumadus of Quintus Curtius and of the historians of Alexander; and the adjacent plain became on the first of October, seventy years afterward, the scene of the final overthrow of the Persian dynasty. (Ainsworth, p. 136.)

## § 2.

*διαβεβηκόσι.* "Having just crossed over." An example, remarks Balfour, of a definite tense, whereby the precise point of time is marked; "at the very moment they had crossed over."—*καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος.* "And had received (them from him) on having promised."—*ἔχων.* "Although he had (with him)."—*ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι.* "Thought he had inflicted."

## § 3.

*ὀκτὼ σταδίων.* Nearly a mile.—*ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν.* "Having (with him) the force above mentioned." Observe the force of the article.—*παρήγγελλτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν, κ. τ. λ.* "Now instructions had been given to both those of the targeteers, and of the heavy-armed men whom it behooved to pursue." We translate here as if the full expression were *τοῖς τῶν πελταστῶν οὖς, κ. τ. λ.* In reality, however, the genitive is put partitively. (Matthiæ, § 321, 5.)—*θαρροῦσι.* "With boldness."—*ὥς ἐφεσπομένης.* "Since a sufficient force was going to follow them."

## § 4.

*κατειλήφει.* "Had overtaken them."—*ἐξικνοῦντο.* "Began to reach."—*ἐσήμενε.* Consult note on *σημήνη*, ii., 2, 4.—*καὶ εὐθύς ἔθεν ὁμός.* "And those straightway ran to meet (the foe)."—*οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο.* "The enemy, however, did not wait to receive them."—*ἤλαυνον.* "Charged." Supply, for a literal translation, *τοὺς ἵππους*.

## § 5.

*τοῖς βαρβάροις.* The dative of disadvantage.—*τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας, κ. τ. λ.* "The Greeks thereupon, at their own instigation, mutilated the slain," i. e., without having received any orders to that effect. The Greeks, knowing the character of the enemy whom they had to deal with, did this in order to heighten the dread of their valor by a false show of cruelty.—*ὥς ὅτι φοβερώτατον, κ. τ. λ.* "That it might be as frightful a thing as possible for the enemy to behold."

## § 6.

*οὕτω πράξαντες.* "Having fared thus."—*ἀσφαλῶς.* "Securely," i. e., secure from any further annoyance or attack.—*ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν.* The distance marched by the Greeks on this occasion is not given by Xenophon. But the Bumadus nowhere approaches the Tigris to within less than twelve miles, and it would have been ten to the great Assyrian ruins, now called Nimrud. and which are



supposed to correspond to the ancient Larissa, mentioned in the next section. (Ainsworth, p. 137.)

## § 7.

Λάρισσα. The city here meant is now generally supposed to have been the same with the one indicated at the present day by the great Assyrian ruins called *Nimrud*, after the name of the mighty hunter mentioned in Scripture. It is worthy of remark, that the learned Bochart, without being acquainted with the localities of Larissa, first advanced the supposition that this Assyrian city was the same as the *Resen* of the Sacred Writings, and that the Greeks, having asked its name, were answered *Al Resen*, the article being prefixed, from which they made *Larissa*, by an easy transposition. Fraser, and all modern writers on the subject, prefer this etymology to any identification, founded upon the analogy of sound, between *Resen* and *Ras'ul Ain*, which has an Arabic meaning, "the head-spring," a town in Northern Mesopotamia, transformed into *Ressaina* by the Romans. The identity is further supported by the fact of the ruins of *Nimrud* being those of an Assyrian city of great antiquity; by their being placed between Nineveh and Calah (*Genesis*, x., 12), and determined by Major Rawlinson to be at the ruins of *Sar Puli Zohab*; by the traditional name *Nimrud*, which is still given to them; and by the remains of the pyramid existing there. (Ainsworth, p. 137.)

ῥκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. This remark, if correct, must, of course, refer to the period subsequent to the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire. *Resen* is said, in the Sacred Writings, to have been founded by Ashur, and to have been a great city, and we know that the Assyrian Empire was not overthrown until the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares I. After this the Median power enjoyed the ascendancy, until it was reduced in turn by the conquests of Cyrus the Great.—τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς. "Of its wall."—τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περιόδος, κ. τ. λ. "And the circuit of the enclosure two parasangs." Reckoning the parasang, with Herodotus, at thirty stadia, this would make the circuit of the walls very nearly seven English miles.—πλίνθοις κεραμίαις. "Of bricks made of clay." Burned bricks, of course, are meant. Compare Poppo: "κεράμιος, fictilis, ex argilla coctus." (*Ind. Græc. ad Anab.*, s. v.) The unburned brick is called, in Greek, ἡ ὠμὴ πλίνθος. (Siebelis, *ad Pausan.*, viii., 8, 5.)—κρηπὶς δ' ὑπὲν λιθίνῃ, κ. τ. λ. "But there was under it a stone foundation," &c. Ainsworth informs us that he ascertained, on examination, that the walls of *Resen* were in most parts based on a rude

and hard conglomerate rock, giving to them all the solidity and characteristics of being built of stone. (p. 139.)

## § 8.

Βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν. Probably Cyrus the Great.—ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι. "When the Persians were wresting the empire."—ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ, κ. τ. λ. "A cloud, however, having covered the sun, caused it to disappear." The MSS., with two exceptions only, read here ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλῃν προκαλύψας. Of the other two MSS., one has νεφέλῃ, a final ν having been erased, and the other νεφέλῃ. Larcher conjectures ἥλιος δὲ ὡς νεφέλῃ προκαλύψας (*scil.* ἐαυτόν), and translates as follows: "mais le soleil ayant disparu comme s'il fut enveloppé d'un nuage." We have preferred giving, however, with the best editors, the conjectural emendation of Brodæus and Muretus. The reference appears to be to an eclipse of the sun.

## § 9.

πυραμὶς λιθίνῃ. "A stone pyramid." What remains of the ruins of *Nimrud* at the present day consists chiefly of long mounds of earth, as at Nineveh, marking the former extent and area of the wall of the city, and a hill, or mound, of a pointed shape, one hundred and forty-four feet in height. Ainsworth thinks that this hill was undoubtedly riveted with stone mason-work, vestiges of which still remain at the western base, and he seeks, therefore, to identify this with Xenophon's stone pyramid. He describes the pyramidal hill as steep, and the top very small; but its base measured upward of 700 feet in circumference. Fragments of bricks, with cuneiform inscriptions, thicker than those of Babylon, are scattered about. This spot is also called *Al Athur*, or *Asshur*, by the natives. (p. 138.)—ἐπὶ ταύτης. "Upon this." Ainsworth makes a strange mistake here, rendering the words ἐπὶ ταύτης, "in this," and then remarks, naturally enough, that he "can not understand how the peasants could convey themselves into the pyramid."

## § 10.

παρασύγγας ἑξ. Very nearly twenty-one English miles.—πρὸς τεῖχος ἑρημον, κ. τ. λ. "To an unoccupied fortress, large of size and lying near a city." The common text has πρὸς τῇ πόλει; but the article is not required here, and we have, therefore, adopted Schæfer's emendation, πρὸς τε πόλει.—Μέσπιλα. The distance given in the text would carry the Greeks from *Nimrud* to the modern village of *Yarum-jah*, built upon a mound of ruins, which may thus, from

Xenophon's evidence, be determined to have belonged to a fortress or castle, and situated on a bend of the river at a short distance from the ruins of Nineveh. The mound is 1150 feet long, by 42 in perpendicular height. As for Mespila itself, there appears to be but little doubt that it is the same as the Nineveh of antiquity. Such a conclusion appears warranted by distances, and by the circumstance that there are no other ruins of extent sufficient, excepting these, to answer the description of Xenophon. (Ainsworth, p. 140.—Ren-  
nell, p. 147.)

ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπίς, κ. τ. λ. "The foundation, moreover, was of polished stone full of shells." As a strongly corroborative proof that Mespila and Nineveh were identical, Ainsworth mentions the curious fact, that the common building-stone of *Mosul* (which place lies opposite the site of Nineveh) is highly fossiliferous, and, indeed, replete with shells, characteristic of a tertiary or supra-cretaceous deposit; and the same limestone does not occur far to the north or to the south of *Mosul*, being succeeded by wastes of gypsum. Leunclavius argued that the shells mentioned here by Xenophon were sculptured on the walls! others have treated the whole subject as unworthy of attention; but it has served, like any other correct observation, to illustrate a question of identity in the most satisfactory manner. (Ainsworth, p. 140.) The λίθος κογχυλιάτης of Xenophon is the same with the κογχυλίαις of Julius Pollux, which he describes as λίθος σκληρός, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ κογχυλίου τύπους, and also with the λίθους κογχυλιώδεις spoken of by Strabo (i., p. 132, ed. Siebenk.), as found by Xanthus the Lydian in Armenia, in the country of the Mattieni, and in Lower Phrygia. The editors of the French Strabo render the expression by "*de moules pétrifiées*." The λίθος κογχίτης of Pausanias (i., 44, 9) also appears to be identical, which Clavier renders "*marbre à coquille*," and Goldhagen "*Muschelmarmor*." This last is found near Megara. (Reinganum, *Das alte Megaris*, p. 40.)

## § 11.

πλίνθινον τεῖχος. "A brick wall."—ἐξ παρασάγγαι. The extent here given by Xenophon to the wall far exceeds what remains in the present day, and contributes toward multiplying the doubts which have existed among historians as to the magnitude of ancient Nineveh. (Ainsworth, p. 140.)—Μηδία γυνὴ βασιλέως. "Media, the king's consort." We have preferred here the common reading *Μηδία*. Dindorf and others give *Μήδεια*. On the form of the name, consult the remarks of Buttmann (*Abhandl. der hist. phil. Klasse der Königl. Preuss. Akad.*, 1818, p. 233), who, though in favor of *Μήδεια*,

confesses that *Μηδία* is a regular derivative from *Μῆδος*.—ὅτε ἀπώ-  
λεσαν τὴν ἀρχήν, κ. τ. λ. "When the Medes lost their empire through the Persians." Observe that the preposition ὑπό here employed with the transitive ἀπολλύναι converts it, in fact, into a kind of passive, as if the Greek had been ἀφῆρέθησαν τὴν ἀρχήν ὑπὸ Περσῶν. (Poppo, *Ind. Græc. ad Anab.*, s. v. ὑπό. Compare *Matthia*, § 496, 3.)

## § 12.

ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς. Cyrus the Great. Compare the remarks of Krüger. (*de Authent.*, p. 15.)—Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ, κ. τ. λ. "But Jupiter makes the inhabitants thunderstruck." The allusion appears to be to some violent tempest accompanied with thunder, which so much alarmed the inhabitants that they surrendered the place. Becker translates in accordance with this idea: "*Endlich setzte Zeus die Einwohner durch ein heftiges Gewitter in Furcht, und sie ergaben sich*." Observe that the term ἐμβρόντητος, like the Latin *attonitus*, refers properly to one's having been stupefied, or deprived of all judgment, by the loud din of thunder near at hand. Compare the English "*Dunder-head*," in which the same idea lies at the basis.

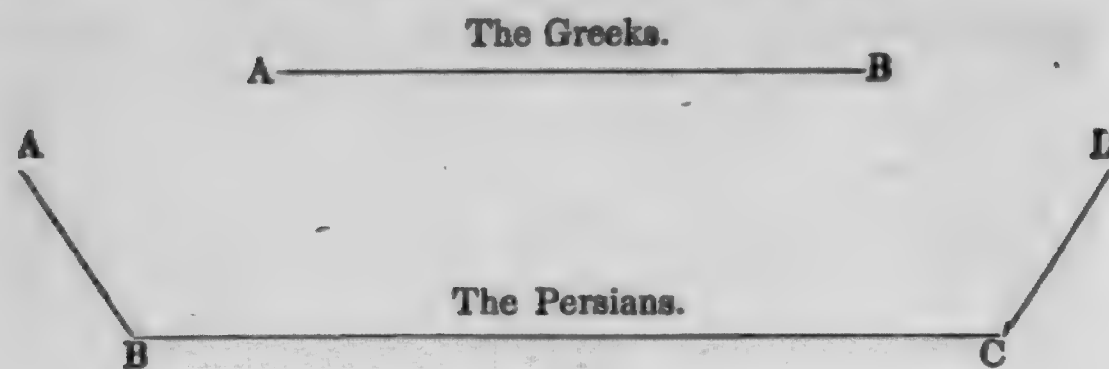
## § 13.

παρασάγγας τέτταρας. This would have carried the Greeks to villages, which are now represented by the small town of the Chaldeans called *Tel Keif*, a site of much interest on the plain of Adiabene, and evidently of great antiquity. (Ainsworth, p. 141.)—εἰς τοῦτον τὸν σταθμόν. "In the midst of this day's march."—ὅς τε αὐτὸς ἰππέας ἤλθεν ἔχων. "Having with him both the cavalry which he himself came with." Literally, "came, having." The full construction will be, ἐκείνους τε ἔχων ἰππέας ὅς αὐτὸς ἤλθεν ἔχων, for which, however, the present abbreviated form of expression is substituted. The horsemen referred to are the 500 mentioned in i., 2, 4.—τὴν δύναμιν. "The force."—τοῦ ἔχοντος. "Who had with him (in marriage)." Consult note on ἐπὶ γάμῳ, ii., 4, 8.—ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφός. Compare ii., 4, 25.

## § 14.

ταῖς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν, κ. τ. λ. "He placed some of his ranks in the rear (of the Greeks), and leading others in an oblique direction against the flanks." Literally, "having placed some of his ranks in the rear, he kept them (in this position), and having led others," &c. Observe the force of εἶχε with the participle, and, moreover, that παραγαγών is not for εἶχε παραγαγ. Halbkart gives the following diagram as illustrating the arrangement made by Tissaphernes:





## § 15.

διαταχθέντες. "Having been dispersed among the ranks."—ο. Σκυθοτοξόται. "The archers imitating the Scythian fashion." Literally, "the Scytho-bowmen." The Grecian archers had hitherto fought on foot; now, however, at the suggestion of Xenophon, they were mounted on horses, and hence, from their resemblance to the Scythian bowmen, who also fought from on horseback, they are called in the text Σκυθοτοξόται. Zeune refers the term to their imitating the Scythians in the mode of discharging the arrow; but this is too special. The imitation consisted merely in their being mounted archers.—οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ πάνυ προθυμοῖτο, ῥάδιον ἦν. "For neither, if he greatly desired it, was it easy." This was owing to the great numbers of the enemy, so that every shot from slinger and archer could not but take effect.

## § 16.

καὶ οὐκέτι εἰσινοντο, κ. τ. λ. "And the barbarians no longer harassed them by their accustomed skirmishing." Literally, "the then skirmishing." Observe the adjectival force given to the adverb by its position between the article and noun. In place of εἰσινοντο the common text has ἐπέκειντο, which also gives a good meaning, and by no means deserves the epithet of "lectio ineptissima," which some critics bestow upon it. The verb εἰνομαι is properly a poetic one, and rarely occurs in Attic prose.—οἱ Πόδιοι. The common text has οἱ τε Πόδιοι. But we have rejected τε as inadmissible here. If admitted into the text, it can only be placed between τῶν and Περσῶν, as Weiske correctly remarks.

## § 17.

μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα, κ. τ. λ. Herodotus also makes mention of the large size of the Persian bows. (vii., 61.) The conjunction καὶ does not seem required here, and might, perhaps, be more correctly omitted. Krüger makes a strange mistake in attempting to explain its force, and confounds the Rhodian sling with the Persian

bow: thus he remarks, "καὶ, auch die Persischen, wie die der Rhodier."—χρήσιμα. This is explained immediately after.—ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων. "As many of the arrows as were taken," i. e., as were gathered up.—καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἵέντες μακράν. "And they practiced shooting them to a great distance, by sending them up into the air." This serves to explain χρήσιμα which precedes. The long arrows were useful to the Cretan archers in their being made to come down upon the foe with a greater momentum by being shot upward to a great height. For it must be borne in mind that the ancient archers did not always discharge their arrows point blank, but frequently gave them an inclination upward, so that they described an arc in descending. Thus, Xenophon, in describing the arrangement of the troops of Cyrus the Great, preparatory to his battle with Croesus, makes that monarch station his archers behind the infantry, with directions to shoot over the heads of the former. (Xen., Cyrop., vi., 3, 24.) Thirlwall quite mistakes the meaning of the present passage, and the main source of the error consists in his translating the term τοξευμάτων by "bows." The learned bishop thinks that Sir Walter Raleigh misconceives the meaning of Xenophon, when he says (Hist. of the World, iii., 10, 8) that the latter "trained his archers to shoot compass, who had been accustomed to the point blank." But Raleigh is right, and his critic is in error. (Compare Luzerne, t. i., p. 436, not., and Schneider and Poppo, ad loc.) Krüger, moreover, from a similar misconception of the passage under consideration, conjectures, without any necessity, ἅμα ἵόντες, "while on the march," in place of ἅμα ἵέντες. (de Authent., p. 46.)

## § 18.

ἐπιτυχόντες. "Having fallen in with."—μείον ἔχοντες. Consult note on μείον ἔχων, i., 10, 8.—ἦν γὰρ πολὺ οἶτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. According to Ainsworth (p. 142), the country around is still, to the present day, one of the most productive granaries of Assyria.—ἀκροβολιζόμενος. "Shooting at them from afar," i. e., hovering on their rear, and trying to harass them from a distance.

## § 19.

ἔγνωσαν. "Discovered."—ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον, κ. τ. λ. "That a square was a bad arrangement, when the enemy were following." As regards the literal meaning of πλαίσιον, consult note on ἐν πλαίσίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων, i., 8, 9.—ἦν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαίσιου. "In case the points of the square close together," i. e., in case the two wings be brought close together.—ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας. "That

the heavy-armed troops (in the centre) be pushed out of their places,' i. e., by the pressure of the light troops from either wing.—ἡμα μὲν πιεζομένους. "Being both pressed upon."—ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη, κ. τ. λ. "So that it is necessary for them to be nearly useless being in a state of confusion." Literally, "to be hard to be used." After ἀνάγκη supply ἐστὶ, the indicative being here employed because an actual fact is stated.

## § 20.

ὅταν δ' αὖ διασχῇ τὰ κέρατα, κ. τ. λ. "And when, again, the point diverge, it is necessary that those who, in the former case, were pushed out of their places, be (now) drawn asunder, and that the middle between the two wings become empty," i. e., when the narrow way, &c., are passed, and the square begins to open out again.—γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλη τινὰ διάβαιν. "To go over a bridge, or perform any other crossing," i. e., or to go through any narrow road, or mountain defile, or cross any torrent, &c.—φθάσαι πρῶτος. "To get in advance first," i. e., so as to be first.—καὶ εὐεπιθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. "And there was here for the enemy a fine opportunity of attack." We must be careful not to understand τὸ πλάσιον here, with Zeune. The neuter, on the contrary, is placed absolutely. Compare iv., 8, 12, and Herodotus (vii., 199): ταύτη εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης. (Krüg., ad loc.)

## § 21.

ἐποίησαν ἑξ λόχους, κ. τ. λ. "They formed six companies of one hundred men each." The generals, it will be perceived, do not substitute any other form for the square, in which they had hitherto been moving, but only create these six companies, detached from the main body, and placed under separate officers, to serve as any emergency might arise, to remedy the irregularity which the various accidents of the road produced, from time to time, in the flanks of the column. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 338.)—καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας, κ. τ. λ. "And other officers commanding fifty, and others five-and-twenty." By ἐνωμοτάρχης is meant the leader of an ἐνωμοτία; and by an ἐνωμοτία, taking the present passage for our guide, a body of twenty-five men. The term ἐνωμοτία properly means any band of sworn soldiers (ἐνώμοτοι, ἐν and δυννυμι), but especially a division of the Spartan army, first mentioned by Herodotus (i., 65), but without explanation. In Thucydides (v., 68), it denotes a subdivision of the λόχος, which, he says, contained four πεντηκοστῆς, and each πεντηκοστὴς four ἐνωμοτίαι, and an ἐνωμοτία (on the average) thirty-two men. Others, as in the present instance, assign twenty-five

men to it, so that two ἐνωμοτίαι make a πεντηκοστὴς. (Schneid., ad Xen., Hell., vi., 4, 12.—Dict. Antiq., p. 98, 100, Am. ed.)—ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι. "Stayed a little behind." Observe the force of ὑπό in composition.—τότε δὲ παρήγον, κ. τ. λ. "And then they led on either side without the points," i. e., they then defiled by the flanks, and thus regained their former position.

## § 22.

τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπλήμψαν. "They filled up the centre again." Krüger doubts the existence of such a verb as ἀνεκπλήμψαι, and ingeniously suggests ἀν ἐξεπλήμψαν. (de Authent., præf., p. iii.)—εἰ μὲν στενώτερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κ. τ. λ. "If the interval was rather narrow, by companies; but, if rather wide, by fifties, and, if very wide, by five-and-twenties." Spellman, Rennell, and many others, find great difficulty here, and consider the text as corrupt, or else as requiring transposition; but every thing will become clear, if we adopt the simple explanation of Halbkart. According to this writer, the arrangement κατὰ λόχους is when the λόχοι are drawn up side by side, and the four ἐνωμοτίαι of each λόχος are placed one behind the other. If, now, we give each λόχος a front line of five men with a depth of twenty, six of these λόχοι, side by side, will present a combined front of only thirty men, and will be well suited to fill up merely a narrow interval. Again, the arrangement κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς is when the half λόχοι are drawn up side by side, for each λόχος; so that, giving each πεντηκοστὴς a front line of five men with a depth of ten, and having twelve of these half λόχοι arranged side by side, we will have a combined front of sixty men, a number well suited to fill up a rather broad interval. And, finally, the arrangement κατ' ἐνωμοτίας is when the four ἐνωμοτίαι of each λόχος are similarly stationed. This will produce a line of twenty-four ἐνωμοτίαι, and, giving each ἐνωμοτία a front of five men and a depth of the same number, we will have a combined front of 120 men, a number well adapted for a very wide interval. (Halbkart, p. 124, not.)

## § 23.

ἐν τῷ μέρει. "In succession," i. e., one λόχος after the other, and no longer abreast.—καὶ εἰ πού τις δέοι τὴν φάλαγγος. "And if any thing was needed in any part of the main body, these were at hand." Observe that πού is to be construed with φάλαγγος, under the rule of adverbs of place taking the genitive. (Kühner, § 527.)

## § 24.

τὸν πέμπτον. Supply σταθμόν.—βασιλείον τι. "A kind of palace,"



i. e., a palace-like structure.—διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην. "Lying over high hills." Ainsworth thinks, from the language of the text, that the Greeks could not have seen the palace till the hills were surmounted. The first hills that are met with in proceeding northward from Adiabene to Karduchia constitute a double range, designated *Chá Spí* by the Kurds, and *Jebel Abyádāh* by the Arabs, both signifying "White Hills;" and immediately beyond them is *Zakhú*, at a distance of about fifty miles, by map, from *Tel Keif*, but about sixty by the road, giving an average of nearly four parasangs, or over twelve miles each day. (Ainsworth, p. 143.)—οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ ὄρους, κ. τ. λ. "Which reached down from a mountain, at the base of which the village was," i. e., which formed the prolongation of a mountain. According to Ainsworth, the White Hills, as described by Xenophon, are a prolongation of the loftier mountains of Kurdistan, and are divided, at the point of passage, into three parts. The first, or southerly range, is the highest and most difficult. The second, in the interior, is woody and hilly at the same time; and the third is constituted of a range of rocks, which, in the westerly prolongation of the *Chá Spí*, unite with the main chain. The enemy attacked the Greeks on passing the first range, and successively on each different height. The appearance of *Zakhú* at the present day coincides, in a remarkable manner, with what it is described to have been in the time of Xenophon; a palace amid villages, constituting, in fact, a good picture of what we can imagine a baronial castle to have been in feudal times, surrounded by the cottages of serfs and retainers. As the stranger approaches, he is struck with its bold and isolated appearance. Built on an island of rocky conglomerate, it rises out of the blue waters of the *Khabur*, a pile of ruins belonging to different ages, with abutments and foundations of solid hewn stones, possibly of Persian origin, and walls of more recent, but still ancient construction. (Ainsworth, p. 144.)

## § 25.

κατέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ, κ. τ. λ. "They commenced descending, that they might climb up on the next." Stephens conjectured καὶ κατέβαινον, from the version of Amaseus, but καὶ is absent from the MSS.—ἐπιγίγνονται. "Come upon them."—ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "From the high ground to the place below." Literally, "from the height to the steep." The term *πρηνής* is properly analogous to our English expression "down-hill," and is opposed to *ὄρθιος*, "up-hill."—ὑπὸ μαστίγων. "Under lashes." This was a part of Persian discipline, to which Herodotus alludes in his account of the battle of Thermop-

ylan: ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. (vii., 223.) Compare *Ctesias, Pers.*, 23.

## § 26.

καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον, κ. τ. λ. Observe that πολλοὺς is governed by ἐτίτρωσκον, and γυμνήτων by ἐκράτησαν.—κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰσω τῶν ὀπλων. "Shut them up within the heavy-armed men," i. e., compelled them to retire within the body of the heavy-armed.—ἐν τῷ δῶλῳ ὄντες. "Being amid the crowd (of camp followers)," i. e., being mixed up with those who were with the baggage.

## § 27, 28.

ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. The summit over which they had just passed is here meant, not the one before them.—ἀπεπήδων. "Leaped down."—ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν. "When they went back," i. e., to rejoin the main body that was moving on in advance. The heavy-armed men who drove the barbarians back formed part of the Grecian rear.—ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου, κ. τ. λ. When the Greeks had reached the top of the third ridge, it was thought advisable to halt, until they had sent a body of targeteers to occupy the higher ground on their right.—πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς, κ. τ. λ. "Until they had led up a body of targeteers, from the right flank of the square, unto the mountain." The mountain, it will be remembered, formed the higher ground, and the hills were merely a prolongation of it. Compare § 24.

## § 29, 30.

ἐγένοντο ὑπέρ. "Had got above."—καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ. By οἱ πολέμιοι in this clause are meant the Greeks, and by αὐτῶν the Persians.—οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, κ. τ. λ. "Some along the route over the hills, and others marching, also, abreast of them over the mountain." Observe that by οἱ μὲν the main body of the Greeks is meant, and by οἱ δὲ the targeteers.—εἰς τὰς κώμας. "Unto the villages (already mentioned)." Compare § 24.—ἱατρούς. These were not, of course, what we would term professional men, but merely some of the soldiers, whom long experience had made rather skillful in the treatment of wounds.

## § 31, 32.

καὶ ἄμα. The second reason for their stay is here expressed without ὅτι, which would be the more natural arrangement.—συνενηνεγμένα ἦν, κ. τ. λ. "Had been collected for the one who was satrap of the country." Literally, "had been brought together," from *συνφέρειν*

Each satrap had to provide subsistence for the royal forces, if any, that might be employed by him in his government. Hence the abundant store of provisions here mentioned.—πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπόμαχοι. "For there were many out of action," i. e., prevented by various causes from taking part in the fight. These causes are mentioned immediately after, namely, wounds, attendance on the wounded, &c.

## § 33, 34.

ἐπεχίρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι. "Attempted to skirmish with them."—τὴν κώμην. The village in which they might have taken up their quarters for the time being.—πολὺ περιῆσαν. "Proved much superior."—πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν, κ. τ. λ. "For it was a very different thing, that they, rushing from ground (where they had been previously stationed), should repel an attack, rather than, while marching along, should fight with the enemy coming upon them," i. e., should fight, as they marched, with the enemy assailing them. The more usual construction of διαφέρειν is with the genitive; here, however, it is followed by the particle ἡ. (Compare Stallbaum, ad Plat., Phædon, p. 85, B., and Kühner, § 503, Obs. 2.) We have followed the ordinary reading. Dindorf, however, has διέφερον . . . ὁρμῶντες . . . πορευόμενοι, where μάχεσθαι comes in very awkwardly after πορευόμενοι; for, as Poppo remarks, the Greeks did not march in order to fight, but fought while on the march.—ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμοῖς. "It was time for the enemy to depart."—ἐξήκοντα σταδίων. Nearly seven English miles.

## § 35.

πονηρόν ἐστι. "Is a wretched thing."—δέδενται. "Are tied up."—καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσι, κ. τ. λ. "And for the most part are fettered, for the sake of their not running away in case they should be untied." The Greeks pursued this same custom of fettering their horses, but not in camp, nor in time of warfare, and this is the point of difference to which Xenophon wishes to call the attention of the reader. (Compare Hom., II., xiii., 36.)—δεῖ . . . Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, κ. τ. λ. In this sentence we have δεῖ taking both a dative and an accusative (θωρακισθέντα) in construction with the infinitive. The distinction in such cases appears to be this. When the dative is used, it is considered as the personal object of the verb; whereas the accusative coalesces with the infinitive, so that together they make up one compound notion. So here, in θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι, we have the compound cognate notion of arming and mounting. (Kühner, § 674.)—νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος. "By night, and when an alarm prevails."

## § 36.

διαγγελλομένους. "Announcing it among themselves throughout the ranks." The reference appears to be to orders passing from the officers to the soldiers, and uttered in a loud tone of voice.—ἐκήρυξε. "Proclamation was made." A species of impersonal usage, where some, however, supply ὁ κήρυξ, and translate "the herald proclaimed."—ἀκούοντων τῶν πολεμίων. The Greeks caused the announcement to be made aloud, in order to show their own courage and confidence, as well as their contempt for their opponents. (Weiske, ad loc.)—ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας. "Stayed their march." Literally, "checked themselves in respect of their march," ἐαυτούς being, in fact, understood after ἐπέσχον.—ἐγγίγνετο. "It was becoming."—οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "For it did not seem to be expedient for them to march and arrive at their camp in the night." By στρατόπεδον is here meant, in fact, the place where they intended to encamp.

## § 37, 38.

σαφῶς ἀπιόντας. "Fairly departing."—ἀναξεύξαντες. "Having decamped." Properly, "having re-yoked (their cattle)," but to be taken here in a general sense, as analogous to the *castra movere* of the Latins, since the Greeks had burned all their baggage-wagons.—καὶ διήλθον ἥσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίοις. If we add as much as this for the march of the following day, the Greeks would then reach the ancient mound called Tel Kobbîn, now surmounted by a village of Chaldeans. (Ainsworth, p. 146.)—νυκτὸς προελθόντες. "Having gone on before during the night." Tissaphernes now adroitly steals a march upon the Greeks.—καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον, κ. τ. λ. "Occupy a position high above on the right."—ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους. "A mountain's brow." From a careful study of the adjacent country, and allowing a march of nine geographical miles each day, Ainsworth thinks that this eminence would appear to be the last of the series, of which the first, or more southerly, is occupied by the ruins of the castle of Rabahî, overlooking a fertile tract with villages, which extends thence along the Tigris, south of Jezireh. (Ainsworth, p. 146.)—προκατειλημμένην. "Preoccupied."—παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. "To advance, by a flank movement, to the front," i. e., to bring his targeteers from the rear to the front by moving along the right flank of the square.

## § 39, 40.

οὐκ ἤγεν. Because he did not like to leave the rear exposed.—ἐπιφαινόμενον. "In full view."—αὐτὸς δὲ προελάσας. "But riding up alone." Literally, "by himself."—ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος



"The high ground above the descent," i. e., which commands the descent to the plain.—*εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν.* "Unless we shall cut these off."—*ὁ δὲ λέγει.* Xenophon is meant.—*τὰ ὀπίσθεν ἔρημα.* "The rear in a defenseless state."—*ἔφη.* "Continued he." Xenophon is still the speaker.—*ἀπελά.* Attic contracted future for *ἀπελάσει*.

## § 41.

*ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν, κ. τ. λ.* "Sees the summit of the mountain, how it was above their own army." Literally, "being above." The barbarians committed a capital error in not seizing upon this summit also, since it completely commanded the height on which they had taken post. The Grecian army had by this time reached the base of the mountain, so that it was comparatively easy for the troops to ascend it.—*ἐφοδόν.* "An approach."—*ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον.* By *ἄκρον* is here, again, meant the summit of the mountain.—*οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ.* "Those above the road," i. e., who now occupy the heights commanding the road.—*ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι.* "Am willing to go."—*εἰ δὲ χρήσεις.* "Or, if you want (so to do)."

## § 42, 43.

*ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι ἐλέσθαι.* "Well, then, I permit you to choose."—*εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν.* Observe the asyndeton, and compare iv., 1, 20; iv., 8, 6, &c.—*κελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπεμψαί, κ. τ. λ.* "And he desires (Cheirisophus) to send along with him some men from the front; for it was a long way to take them from the rear." Literally, "it was long to take (them)." The more usual construction would have been with the comparative and *ἢ ὥστε*; thus, *μακρότερον γὰρ ἢν ἢ ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν*, "for it was too long to take them," &c. But the positive is very frequently employed thus in its stead. (*Matthiæ*, § 448, b.)—*κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαιοῖον.* "About the middle of the square."—*τοὺς τριακοσίους.* Krüger thinks that the one half of the six λόχοι mentioned in § 21 are here meant. The reference, however, appears to be rather to a separate body of 300 men, whom Cheirisophus had continually about him as a sort of body-guard, in imitation of the Spartan monarchs. (Compare *Thucyd.*, v., 12, and consult *Larcher*, *ad loc.*)—*οὗς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων.* "Whom he himself had (with him) of the picked men (of the army)."

## § 44, 45.

*ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο, κ. τ. λ.* Referring to Xenophon and his detachment.—*οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμοι.* The enemy posted on the high ground commanding the road are meant.—*αὐτῶν.* Xenophon's

party.—*ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον.* The summit of the mountain is again meant.—*ὤρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον.* "Rushed forward to contend for the summit." The great point was which of the two parties should get there first.—*πολλὴ κραυγὴ.* "Much shouting."—*διακελενομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν.* "Cheering on their own men." Literally, "uttering exhortations unto their own men." Observe here the construction of *διακελενομένων* after *στρατεύματος*, and in apposition with it, and compare note on *κόπτοντες*, ii., 1, 6.—*πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην.* In anaphoræ of this kind it is not usual for the substantive to be repeated, and Krüger, therefore, thinks that the second *κραυγὴ* ought to be struck out of the text. But Xenophon would seem to have inserted it purposely, in order to make the sentence more graphic.

## § 46, 47.

*ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.* "For Greece," i. e., with Greece and restoration to your homes as the object. Compare Halbkart, "als wäre Griechenland das Ziel."—*νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας, κ. τ. λ.* As illustrative of the emphatic repetition of *νῦν* in this sentence, Krüger refers to Sophocles, *Œd. R.*, 596. *Νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω, νῦν με πᾶς ἀσπάζεται, | νῦν οἱ σέθεν χρήζοντες ἐκκαλοῦσιν με.—τὴν λοιπὴν.* "The rest of the way." Supply *ὁδόν.*—*ἐξ ἴσου.* "Upon an equality."—*ἔχει.* "Are carried."—*χαλεπῶς κόμνω, τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων.* "Labor hard, carrying this shield," i. e., have hard work to carry this shield.

## § 48.

*καὶ ὁ.* Compare 1, 8, 16.—*ὥθειται.* More animated than *ὥθειτο*, and therefore preferred by Porson.—*ὥς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο.* "He began to proceed with it as quickly as he could." Observe here the peculiar employment of the participle *ἔχων*, which is by no means pleonastic, as some suppose. In such cases, where we use "with" in English, the Greeks employ *ἔχων*, *ἄγων*, *φέρων*, *λαβών*. Of animate or inanimate things or possessions *ἔχων* and *λαβών* are used; of animate, *ἄγων*; of inanimate, *φέρων*. (*Kühner*, § 698, Obs. 2. Compare *Erfurdt*, *ad Soph.*, *Œd. R.*, 733, ed. min. 1811.)—*θώρακα τὸν ἵππικόν.* "A corselet of the cavalry kind," i. e., a horse-man's corselet. The cavalry corselet was much heavier than that worn by the infantry. Compare *Plutarch* (*Vit. Philop.*, 9): *πεζὸς ἐν ἵππικῳ θώρακι καὶ σκευῇ βαρυτέρῃ.—ὥστε ἐπιέζετο.* "So that he was borne down (by the weight)," i. e., began to be distressed by both his own heavy armor and the shield which he had taken from Soteridas.—*ὑπάγειν.* "To lead gently," i. e., in order that those in the rear might be able to keep up with them. Compare *Poppo* (*Ind*

Graec., s. v.), "procedere pedetentim," and particularly iv., 2, 16, τοὺς ὁ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λοχαγοὶ προσμίξειαν.—παρίεναι. "To come forward," i. e., not to lag. Opposed to ὑπάγειν that precedes.

## § 49.

βάλλουσι. "Throw at."—ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς. "Xenophon, thereupon, having mounted (his horse)," i. e., after the soldiers had compelled Soteridas to take his shield again. With ἀναβάς supply ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον.—ὥς μὲν βάσιμα ἦν, κ. τ. λ. "As long as the way was passable (for a steed), led on horseback." Literally, "as long as it was passable." When an adjective is put with an auxiliary verb, as predicate, without referring to a proper subject, consisting of one word, it is properly in the neuter singular. The Greeks, however, often put (as in the present instance) the neuter plural. (Matthiae., § 443, 1.) With βάσιμα we may supply τῷ ἵππῳ.—καὶ φθάνουσι ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ, κ. τ. λ. "And they get before the enemy on the top of the mountain." Literally, "and they are beforehand with the enemy in having got upon the top."

## CHAPTER V.

## § 1, 2.

ἐνθα δὴ. "Then, as might be expected." Observe the strengthening force of δὴ.—ἡ ἑκαστος ἐδύνατο. "What way each one could." Supply ὁδῷ.—εἶχον. "Held."—ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ᾤχοντο. "Having turned aside, went off another way." Observe that ὁδόν is the accusative after a verb of moving along. The notion of going implies, as coincident with it, the notion of a space along which the motion takes place. (Kühner, § 557, 1, a.)—ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ. The plain here alluded to is evidently the district around the modern Jezireh ibn Omor, the Bezabde of the Romans, and Zozarta of the Chaldeans. (Ainsworth, p. 148.)—τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἄρπαγην. "Who were dispersed in the plain for pillage."—καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων, κ. τ. λ. "And (no wonder they were so dispersed), for many herds of cattle, in the act of being passed to the further bank of the river, had been seized." The temptation offered by this booty had caused many of the Greeks to scatter themselves incautiously over the plain. Buttmann conjectures κατελείφθησαν, "had been left behind," but this is quite unnecessary. The meaning is, that the Greeks seized upon a portion of the animals before they could all be conveyed across the stream. It is naturally im-

plied, therefore, that some remained on the bank, and were there secured.

## § 3, 4.

μάλα ἠθόμησαν. "Were much disheartened."—ἐννοούμενοι μὴ. "Being apprehensive lest."—τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Governed by λάμβανον.—εἰ καλοῖεν. Supply αὐτάς, referring to the villages.—ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας. "Were returning from the relief (which they had lent to the Greeks in the plain)." The abruptness of this announcement, no previous mention having been made of the sending of such relief, has led some critics, Schneider, for instance, to reject all of this section that precedes ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, κ. τ. λ., as spurious; while others, as Krüger, think that something relative to this lending of aid has fallen out of the text before καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, κ. τ. λ. Both parties appear to be in error, and the present arrangement to be merely a specimen of the more concise mode of speaking. (Compare Porro, ad loc.)—ἦνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας, κ. τ. λ. Schneider here reads ἦνίκα οἱ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπήντησαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας, which he had rejected from the beginning of the section. But this is taking an unwarrantable liberty with an author's text.

## § 5, 6.

ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, κ. τ. λ. "You see them, O Greeks, conceding that the country is already ours."—ἂ γάρ, ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο, διεπράττοντο, κ. τ. λ. "For what, when they were making the truce, they negotiated, (namely,) that we should not burn the king's country, (this) they themselves now (do, and) burn it as no longer theirs." We have here, as Krüger remarks, an evident *confusio locutionum*, and, in place of νῦν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν ὡς ἄλλοτρίαν, the regular form of expression would have been νῦν αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσι, καίοντες ὡς ἄλλοτρίαν. We have endeavored to indicate this in our translation, or, more correctly speaking, paraphrase.—ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. "As in behalf of our own territory."—καὶ ἡμεῖς καίωμεν. "Let us, also, burn."

## § 7.

ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς. "To their quarters." As their tents had been burned (iii., 3, 1), we must, of course, take σκηνὰς here in a general sense, as indicating, according to Rennell (p. 168), merely their quarters or stations in the camp. Luzerne, however, translates literally, and thinks that the Grecian generals had preserved some tents for themselves. Larcher, again, supposes that they merely burned their superfluous tents. But he is sufficiently refuted by



Rennell, who is of opinion that the Greeks had now adopted the plan of bivouacking. Had they possessed tents at the present time, he thinks that the Rhodian mentioned in the next section would rather have made use of these, than have hazarded the chance of being able to catch two thousand animals, and incur the certain labor of flaying them. For at Charmande (i., 5, 10) the soldiers did actually use the skins of which their tents were made, for the purpose of constructing floats to cross the Euphrates. (Rennell, l. c.) —οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν. "The rest (of the army) were busied about their provisions." Observe that οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι stand here opposed to στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοί, and denote, therefore, the soldiery at large.

καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. "And here there was much perplexity," i. e., among the officers assembled on this occasion. This perplexity arose not merely from the natural difficulties by which they were surrounded, but likewise from the new mode of attack, by fire, which had been before threatened by Tissaphernes (ii., 5, 19), but which he seems to have reserved, as a last expedient, for the time when the Greeks should be enclosed, as they now were, between the mountains and the river; for at the north end of the plain precipitous cliffs, descending into the bed of the Tigris, stopped their passage; while the stream itself was unfordable. It became necessary, therefore, to change their line of march. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 340.)—τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὥς μὴδὲ, κ. τ. λ. "So great in depth, that not even their spears were above (the water) to those making trial of its depth," i. e., could reach above the water. With ὑπέρχεν supply τοῦ ὕδατος.

## § 8, 9.

ἐγὼ θέλω, ὧ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς, κ. τ. λ. "I will convey you across, O men, by four thousand heavy-armed men at a time, if you shall supply me with the things which I want (for that purpose)," &c. Observe here the employment of θέλω with the infinitive, merely to give it a future signification, like our *will* or *shall*, as a sign of the future tense, and consult, on this idiom, Wesseling, *ad Herod.*, vii., 49, and Stallbaum, *ad Plat. Rep.*, 370, B.—κατὰ τετρακισχίλιους ὀπλίτας. Observe the distributive force of κατὰ. (Kühner, § 629.)—ἱσκῶν δισχιλίων. "Two thousand skin-bags," i. e., bags formed of inflated hides.—ὧ, ὑποδαρύντα καὶ φυσθέντα, κ. τ. λ. "Which, having been skinned and blown up, would easily furnish the means of crossing." Observe that, for brevity's sake, what is applicable only to the hides, is here said of the animals themselves.

## § 10, 11.

τῶν δεσμῶν, οἷς χρῆσθε, κ. τ. λ. "The bands which you use about the baggage cattle."—τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἄσκους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κ. τ. λ. "With these having joined the bags to one another, having given each bag stability by attaching stones to it, and by letting these down like anchors into the water, having (then) extended them across (the stream), and having secured them to both banks, I will place wood upon them, and upon this (wood) will strew earth." We have here given, from Halbkart, what appears to be the most natural version of this much-disputed passage. The common text has ἀρμόσας, for which we have substituted ὀρμύσας, with Schneider and the best editors. The idea implied in ὀρμύσας is that of mooring, or, in other words, of keeping the bag from swaying too much toward either side through the force of the current. Krüger joins διαγαγόν in construction with ἄφεις ὥςπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, producing a harsh, if not entirely erroneous meaning, namely, "diese wie Anker nach entgegengesetzten Seiten hin (διαγαγόν) herabsenke," &c. This, of course, will require the removal of the comma after ὕδωρ.—δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι. "Will keep two men from sinking." Observe that μὴ increases the negation implied in ἔξει.—ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν, κ. τ. λ. "While the wood and earth will keep (them) so as not to slip."

## § 12, 13.

τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χάριεν ἐδόκει εἶναι. "The contrivance appeared to be a clever one, but the execution of it an impossibility."—τοῖς πρώτοις. "The foremost," i. e., those who were to convey the bags across, and secure them on the opposite bank.—τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ὑπανεχώρουν, κ. τ. λ. "During the following day they began gradually to withdraw in a retrograde direction, along the road leading to Babylon." The common text has ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, so that τοῦμπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα will mean "the contrary way from that toward Babylon." This, however, can not be correct, for the simple reason that the Greeks had been pursuing this very route for a long time previous, for they had been constantly receding from Babylon in their retreat. We must either, therefore, reject ἢ from the text, or must read τῇ in its place, from the conjecture of Holzmann. We have pursued the latter course. That the Greeks should make, on this occasion, a retrograde march is not at all surprising, since they were driven to it by the necessity of the case.—κατακαύσαντες ἐνθεν ἐξήσαν. "Having burned down those whence they went out."—ἰθεῶντο. "Kept on wondering them."—καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν, κ. τ. λ. "And were like wondering, whither," &c., i. e., and appeared to be wondering, &c.

Observe that *ὅμοιοι ἦσαν* is equivalent here to *ἐφύκεισαν*, and, therefore, takes the infinitive. The common text has *θαυμάζοντες*, which is retained in some of the best editions. But we have preferred following Dindorf. If *θαυμάζοντες* be read, it is to be explained on the principle that *εὐκείναι*, "to appear," takes not only the infinitive, but the participle, and the participle, too, not merely in the dative, but sometimes, also, in the nominative. (*Matth.*, § 555, *Obs.* 2.) Porson conjectures *καὶ οἷοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν*, "*et mirari videbantur*"

## § 14, 15, 16.

*ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν*, κ. τ. λ. "Questioned (them) about the whole country around, what each (district) was." With *ἤλεγχον* supply *αὐτούς*, the verb being construed with a double accusative; and after *ἐκάστη* supply *χώρα*.—*ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν*, κ. τ. λ. "That the parts toward the south were upon the road to Babylon and Media." Literally, "belonged to the road," &c. With *τῆς* supply *ὁδοῦ*.—*ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἑω*. "And that the road toward the east." Supply *ὅτι* from the previous clause, and also *ὁδός* after *ἡ*.—*Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάρανα*. Compare ii., 4, 25.—*ἐνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν*, κ. τ. λ. Compare note on *ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κύρος*, i., 1, 2.—*εἰς Καρδούχους*. The Carduchi of antiquity are the progenitors of the modern *Kurds*, a hardy mountaineer race, remarkable for their fierce and independent spirit.—*ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη*. "Through the mountains," i. e., scattered in every direction through them. Compare *Poppo, Ind. Græc.*, s. v. *ἀνά*.—*καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν*. The verbs of hearing take the genitive in the sense of "to obey." (*Kühner*, § 487, 4.)—*καὶ ποτε*. "And that, on one occasion."—*διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν*. "On account of the roughness of the country."—*ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ*, κ. τ. λ. "That when, however, they entered into a treaty with the satrap who resided in the plain, both some of them had intercourse with those (mountaineers), and some of those with them." Observe that by *ἐκείνους* and *ἐκείνων* the Carduchi are meant, and by *σφῶν* and *ἐαυτούς*, the inhabitants of the plain.—*σφῶν . . . ἐκείνων*. Partitive genitives.

## § 17, 18.

*ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἐκασταχόσε*, κ. τ. λ. "Placed apart those who said that they knew the road each way," i. e., in each of the directions mentioned. Literally, "who said they knew in each direction."—*ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι*, κ. τ. λ. To continue their march northward, without crossing the Tigris, it became necessary to enter the mountainous region on their right, which was

inhabited by the fierce Carduchi.—*εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν*. "To penetrate among the Carduchi."—*τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν*, κ. τ. λ. "For they said that they (the Greeks), after having passed through these," &c.—*ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο*, κ. τ. λ. "With reference to these (movements), they inspected the entrails, in order that, whenever it should seem to be time, they might begin to make the march." For a more literal translation, we must construe *ὁπνίκα* with *ὥρας*, the genitive being governed by the adverb of time. (*Matth.*, § 324.)—*τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων*. "The passage over the mountains."—*συνσκευασμένους*. Having packed up their baggage." The early editions have *συνσκευασαμένους*, but the perf. part. is here taken in a middle sense—*παραγγέλλω*. "May pass the word."

U 2



## BOOK IV.

### CHAPTER I.

#### § 1, 2.

ἐποίησαντο. The common text has ἐπέεισαντο. — παραβάτος. "Having broken." In a transitive sense, and agreeing with βασιλῆως as the more important noun. — ἐπολεμήθη. "Were done in open war." — ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, κ. τ. λ. From these words to καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα in § 4, inclusive, is regarded by some critics as a mere interpolation, from its containing only a frigid repetition of what has already been mentioned; and it is omitted, moreover, in some of the MSS. Schneider, Halbkart, Dindorf, and others, however, are in favor of its authenticity. — ἀπότομα ἐκρέματο. "Hung steep."

#### § 3, 4.

τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. Compare chap. iii., § 12. — περι-  
λασι. "Will go around." Present in a future sense. — οὐ πρόσω τοῦ  
Τίγρητος. We ought to read, probably, τῶν τοῦ Τίγρητος. — καὶ ἐστιν  
οὕτως ἔχον. "And it is actually so." This is the conjectural emen-  
dation of Abresch. The common text has καὶ ἐστιν οὕτω στενόν, for  
which Stephens conjectured καὶ ἐστιν οὐ τὸ στενόν, "and it is where  
the narrow pass is." Dindorf retains the common reading. — τὴν ἐμ-  
βολήν. "The irruption." — λαθεῖν. "To escape observation." — φθάσαι,  
πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους, κ. τ. λ. "To get the start (of them), before the ene-  
my have seized upon the high grounds," i. e., to get the start of the ene-  
my in seizing upon the high grounds; to seize upon the high grounds  
before them, and in this way make their passage more secure.

#### § 5, 6.

τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν. The Greeks divided the night into three  
watches, the Romans into four. (Eustath., ad Il., xi., 252.) — καὶ  
ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον, κ. τ. λ. "And there was left of the night as  
much as to pass through the plain in the dark." Equivalent to ἐλεί-  
πετο τῆς νυκτὸς τοσοῦτον ὥστε διελθεῖν. — ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως. "At the  
word of command." This expression refers to an order given by  
word of mouth, not by the trumpet, and which travels in this way  
through the whole army. (Budæus, Comm. Ling. Gr., p. 606.) It  
was adopted on the present occasion, as Krüger remarks, in order  
to conceal their movements from the enemy. — τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτόν. Sup-

ply στράτευμα. — μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων, κ. τ. λ. "Lest any one  
should pursue from behind as they ascended." Observe that πορευο-  
μένων is the genitive absolute, αὐτῶν being understood

#### § 7

ὑφηγείτο. "He led slowly onward," i. e., he relaxed the rapidity  
of his movements to enable the rest to come up. — ἐφείπετο δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ  
ὑπερβάλλον, κ. τ. λ. "And the part of the army that gained the height  
from time to time kept following," i. e., and each portion of the army,  
as it successively gained the height, followed on. Observe here  
the force of ἀεὶ, and consult note on τὸν ἀεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα, iii.,  
2, 31. — ἐν τοῖς ἄγκυσι τε, κ. τ. λ. "In both the dells and nooks of the  
mountains." According to Ainsworth (p. 153), the Greeks here  
made their entrance into Kurdistan, through one of the most de-  
fensible passes which they were destined to meet. This is the  
point where the lofty mountain chain, now designated as *Jebel Judi*,  
comes down to the very flood of the Tigris, which it encloses in an  
almost impassable barrier of rock. There can be very little doubt  
that the Greeks thus gained what are the first Kurd villages in the  
pass of the Tigris to the present day, in the centre of which is *Fe-  
nik*, surrounded by extensive ruins and luxuriant gardens, and rep-  
resenting, apparently, the Phœnica of Ammianus Marcellinus. (xx.  
7, § 1.)

#### § 8, 9.

χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι. "Supplied with very many  
brazen utensils." As already remarked, "bronze" would be a more  
correct version, but we have followed general usage. Ainsworth  
remarks, that the Kurds at the present day take great pride in their  
copper utensils. — ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἰ πως, κ. τ. λ. "Sparing them  
somewhat, (in order to try) whether the Carduchi would by any means  
let them pass as through a friendly country." The optative is often  
thus used elliptically with εἰ (with the omission of πειρώμενος, σκο-  
πῶν, &c.), of a future event yet to be investigated. (Matthiæ, §  
526.) — ὅτω τις. The emendation of Stephens, followed by the best  
editors, in place of the common reading ὅ τί τις. — οὔτε καλούντων  
ὑπήκουον. "Neither hearkened when they called." Observe that  
καλούντων is here the genitive absolute, since ὑπακούω in this sense  
properly governs the dative.

#### § 10, 11.

ἤδη σκοταῖοι. "Being now in the dark." — ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγένετο.  
"Was the whole day performing." Literally, "had been during the

whole day."—ὀλίγοι ὄντες. "Being (only) a few in number." Some MSS. and editions read ὀλίγοι τινὲς ὄντες, "being some few."—ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου. "Unexpectedly."—τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Supply στρατεύμα. —εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, κ. τ. λ. "If, however, they had on this occasion been collected in greater numbers, a large part of the army would have run the risk of being destroyed."—ἠύλισθησαν. "Lodged"—πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον. "Burned many fires."—καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. "And kept giving signals to one another." Literally, "and together kept an eye on one another," i. e., in order to see that all were on the alert. These signals, of course, were made with fire. Compare Krüger: "und gaben sich durch Feuer signale einander;" and also Becker: "und gaben sich auf die Art einander signale." Spellman and others erroneously refer the words in question to both the Greeks and Carduchi: "and both had their eyes upon one another."

## § 12, 13.

τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, κ. τ. λ. "Both to march, having of the baggage-animals (merely) those that were necessary and most able."—ἀφείναι. "To set at liberty."—σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποίουν, κ. τ. λ. "For the baggage-animals and the slaves, being many, made the march a tardy one," i. e., retarded the march.—ἐπὶ τούτοις. "Over these."—ἀπό μαχοὶ ἦσαν. "Were withdrawn from the ranks."—πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι. "To be procured and carried."—δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα. "And these things having been resolved upon." A peculiar construction. According to Matthiæ (§ 437, Obs. 3), the predicate in the singular seems to be joined to the neuter plural; just in the same way as the neuter plural regularly takes the verb in the singular. (Compare Kühner, § 700, 2, a.)

## § 14, 15.

ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ στενῷ. "Standing secretly in a narrow part (of the road)." One of the MSS. has ἐπιστήσαντες, whence Poppo conjectures ἐπιστάντες quite unnecessarily.—μὴ ἀφειμένον. "Not laid aside."—τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. "Of the handsome ones," i. e., remarkable for beauty.—τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι. "Partly fighting a little."—χειμῶν πολὺς. "A great storm."

## § 16, 17.

στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων. Beyond the castle of Konakti, and the ascent of the hills, the road, according to Ainsworth, leads through narrow rocky ravines, which sometimes terminate abruptly over precipices of great perpendicular height.—ἀναχάζοντες. A poetic verb, and rarely occurring as an active; most commonly a depo-

nent.—θαμινὰ παρήγγελλεν ὑπομένειν. "Frequently passed the word to wait a little." Observe that θαμινὰ is another poetic form.—ἐν ταῦθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἄλλοτε μὲν, κ. τ. λ. "Here Cherisophus, at other times, when the order was passed, waited a little, but on this occasion he did not wait." Observe the force of τότε δέ, and compare the explanation of Krüger, "eo de quo dicturus sum tempore."—ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἶη. "That there was something to do." Literally, "that there was some affair (on hand)." σχολῇ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν, κ. τ. λ. "But there was no leisure for a person, having moved along (the line of march), to ascertain the cause of the haste," i. e., having moved along to the van of the column.

## § 18, 19.

σπολάδος. Consult note on σπολάδες, iii., 3, 20.—διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλὴν. "Quite through the head." Literally, "quite through as to the head." The term διαμπερὲς is, strictly speaking, an Epic one, though occurring also in prose. We have also, in prose, διαμπερῶς. (Ruhnck., ad Tim., Lex. Plat., s. v.)—ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμὸν, κ. τ. λ. "But when they had come to a place for encamping," &c. The place here meant appears to have been when they had passed the hills of Finduk, and had gained the slope where are the Syrian villages of Kuwarro and Baratan, and which exposed to their view the valley of the Tigris, shut up in its upper part by the almost impenetrable pass of Chelek. (Ainsworth, p. 158.)—ὥς περ εἶχεν. "Just as he was."—ἤτις αὐτόν. "Began to blame him."—φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. "To flee and fight at the same time." Literally, "to fight, at the same time fleeing."—καλῶ τε κάγαθῶ. Consult note on οἱ μὲν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, ii., 6, 20.—τέθνητον. "Are lying dead." Abbreviated form of the perfect of θνήσκω. Observe the idea of continuance implied by the tense.

## § 20, 21.

πρὸς τὰ ὄρη. "At those mountains." Observe the demonstrative force of τὰ.—μὴ δὲ αὕτη ὁδός, κ. τ. λ. "This only road, too, which you see, is a steep one," i. e., the only road, too, here is, as you see, a steep one.—φυλάττουσι τὴν ἑκβασιν. "Are guarding the outlet." The outlet from the valley of the Tigris formed, in fact, the commencement of the pass of Chelek, so that it was, in one sense, an outlet, and in another an approach to the summit of the mountain. This explanation will serve to reconcile the conflicting opinions of commentators respecting the meaning of ἑκβασιν here. Compare Krüger: ἑκβασιν, "in sofern der Zugang ein Ausgang aus Thälern und Schluchten war."—ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον. "On these accounts I hastened."



Observe that ταῦτα is here equivalent to διὰ ταῦτα.—πρὶν κατελῆφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν. "Before the passage over the mountains was occupied." —οὐ φασιν εἶναι. "Deny that there is." Consult note on οὐκ ἔφασαν εἶναι, i, 3, 1.

§ 22, 23.

επει γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρεῖχον. "For when they gave us annoyance." —ὅπερ ἡμῖς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε. "Which afforded us, also, time to breathe." Literally, "which made us, also, to breathe again." —προθύμηθημεν. "We were eager." —αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκεν. "On this very account." —χρησαίμεθα. The common text has χρῶμεθα. —ἤλεγχον διαλαβόντες. "They questioned (them), having taken (them) separately," i. e., they questioned them apart. —ἢ τὴν φανεράν. "Than the one openly before the view." —ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη. "One of the two denied (that he did)." Supply εἰδέναι.—καὶ μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομένων. "And that, too, although very many causes of fear were brought to bear upon him," i. e., although very many fearful threats were uttered against him.

§ 24, 25.

ὅτι αὐτῷ τυγχάνει θυγάτηρ, κ. τ. λ. "Because he happens to have a daughter there given in marriage to a man." Literally, "to have a daughter there with a man, having been given unto him." —δυνατὴν καὶ ὑπόζυγλοις, κ. τ. λ. "By a road possible even for beasts of burden to travel on." More literally, "possible to travel upon even for beasts of burden;" so that πορεύεσθαι depends, in fact, on δυνατὴν.—τὶ δυσπάρσιτον χωρίον. "Any spot of ground difficult to pass by." —ὅ ἐι μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο, κ. τ. λ. Observe that ὁ depends on προκαταλήψοιτο, and that παρελθεῖν governs αὐτό understood.

§ 26, 27, 28.

συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγούς, κ. τ. λ. "Having called together some captains, as well targeteers as of the heavy-armed troops." Many doubts have been raised respecting the present reading, but all difficulty will disappear if, with Krüger, we regard πελταστάς merely as an attributive, and connect it with λοχαγούς. Compare γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων in § 28.—λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα. "Both to tell them the present circumstances." —καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντὴς πορεύεσθαι. "And, having engaged himself to go (upon this service) as a volunteer." Literally, "having placed himself under (an engagement)." —Μεθυδριεύς. "The Methydrian." So called from Methydrium, an Arcadian town, 170 stadia distant from Megalopolis.—ἀντιστασιάζων αὐτοῖς. "Contesting the point with them." We have followed Krüger's reading and

punctuation in this sentence, by which Καλλίμαχος becomes a nominative absolute, its place being subsequently supplied by οὗτος.—τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων. "Of the light-armed taxiarchs," i. e., the taxiarchs of the light-armed troops. We have given ταξιάρχων here as the gen. pl. of ταξιάρχος. The common but inferior reading is ταξιάρχων, as a participle.—ὅς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἀξιος, κ. τ. λ. "Who, in many situations, had proved of great value to the army for such services as these."

## CHAPTER II.

§ 1, 2.

οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον. The reference is to Cheirisophus and Xenophon, as Krüger remarks.—ἐμφαγόντας. "After having eaten something." 2 aor. part., the present in use being ἐσθίω.—καὶ συντίθενται, κ. τ. λ. "And they settle with them, that, if they take the summit, they are to guard the place during the night." Cheirisophus and Xenophon make these arrangements with the commanders of the party.—τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας. Referring to the party sent, after they should have succeeded in gaining the summit.—αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσεν, κ. τ. λ. Referring to themselves, namely, Cheirisophus and Xenophon, together with the other commanders.—πληθος. Accusative of nearer definition.—καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. "And there was a heavy rain." So Thucydides (ii., 5), ὕδωρ γίνεται.—οἱ περιμόντες. They took a circuitous route, observes Ainsworth, to gain the first summit, whose base is washed by a small but rapid tributary to the Tigris, and whose precipitous face is, at the present day, defended by a ruined castle.

§ 3.

ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ. Compare iii., 4, 1.—πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν. "To come out upon the declivity." They had to pass the ravine in order to climb the ascent.—ὀλοίτροχους ἀμαξιαίους, κ. τ. λ. "Round stones, large enough to load each a wagon, and (others, also), great and small." Literally, "and greater and smaller ones." Supply λίθους in both clauses. By ὀλοίτροχος (scil. λίθος) is meant "a rolling stone," or "round stone," such as besieged people rolled down upon their assailants. It is derived, probably, from ὀλος and τρέχω, indicating that which is "quite round." —οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας πταίνοντες, κ. τ. λ. "Which, as they were borne along, striking against the rocks, flew into pieces as if hurled by a sling." Literally, "were slung in different directions." —τῇ εἰσόδῳ. "The entrance," i. e., of the pass. The scene of this occurrence was, according to Ainsworth, the en-

trance of the pass of *Chelek*, where a rivulet of very clear water flows into the Tigris by a narrow ravine, hemmed in, as the Tigris is also, from this point northward, by perpendicular rocks.

## § 4.

εἰ μὴ ταύτη δύναντο. "In case they could not this way," i. e., as often as they could not, &c. Observe here the employment of εἰ with the optative, as indicating an oft-repeated action.—ἄλλη ἐπειρώντο. Supply πελάσαι.—ἀφανείς. "Unobserved."—φοβούμενοι δηλονότι. "Being evidently in fear." These words are, without sufficient reason, regarded by some editors as an interpolation.—τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. "For it was (easy) to guess (this) from the noise."

## § 5, 6.

κύκλῳ περιμόντες. "Having gone around by a circuitous route."—τοὺς φύλακας. The Carduchian guard.—κατακαυόντες. The common text has ἀποκτείναντες.—ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες. "As if occupying the summit," i. e., thinking that they had made themselves masters of the summit.—μαστός. "A knoll." This term is applied by the Greek writers to any round, breast-shaped object, especially a round hill, or knoll.—παρ' ὅν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδός. "By which lay that same narrow road."—ἐφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν, κ. τ. λ. "There was an approach, however, from this quarter (where they at present were), unto the enemy."

## § 7, 8.

ὑπέβαινεν. "Was just beginning to appear." Literally, "was gradually appearing." Observe, again, the force of ὑπό.—ὥστε ἐλαβον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. "So that they came close to them before they were perceived." Literally, "so that they escaped observation, having come near."—ἐπεφθέγγατο. "Sounded the onset." Compare Krüger, "ad aggrédiendum sonuit." We have given this form, with Bornemann and Dindorf. The common text has ἐφθέγγατο, but the compound (in which observe the force of ἐπί) is far more spirited.—εὐζωνοί. "Active of movement." Literally, "well-girt." Hence they easily made their escape.—ἔντο ἄνω. "Rushed up." The common text has ἔντο.—κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς. "By unbeaten paths."—ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. "They drew up one another with their spears." The person below, clinging to the spear, was in this way drawn up by those above. The verb ἀνιμάω properly means to draw up, as water, by a leather strap (ἰμάς), and then to draw up generally

## § 9, 10.

καὶ οὗτοι. Those last referred to.—τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις. "The half of the rear guard." Observe here the partitive adjective agreeing in gender with the word denoting the whole. The common construction would have been τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τὸ ἥμισυ (Matthiae, § 442).—ἡ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες. "(By the road) along which those who had the guide (had proceeded)." Supply τῇ ὁδῷ before ἡ.—εὐδοωτάτη. "The most practicable."—τοὺς ἡμίσεις. "The (other) half."—ἡ διεξεῦχθαι. "Or to be separated." Literally, "to be disjoined."—καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν, κ. τ. λ. "And they themselves, indeed, might have gone (along the same road) by which the rest (had proceeded), but it was not possible for the beasts of burden to make their egress (from the valley) by any other way than this," i. e., it is true, Xenophon and his party might have gone the same way as the main body of the army, but the baggage-animals could not, &c

## § 11, 12.

προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον, κ. τ. λ. "They charge upon the hill in columns of companies," i. e., each λόχος was thrown into column, and the charge was made on different sides of the hill, in order to distract the attention of the enemy, room being, at the same time, afforded the enemy for escaping, if they felt inclined. The ὀρθοὶ λόχοι of the Greek tacticians were the same with the recti or dines of the Romans, and referred to troops arranged in column or file. Thus, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιεῖσθαι, "to throw the λόχοι into column" (Xen., Cyrop., iii., 2, 6); and, again, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ἀγειν, "to bring the λόχοι up in column." (Anab., iv., 3, 17.) Compare Luzerne, vol. ii., p. 21, note.—οὐ κύκλῳ. "Not all round it."—τέως μὲν. "For a while." To be taken absolutely, and not in construction with the participle. Compare Krüger, "eine Zeit lang."—ὅπη ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος. "Where they each could." Observe here the employment of ἕκαστος with a plural verb. With words of number in the singular the verb is very often put in the plural, because in such words the idea of several subjects is always included. (Matthiae, § 302.)—ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσέεντο. "They did not, however, let them come near," i. e., did not admit them to close quarters.—κατεχόμενον. "Held (by the enemy)."

## § 13, 14.

ἐννοήσας. "Having apprehended."—ἐρημον. "Bare of troops."—καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες, κ. τ. λ. "The enemy having seized upon it, might even again attack," &c. Schneider unnecessarily objects to the



presence of καὶ in this clause.—ἐπὶ πολὺν δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια. "For the beasts of burden were upon a long space of ground," i. e., went in a long train.—Κηφισοφώντος. "Son of Cephisophon." Supply υἱός.—ἐτι δ'. "Still, however."—πολὺν ὀρθιώτατος. "Much the steepest."—ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ, κ. τ. λ. Compare § 6.

## § 15, 16.

ἐγένοντο. The common text has ἦγον.—καὶ ὑπώπτενον. "Ana all suspected." Supply πάντες.—οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες, κ. τ. λ. "But they, in truth, seeing down from the height the things that were doing behind, went all against the rear-guard." The Carduchi hastened away from the hill, with the design of falling upon the Grecian rear.—ὑπάγειν. "To lead on gently." Compare iii., 4, 48.—προσμίξεται. "Might join them."—καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, κ. τ. λ. "And he directed them to advance along the road, and halt under arms on even ground," i. e., to advance until they found a level piece of ground, and there to draw themselves up in arms.

## § 17, 18, 19.

πεφευγώς. "Having escaped (from the enemy)." Compare the English phrase, "came fleeing."—ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου. "How they had been cut off from the first hill," i. e., driven with great slaughter from it.—τεθνῶσι. "Lie dead."—κατὰ τῆς πέτρας. "Down the rock."—ἀφίκοντο. "Made their way."—ἦκον ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μᾶστί. "Came upon a hill opposite to the knoll." Weiske thinks that the hill here meant was the second and middle one, but the absence of the article from λόφον seems to militate against this.—ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καλεῖν τὰς κώμας. "On condition of (their) not setting fire to the villages." Observe the employment of ἐπὶ with the dative to denote the terms or condition of an arrangement; the terms being considered as the foundation on which the whole rests. (Kühner, § 634.)—ἐν ᾧ δέ. "But while."—τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα. This refers to the remaining half of the rear-guard, who had been stationed behind the baggage-animals, and formed the extreme rear. Compare § 9.—πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεβρύησαν. "All the enemy from this part of the country had flocked together," i. e., upon the hill opposite the knoll. We have followed here the punctuation of Poppo and Krüger, by which ἐνταῦθα is made the commencement of a new section. The common text has πάντες, οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεβρύησαν, ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμοι. Compare Krüger, *de Authenti.*, p. 63.

## § 20, 21.

ἤρξαντο. This, as Schneider remarks, refers to the Greeks with

Xenophon.—πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐνθα τὰ ὅπλα ἐκείντο. "Unto the others, where the heavy-armed men were in position." The reference is to those mentioned in § 16, who were directed to halt under arms as soon as they came to level ground. Observe here, therefore, the peculiar meaning of ἐκείντο; the verb not indicating any actual lying or reclining, as it were, but simply signifying "to be in a position," "to stand," &c. Hence Poppo explains τὰ ὅπλα ἐκείντο in this passage by "armati stabant omnes;" and so κείσθαι often has the same force as if it were the perfect infin. pass. of τίθεσθαι. (Poppo, *Ind. Anab.*, s. v.) It is on this same principle that Eustathius (*ad Il.*, xxiii., 273, p. 1300) remarks, τὸ κείται συστοιχόν ἐστι τῷ τίθεται. Observe, moreover, the employment of the plural in ἐκείντο, showing that persons, not things, are meant by ὅπλα.—κατέαξαν. Aorist of κατάγνυμι.—ὁ ὑπασπιστής. "His shield-bearer." A species of esquire.—Λουσιεύς. "Of Lusia." Lusia was a small town of Arcadia, to the northwest of Clitor. According to Stephanus Byzantinus (who calls the place Λουσοί), the Gentile appellative was Λουσιος, or Λουσεύς, or Λουσιάτης. Xenophon uses the form Λουσιεύς thrice, and once he writes it Λουσιάτης. (*Lion*, *ad iv.*, 7, 12.)—πρὸς τοὺς συνεταγμένους. "Unto those who were drawn up (to support them)." These were the same with those referred to in πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, § 20.

## § 22, 23.

ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο. "Got together," i. e., a junction was made between the forces of Cheirisophus and those of Xenophon.—καὶ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀφελέσι. "And amid abundant provisions."—ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. "So that they kept it in plastered cisterns." The description here given by Xenophon of the mode in which the Carduchi preserved their wine, assists in clearing up a question, as Ainsworth remarks, which has created much discussion among travelers, as to the use, namely, of the numerous plastered cisterns which are so frequent in Kurdistan, Armenia, and Northern Syria, and which, being in the form of a pear, and the mouth often closed by a single great stone, have been looked upon sometimes as sepulchres, and, at others, as granaries and reservoirs for water; but which were, no doubt, used for the storing of wine, when that luxury was more abundant in those countries. (*Class. Mus.*, ii., p. 312.)—διεπράξαντο. "Effected it."—καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν, κ. τ. λ. "And they performed all things for the deceased, according to their ability, as is wont (to be done) to brave men," i. e., and they bestowed upon them, as far as their present means allowed, all those funeral honors that are accustomed to be rendered unto brave men.

## § 24, 25, 26.

ὅπη εἴη στενὸν χωρίον. "Wherever there was a narrow place." Ainsworth describes the whole of the road as hilly.—ἐκώλυνον τὰς παρόδους. "Obstructed the passes."—κωλύοιεν. "They impeded."—ὀπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, κ. τ. λ. "Going off to the mountains from behind, broke the obstruction of the pass for the van," i. e., dislodged the enemy, who were obstructing the pass.—ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι. "To get above." Literally, "higher than," i. e., to take possession of some high ground which commanded their position.—καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. "And took care of each other strenuously."

## § 27, 28.

ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε. "There were times, also, when." Compare note on ἐσθ' ὅτε, ii., 6, 9.—πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν. "As they again descended."—ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν. "So as to escape even beginning their flight from near at hand." The barbarians were so light of foot that they could approach securely within a short distance. (Thirlwall, iv., p. 342.)—ἀριστοί. "Very expert."—ἐγγὺς τριπλήρη. "Nearly three cubits in length."—ἐλκον δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν, κ. τ. λ. "And they drew the strings, whenever they shot, stepping forward with the left foot against the lower part of the bow." They held the bow in a vertical position, with one end resting on the ground, and the left hand grasping the centre. The left foot was then advanced and brought in contact with the lower part of the bow between the hand and the ground. This gave the archer the appearance of one stepping forth, as it were (προβαίνων), and its object was to aid in bending the bow by the pressure of the foot. When the bow was fully bent, it was kept in that condition by the muscular strength of the arms, was then raised, and the arrow discharged. This explanation is based upon the ordinary text, and is, we conceive, a plain and natural one. The commentators, however, make strong objections to the common reading, and, professing not to understand it, give προσβαίνοντες (the conjecture of Wesseling, ad Diod. Sic., iii., 8), in place of προβαίνοντες, while some of them regard the words τοῦ τόξου as an interpolation, and others, following Schneider, make Xenophon refer here to a cross-bow, bent by the pressure of the foot upon that part of the bow which was nearest the stock. But, in the first place, all the MSS., without a single exception, have προβαίνοντες; and, in the next place, the cross-bow appears to have been unknown in Xenophon's time; while, if the Carduchi had actually used it, he would certainly have given it

a more particular mention. The common text, therefore ought not to have been altered, in defiance of the MSS., on mere conjecture.

ἐχώρει διά. "Went through."—ἀκοντίοις. "For javelins."—ἐναγκυλῶντες. "Fitting rests to them." The verb ἐναγκυλάω means "to fit an ἀγκύλη to a javelin," and by an ἀγκύλη is meant a bent poise or rest, fitted to the middle of a javelin, by which it was hurled, and differing from the Latin *amentum*, which was merely a strap. (Dict. Ant., s. v. Ansa).

## CHAPTER III.

## § 1.

ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου, κ. τ. λ. "That are above the plain which lies along the River Centrites." The Greeks had thus accomplished a distance of from nine to ten miles on this day's march. There can be no question, according to Ainsworth (p. 166), as to the identity of Xenophon's Centrites with the *Buhtan-chai* of the present day. The width given by him answers to that of the last-mentioned stream, and distinguishes it from the Tigris. It constitutes, moreover, at the present day, a kind of natural barrier between *Kurdistan* and *Armenia*, and it is the only river of the size mentioned that occurs upon this line of march.—καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο, κ. τ. λ. "And the Greeks here rested, beholding with gladness a plain." In a plain they would have little to fear from the Carduchi.—ἀπείχε δὲ τῶν ὀρέων, κ. τ. λ. In construing, join τῶν ὀρέων τῶν Καρδουχῶν, which, as Zeure, Weiske, and Schneider remark, the writer has separated in order to prevent an unpleasant sound by too great a similarity of termination.

## § 2.

μάλα ἡδέως. "Very agreeably."—πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων, κ. τ. λ. "Reflecting much upon their past labors," i. e., recalling to mind many incidents connected with them. Observe that πολλὰ is to be taken adverbially here.—ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, κ. τ. λ. Rennell says that he can not make out more than five marches and two halts (p. 194); but Krüger thinks that what Xenophon relates in chapter ii., § 24-27, is meant to embrace, also, the events of the two following days, and that the writer, through negligence, has omitted to mention this.—καὶ ἔπαθον κακά, ὅσα οὐδὲ, κ. τ. λ. "And suffered evils, as many as were not even all (those) taken together (which they had suffered) from the king and Tissaphernes," i. e., and suffered evils as were not equaled by even the whole of what they had endured from



the king and Tissaphernes. The full construction will be *δοξα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ἦν ἢ ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους ἐπαθόν*. It is curious to reflect that this very march, so full of evils, through the mountainous region of the Carduchi, was actually the means of saving the Greeks from ruin. "Had they known," remarks Rennell, "that the Tigris was fordable under the *Zakhu* hills, and passed into Mesopotamia, they would still have been followed by the Persians: they would, also, have had the Euphrates to cross; a yet more difficult river, in the line which they must have pursued. Therefore, according to our limited view of things, it appears that nothing less than such a barrier as these mountains of the Carduchi presented, could have saved the Greeks from eventual destruction from the hands of the Persians." (Rennell, p. 174.)

## § 3, 4.

*ὁρῶσιν ἱππέας πον*. "They see horsemen, by some chance," i. e., they are surprised to see horsemen. The particle *πον* is added here by Schneider from the Eton MS.—*ἐξοπλισμένους*. "Completely armed." These were, probably, the same with what were called Cataphracti, being both themselves and their horses covered with defensive armor.—*ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀχταῖς*. "On the high banks." The ground rose upward from the river, and on this, in the rear of the cavalry, the infantry were stationed.—*Ὀρόντων*. Orontas was the satrap of Armenia. (Consult iii., 5, 17.) Of Artuchus nothing is known. He was probably the commander of the Mardi, a people of Asia, near the northern frontier of Media, or, rather, of Matiene, which formed part of Media.—*Χαλδαῖοι*. It is remarkable, observes Ainsworth, that there still exist, to the present day, several villages of Chaldeans in this neighborhood.

## § 5, 6.

*αἱ δὲ ὀχταὶ αὐταί, κ. τ. λ.* The River Centrites is not fordable below *Janiminyah*, where it is hemmed in between hills; and this spot coincides also, as Ainsworth thinks, with the description given of the high grounds occupied by the enemy on the opposite side.—*ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὁραμένη, κ. τ. λ.* "And there was only one road visible leading up from it, apparently made by hands." More literally, "only one road that was seen leading up, as if made by hands."—*καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμός, κ. τ. λ.* "And the river was rough with large and slippery stones."—*εἰ δὲ μή, ἤρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός*. "Or else the river carried them away."—*γυμνοὶ ἐγίνοντο*. "They became exposed."

## § 7, 8.

*ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοί, κ. τ. λ.* "But where they themselves had been the previous night."—*πολλούς*. "In large numbers."—*ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις*. "In arms." This is one of the very frequent instances where *ἐν* approximates to the force of *σύν*. Consult Bornemann, *ad loc.*—*ἐδόξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, κ. τ. λ.* "He seemed to be bound in fetters, and these of their own accord (appeared) to have on a sudden fallen from around him," i. e., to have slipped off from his person, and fallen to the ground. Supply *ἐδόξαν* after *αὐταί*, and observe the force of the aorist *περιβρυῆναι* in denoting an instantaneous action, as well as the peculiar meaning of the verb itself, indicating, literally, "a flowing away from around one," or a motion as easy and gentle as that of water flowing off.—*καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅσον ἐβούλετο*. "And strode about as much as he pleased." The verb *διαβαίνω*, as Weiske and others remark, refers here to one making a stride, or moving with the legs wide apart.—*καλῶς ἐσεσθαι*. "That all will be well." Literally, "that it will be well."

## § 9, 10.

*καί, ὥς τάχιστα ἔως ὑπέφαινε*. "And, the very instant the dawn began to appear." We have followed here the punctuation recommended by Porson. The common text erroneously places a comma after *τάχιστα*.—*ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου*. "From the first." Supply, for a literal translation, *ἱερείου*. Schneider, unnecessarily, changes *ἀπὸ* to *ἐπὶ*, in opposition to all the MSS.—*προσέτρεχον*. "Ran up."—*ὅτι ἐξελή αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι, κ. τ. λ.* "That it was allowed to approach him both when taking his morning-meal," &c.—*εἰ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον*. "In case any one had any thing (to say to him) of the matters that appertained to the war."

## § 11, 12.

*φρύγανα*. "Fagots."—*καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν*. "That reached down to the very river."—*ὥς περ μαρσίπους ἱματίων, κ. τ. λ.* "Apparently laying down bags of clothes in a cavernous rock." Literally, "as if laying down," &c.—*ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφισι δόξαι, κ. τ. λ.* "That it appeared to them, on seeing (this), to be safe to cross, for that there was no access in this quarter even for the enemy's horse."—*ἐκδύντες*. "Having stripped."—*γυμνοὶ ὥς νευσούμενοι διαβαίνειν*. "They began to cross over naked, as about to swim," i. e., taking it for granted that they would have to swim. Observe the force of *ὥς* with the future participle, and compare the explanation of Krüger, "*natandum fore* *ati*."—*πάλιν ἦκεν*. "They came back again."

## § 13, 14, 15.

ἔσπενδε. "Made a libation." Supply, for a literal translation, οἶνον or οἶνω.—ἐγχεῖν. "To pour in," i. e., to pour wine into cups, for the purpose of making libations themselves.—καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "And to pray unto the gods who had shown both the dream and the passage, to consummate the benefits that remained," i. e., to crown with success what remained to be accomplished.—σπονδὰς ἐποιεῖ. "Made libations."—τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν. Compare § 4.—τῶν δπισθεν. The Carduchi.—ἔτι ὑπομένειν. "Should still remain." The common text omits ἔτι.—ἐν μέσῳ τούτων. "Between these," i. e., should cross after the division of Cheirisophus had passed over and be followed by Xenophon's troops.

## § 16, 17, 18.

καλῶς εἶχεν. "Were in good order."—ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν. "To the crossing-place."—ἀντιπαρήσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἱππέων. "The lines of the cavalry advanced along with them on the opposite bank," i. e., moved on parallel with them, upon the opposite side of the Centrites.—κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν. "Over against the crossing-place."—στεφανωσάμενος. "Having crowned himself." This was a Lacedæmonian custom. Compare Xen., de Rep. Lac., xiii, 8; Hell., iv., 2, 12; and Plutarch, Vit. Lyc., 22.—ἀποδύς. "Having stripped."—καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι τὰρήγγελλε. "And gave orders to all the rest (to do the same)," i. e., to strip and take up their arms.—τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους. Consult note on ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, iv., 2, 11.—ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. "Slew victims, letting the blood flow into the stream," i. e., so that the blood flowed into the river to propitiate the deity of the stream. Compare note on σφάξαντες εἰς Ἀσπίδα, ii., 2, 9.—ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐξικνουῦντο. "But they did not yet reach."

## § 19, 20, 21.

ἀνῆλάζον. "Raised the battle-cry." More literally, "raised shouts of alala."—συνωλόλυνον. "Uttered loud cries along with them." The verb ὀλολύω is especially used of the loud cries of women.—ἐνέβαινε. "Entered (the stream)." Supply τὸν ποταμόν.—πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, κ. τ. λ. "Back to the ford that was over against the outlet which led into the mountains of the Armenians." Mention was made of this πόρος in § 5.—ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ἱππεῖς. "He will cut off the horse that were along the river," i. e., the cavalry that had marched up along the river to prevent the Greeks from crossing above. The object of this manœuvre was to compel the cavalry of the enemy to return, and thus leave the passage of Cheirisophus

unobstructed.—θέοντας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν. "Running back."—ὥς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "As if to the outlet from the river upward," i. e., as returning to the road which led from the river up into the country.—ἔτεινον ἄνω. "They stretched upward."

## § 22, 23.

Λύκιος δέ. This was Lycius the Athenian, who was mentioned at iii., 3, 20. There was another of the same name, a Syracusan, spoken of at i., 10, 14.—τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἱππέων. "The troop of horse."—τὴν τάξιν τῶν πέλταστῶν. "The body of targeteers."—ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. "Called out (to one another) not to be left behind, but to go along with them upon the mountains," i. e., kept encouraging one another with loud cries to keep on, and to go along with the pursuing cavalry, after the enemy, on the mountains. The meaning of this passage is misunderstood by Weiske, Larcher, Becker, Halbkart, and others. The true explanation is given by Poppo: "Clamabant ne remanerent (pone hostes); sie riefen, sie (die Peltasten) sollten nicht zurückbleiben, nicht ablassen." The reference in στρατιῶται is to the targeteers.—εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηγούσας ὄχθας, κ. τ. λ. "But immediately issued out upon the enemy above, along the banks reaching down to the river." He marched against the enemy's infantry, mentioned in § 3, as being stationed on the higher ground in the rear of the horse.

## § 24, 25.

τὰ πέραν καλῶς γιγνόμενα. "Affairs on the other side going on well."—τὴν ταχίστην. "By the shortest route," i. e., very speedily. Supply εὐρόν.—καὶ γάρ. "And (there was good reason for so doing), for.—ὥς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. "As if with the intention of attacking the hindmost."—ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξει. "Having taken in hand to pursue."—τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα. "The portions of their baggage left behind (by the enemy)."

## § 26.

ἀκμὴν διέβαινε. "Were yet passing." Xenophon uses ἀκμὴν here in the sense of ἔτι, which Mœris and Phrynichus condemn as an un-Attic usage. According to Lobeck (ad Phryn., p. 123), this word had two significations: one, the older, implying "at this very instant," "in a moment," &c., the other equivalent to ἔτι, and used by later writers, such as Strabo, Plutarch, and Theocritus. (Poppo, ad loc.)—ἀντὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔθετο. "Halted under arms over against them."—κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, κ. τ. λ. "To



form each his company into divisions of five-and-twenty men, having led each division, by a flank movement to the left, into line." The object of this movement was to form a close and continuous line (φάλαγξ) against the Carduchi. Each λόχος, therefore, was first formed into a column of four ἐνωμοτίαι, and then, the front ἐνωμοτία remaining stationary in each λόχος, the remaining three faced to the left, filed out, and when they had advanced sufficiently far, faced again to the front, and moved forward into line.—παρ' ἀσπίδας. The Greek military phrase for "to the left" was παρ' ἀσπίδα, or ἀσπίδας, because the shield was held with the left hand; and "to the right," παρὰ δόρυ or ἐπὶ δόρυ, the spear being held in the right hand. We must not, however, confound this with παρ' ἀσπίδα στήναι, "to stand in battle array."—καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. "To halt upon the river." More literally, "near the river." Xenophon does not state what the depth of his φάλαγξ was; but, as each ἐνωμοτία composing it had a front of five men by a depth of five, this is easily supplied by the reader. As regards the expression πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, compare note on ii., 2, 4.

## § 27, 28.

τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλονμένους. "The rear-guard of the crowd getting diminished in number," i. e., those who were stationed in the rear of the baggage followers. Xenophon repeats this in § 30, where the causes of this weakening of the rear-guard are mentioned.—ᾠδὰς τινας. "Certain songs," i. e., a species of rude, barbarian war-songs.—διαβαίνοντας. "Beginning to cross." The common reading is καταβαίνοντας, which gives an inferior meaning.—αὐτοί. Referring to Xenophon and his soldiers, as distinguished from the ὄχλος.—ἐναντίους ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν σφῶν, κ. τ. λ. "They should enter the river opposite, on this side of them and on that, as if intending to cross, the javelin-men holding the javelin by its poise (ready to throw), and the archers having placed the arrow on its string." The common text has διηγκυλισμένους, which Jacobs (*ad Achill. Tat.*, p. 587) prefers; but MS. authority is in favor of the other reading. Observe that both διηγκυλισμένους and ἐπιβεβλημένους are to be taken in a middle sense. (*Porro, ad loc.*) Consult, also, note on ἐναγκυλῶντες, chap. ii., § 28.—μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. "But not to advance far into the river." Compare Sturz., *Lex. Xen.*, s. v. πρόσω: "Non longe in fluminis transitu progredi."

## § 29, 30.

ἐπειδὴν σφενδόνη ἐξικνῆται, κ. τ. λ. "Whenever a sling shall reach

(them) and a shield clatter (beneath the blow of a missile)," i. e., whenever the Carduchi are so near that the missiles cast by them strike the Greeks. We have given here the meaning assigned by the best editors to the expression ἀσπίς ψοφῇ. Hutchinson, Weiske, and Zeune, less correctly, refer it to a clashing of their shields on the part of the Greeks, preparatory to an onset.—τὸ πολεμικόν. "The signal of attack." Compare our English expression, "the charge." Supply σημείον.—ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ. "Having turned to the right about."—ἡ ἑκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν. "Where each one had his file." More freely, "which way each was directed by his file." Compare Luzerne: "chaque file marchant droit devant elle."—ὅτι οὗτος ἀριστος ἔσοιτο. "Because that one would be the best man," i. e., adding, that he would be, &c.—ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιπούς. This refers back to § 27.—τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων. "Of those who had been ordered to remain," i. e., of the ὀπισθοφύλακες.—ἐνταῦθα δὲ. Employed after a parenthesis, as if ἐπεὶ ἑώρων had preceded it, not ὁρῶντες.

## § 31-34.

ὥς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν. "As in their mountains," i. e., for mountain warfare merely. When they came down into the plain they were soon put to flight.—ἱκανῶς. "Well enough."—ἐν τούτῳ. "At this moment." Supply τῷ καιρῷ.—τάναντία στρέψαντες. "Having turned the contrary way."—καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κ. τ. λ. "Even when the Greeks were across the river, were still seen running away."—οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες, κ. τ. λ. "The troops, however, who had come to meet them, piquing themselves on their valor, and advancing further (in the river) than was occasion," &c. The reference is to the targeteers, slingers, and archers sent by Cheirisophus. Compare § 27.

## CHAPTER IV.

## § 1, 2.

συνταξάμενοι. "Having drawn up in order."—διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίων ἁπαν, κ. τ. λ. "Through Armenia, all a plain and hills of easy ascent, for not less than," &c. Observe here the singular apposition arising from a blending of two forms of expression, namely, πορεύεσθαι διὰ γῆς, and πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. (*Krüg., ad loc.*)—εἰς δὲ ἣν ἐφίκοντο κώμην, κ. τ. λ. "The village, however, to which they came at length, was both large," &c. Observe here the attraction of the relative. The full form of expression would be, ἣ δὲ κώμη, εἰς ἣν ἀφίκοντο κώμην, μεγάλη τε ἦν, and the regular one, ἣ δὲ κώμη, εἰς ἣν ἀφίκοντο.

μεγάλη τε ἦν.—τῷ σατράπῃ. The satrap of Armenia was Orontas (iii., 5, 17). Teribazus, who is named in § 4, was merely an ὑπαρχος, or lieutenant-governor of a part of the province. The village mentioned here would correspond, by the distances given, to the position of *Se'rt*, which, like *Zakhu*, preserves to the present day the character of a large village with a palace in it. If, however, the course of the Greeks was more westerly, it would answer to a position on the *Kharzen-su*. (Ainsworth, p. 171.)

## § 3-4.

μέχρι ὑπερήλθον τὰς πηγὰς, κ. τ. λ. Had the Greeks marched by the great road from *Se'rt* to *Betlis*, the distances here given by Xenophon would not have carried them as far as to the head waters of the Tigris, which are at *Bash Khan*, not far from Lake *Van*. They must, therefore, have ascended directly toward the great chain of *'Alî Tâgh*, corresponding to the ancient Niphates; by which proceeding, a journey of thirty miles would have carried them beyond the head waters of the tributaries of the Tigris, and another forty-five miles would have taken them to the valley of the *Kara-su*, the *Teleboas* of our author. (Ainsworth, p. 171.)—τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. Rennell, incorrectly, makes the *Teleboas* the same with the *Arsanias*. This last-mentioned river, as we learn from Plutarch, in his life of Lucullus (c. 31), lay between *Tigranocerta* and *Artaxata*, and is, therefore, the same with the *Kharzen-su*. (Ainsworth, p. 172, note.)—Ἀρμενία ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. "Armenia to the west," i. e., Western Armenia. Xenophon's Western Armenia was included in Armenia Major, of which it formed the western part, and extended as far as the Euphrates. On the other, or western, side of this river Armenia Minor commenced. (Rennell, p. 205.)—ὑπαρχος. "Lieutenant-governor."—βασίλεια ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. "Lifted the king upon his horse." Compare Livy, xxxi., 37: "Regem in equum subiecit."

## § 5, 6.

προσῆλθεν. "Came forward."—εἰς ἐπήκοον. Compare ii., 5, 38.—θέλοι. One of the MSS. has *θέλει*, which is probably the true reading.—ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "On the condition that he was neither to injure the Greeks, nor were they to burn the dwellings, and that they were, also, to take provisions, of whatever quantity they might stand in need." Observe the employment of *τέ* after the second *μήτε*, for the purpose of joining a positive to a negative clause. (Kühner, § 775, 3.)

## § 7, 8.

παρηκολούθει. "Followed by their side."—ὡς δέκα σταδίων. A little over a mile. The plain through which the Greeks were now marching was the ancient Moxoene, the modern *Mush*. The direction followed by them after reaching the *Kara-su* is determined by the time which it took them to arrive at the Euphrates, which they are described as passing over not far from its sources. Had they pursued a northerly course, they would have arrived at the *Murad-su*, or Eastern Euphrates, in a day's march or less; but at that point it would not have been fordable; and it must have been for the purpose of arriving above its junction with the river of *Khanus*, called *Bin-gol-su*, that they followed a northeastern direction, up the plain of *Mush*, and toward the sites of *Perak* or *Lis*, north of Lake *Nazûk*, and in which fertile district the palace and village described by Xenophon appear to have existed. (Ainsworth, p. 173.)—διασκηνησάι τὰς τάξεις, κ. τ. λ. "To quarter the (different) corps and generals throughout the villages."

## § 9, 10.

τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ. "Those provisions as many as are good," i. e., all kinds of good provisions.—λεπεία. "Victims." As the Greeks never killed any animal without burning a portion of it in honor of some divinity, the term *λεπείον* came to signify any animal used for food. (Hutch., ad Xen., *Cyrop.*, i., 4, 17.)—δοπρία παντοδαπά. "Pulse of all kinds."—τῶν ἀποσκεδαννυμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. "Of those who strayed to a distance from the camp." Literally, "who scattered themselves."—διασκηνοῦν. "To quarter apart."—συναιθριάζειν. "To bivouac in a body in the open air." There is considerable doubt as regards the meaning of this verb here. Some render it, "to be clearing up at the same time;" but the former signification seems to suit the context better. At all events, however, *συναιθριάζειν* is a much better reading than *διαθριάζειν*, though Dindorf adopts the latter.

## § 11.

χιὼν ἀπλετος. "The cold experienced by the Greeks in the Armenian uplands has been the subject of much controversy, and Tournefort, the celebrated botanist, was so much struck with it, as to suppose it was owing to so unnatural a cause as the impregnation of the soil with sal ammoniac. The knowledge which we now possess of the comparative elevation of these uplands renders all such far-fetched hypotheses quite needless. A positive elevation



amounting on the plain of *Mush*, by my own barometrical observations, to 4200 feet above the sea; at *Khanus*, to 5200 feet; at *Erz-Roum*, to 5500 feet; and preserving, if not surpassing, the same elevation, in all the intervening country; and in which the immediate results of a lower temperature, induced by elevation, are increased by the openness of the country and the long continuity of high and elevated tracts of land, appear quite sufficient to account for this otherwise curious phenomenon." (*Ainsworth*, p. 174.)—καὶ πολλὸς δα-  
νος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι, κ. τ. λ. "And there was much sluggishness to arise; for as they lay, the snow fallen upon them, served to keep them warm, for whomsoever it had not (melted and) run down his sides." Literally, "the snow having fallen was a warm thing."

## § 12, 13.

ἐτόλμησε γυμνός, κ. τ. λ. "Had the courage to rise, though thinly attired, and cut wood." It can hardly be that γυμνός is here to be taken in the sense of absolute nakedness. It means, more probably, having merely a tunic, or χιτῶν, thrown around him. Compare note on γυμνή, i., 10, 3, and consult the commentators on *Virgil, Georg.*, 1, 299.—ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. "Having taken (the axe) from him, began to cut." Supply τὴν ἀξίνην after ἀφελόμενος, the idea of it being implied in σχίζειν going before.—ἐχρίοντο. "Began to anoint themselves," i. e., began to rub their limbs with unguents, to restore a full circulation. Anointing was a common practice among the Greeks, and not confined to the athletes merely.—σύνειον, καὶ ση-  
σάμινον, κ. τ. λ. "Made of hog's lard, and of sesame, and of almonds of the bitter kind, and of turpentine." After πικρῶν supply ἀμυγδαλῶν. As regards the sesame, compare *Pliny, N. H.*, xviii., 22: "*Sesama ab Indis venit, ex ea et oleum faciunt*;" and *Quintus Curtius*, vii., 4, 23: "*Succo ex sesama expresso haud secus quam oleo artus perungebant*."—ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων κ. τ. λ. "Of these same substances, also, a perfume was found." Krüger supplies τερεβίνθων after τούτων; in correctly, however, since the reference is a general one.

## § 14, 15, 16.

πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "That they must again quarter up and dwell in the villages, in places of shelter." More freely, "under roofs."—ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας. "Through blind folly."—δίκην ἐδίδοσαν, κακῶς συμφοῦντες. "Suffered punishment by wretchedly bivouacking."—Τεμενίτην. "A Temenite." *Stephanus Byzantinus* calls Temenu a place in Sicily. Göller seeks to identify it with that part of the house which was afterward called Neapolis; but, then, Xenophon

would have called Democrates a Syracusan.—ἄνδρας. "Some troops."—οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον, κ. τ. λ. "For this man seemed even already before to have reported truly many such things, both things existing as existing, and those not existing as not existing."—σάγαριν. "A sagaris." This was a weapon used by the Scythians, Persians, Amazons, Mosynœci, &c. According to *Hesychius*, it was single-edged, and it is, therefore, joined by *Xenophon* with κοπίς. (*Cyrop.*, i., 2, 9.) *Herodotus*, however, explains it by ἀξίνη. (vii., 64.) Probably it was much like the old English bill. The word is said to be Persian for a sword.—ἔχουσιν. "Have," i. e., are represented in works of art as having.

## § 17, 18.

ποδαπός "Of what country." Answering to the Latin *cujas*.—ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι. "That he might procure provisions." He was, according to his own account, a messenger sent to procure a supply of provisions for the army.—καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. "And with what view collected."—εἶη ἔχων. "Was having with him." To give emphasis to the predicate, the verbal form is sometimes resolved into the participle with εἶμι. This is rather poetical, though it is found also in prose, especially in *Herodotus*. (*Kühner*, § 375, 4.)—Χάλυβας. Compare vii., 8, 25.—Ταόχους. Compare iv., 7, 1.—πα-  
ρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη, κ. τ. λ. "And he said that he was prepared, on the crossing of the mountain, in the narrow parts, by which way only there was a passage, there to fall upon the Greeks." Observe that ὡς before ἐπὶ belongs, in construction, to ἐπιθησόμενον.—μοναχῇ. We have written this as an adverb, though strictly the dative feminine of μοναχός.

## § 19, 20.

Σοφαίνετον Στυμφάλιον. *Sophænetus* and *Philesius* were the two eldest of the generals. (v., 3, 1.) Hence, probably, as *Krüger* remarks, the selection of the former as commander of the camp on the present occasion. The same editor thinks that the troops left with him were the older ones of the soldiers.—καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον. "And having seen the camp below them."

## § 21, 22.

ἦλθον. "Were taken." Observe that we have here ἦλθον with the regular augment, and, a little further on, ἐάλω. This last is properly the Attic form. In the perfect the case is reversed. There ἦλωκα is a strict Atticism, and ἐάλωκα is the common form. (*Buttmann*, *Irreg. Verbs*, p. 17.)—καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι, καὶ οἱ οἶνοχόαι φάσκον.

τες εἶναι. "And they who said that they were bread-cutters and wine-pourers." The Persian satraps imitated, even in their encampments, the luxury of kings.—ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Their own camp is meant.—ἐπίθεσις. "Attack."—ἀνακαλεσάμενοι. "Having recalled (the troops)."

## CHAPTER V.

## § 1, 2.

ὅπῃ δύναιτο τάχιστα. "In what way they could most speedily."—τὸ στράτευμα. The army of the enemy is meant.—ἐμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι. "Intended to attack them."—κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. The distance of this day's march is not given, and, therefore, it is probable that they only encompassed the pass, which may not have exceeded five or six miles.—ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν. The eastern branch of the Euphrates is meant, the modern *Murad-su*.—καὶ διέβαινον αὐτόν. The point where the Greeks forded the river would, by the distances given, have been at or near the present town of *Melaz-ghird*, the first ford which presents itself above the junction of the *Bin-gol-su*. (Ainsworth, p. 176.)

## § 3, 4.

καὶ πεδίου. "And a level country."—παρασύγας πεντεκαίδεκα. This seems rapid marching through deep snow, and Rennell, therefore, thinks there must be an error in the text. (p. 214.) Kinneir is of the same opinion. (p. 485.) Krüger conjectures that *παρασύγας πεντεκαίδεκα* may have crept in here from § 2. The Greeks, however, appear to have wished to regain a more direct course to the sea, and this may have urged them on to more rapid marches than ordinary, even in the midst of the snow.—ἐναντίος ἔπνει. "Blew full in their faces."—παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων πάντα, κ. τ. λ. "Completely parching up every thing, and freezing the men." The drying effect of the northern wind is here expressed by a term properly applicable only to the agency of fire. A withering effect, however, would be produced in either case. Hence the employment of *uro, torreo*, &c., by the Latins to denote the parching and withering effect of a cold northern wind. Compare Horace, *Sat.*, i., 5, 78, "*Quos torret Atabulus*."—εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ. "Directed them to offer a victim unto the wind."—τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. "The violence of the blast."

## § 5, 6.

ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ. "In the place where they had halted."—οὐ προσέειπαι

πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, κ. τ. λ. "Did not admit unto the fire those who came late, unless they shared with them wheat, or any thing else, in case they had any thing eatable." Observe here the construction of *μεταδίδοναι* with the accusative. Otherwise the verb takes the genitive case, as we find immediately after.—ὧν εἶχον. The full form would be *ἐκείνων ὧν εἶχον*, and *ὧν* is, by attraction, for *ἡ*.—ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον. "Even unto the ground."—οὐ δὴ παρὴν μετρεῖν, κ. τ. λ. "Where, accordingly, there was an opportunity to measure the depth of the snow."

## § 7.

ἐβουλιμίαςαν. "Were seized with the bulimy." By "the bulimy" (*βουλιμία*) is meant a sudden faintness from great hunger, which was removed, however, by a mere mouthful of food.—καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας, κ. τ. λ. "Finding in his way the falling men, was ignorant what the affection was."—τῶν ἐμπείρων. "Of those acquainted with it."—καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας, κ. τ. λ. "And he sent about those who were able to run along the ranks to give it to those afflicted with the bulimy."

## § 9, 10.

καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης, κ. τ. λ. "And finds at the spring, in front of the rampart, some women and girls from the village carrying water."—ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασύγην. This position of the satrap's residence corresponds perfectly, according to Ainsworth (p. 176), with the position of *Khanus Kalehsi*, in the *Khanus* district. This wild castle, in the midst of the Armenian uplands, is situated upon the *Kaleh-su*, a branch of the *Bingol-su*, and about three miles from the nearest village of *Aruz*, beyond which is the fertile portion of the district, containing at the present day eighteen Armenian villages. The separation of the castle from the villages is a remarkably distinctive fact.—οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ὀψέ ἦν, κ. τ. λ. "The Greeks thereupon, as it was late, enter with the water-carriers into the fort, unto the head-man of the village." The custom of having a head to each village in the East, appears thus to date from a remote antiquity. (Ainsworth, p. 178.)

## § 11, 12, 13.

ἐδινηθήσαν. "Were able (to move forward)."—διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδόν. "To complete the route," i. e., to get over the road.—συνειλεγμένοι. "Who had been drawn together."—καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἡρπάζον. "And seized those of the cattle which were unable to proceed." Supply *διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδόν*.—ἐλείποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "There were left behind, also, of the soldiers both those



who had their eyes ruined by the snow, and those who had their toes rotted off by the cold." Literally, "both those ruined as to their eyes," &c.—*ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς, κ. τ. λ.* "But it was a defense to the eyes from the snow."—*τῶν δὲ ποδῶν.* "And (a defense) in the case of the feet." In illustration of the change of construction here, from the dative to the genitive, Zeune refers to Abresch (*Dilucid. Thucyd.* p. 119.) With *ποδῶν* supply *ἐπικούρημα*.—*καὶ εἰ τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο* "And if he unshod them for the night," i. e., loosed or took off his sandals from his feet.

## § 14, 15.

*ὑποδεσμένοι.* "With their sandals on." Observe that *δοσι* in this clause is supposed to have *τόσων* understood before it, and that this *τόσων* is dependent upon *τοὺς πόδας*.—*εἰσεδύνοντο εἰς.* "Entered into," i. e., worked into, chafed.—*περιεπήγνυντο.* "Froze about them."—*καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε, κ. τ. λ.* "And (no wonder), for, when their old sandals failed them, they had made for themselves shoes of untanned leather out of the newly-skinned oxen." The common text has *καρβύτιναι πεποιημέναι*. Schneider inserts *αὐτοῖς* after *καρβύτιναι* from Suidas alone; but the reading which we have given, and which is the elegant conjecture of Wyttenbach, appears decidedly preferable. Observe that *πεποιημένοι ἦσαν* is to be taken in a middle sense.—*διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας.* "Through such necessities, then, as these."—*διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι, κ. τ. λ.* "On account of the snow's having disappeared there."—*καὶ ἐτετήκει.* "And it had (in fact) melted."—*ἥ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπῃ.* "Which was smoking near in a woody vale."—*ἐκτραπόμενοι.* "Having turned aside."—*καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι.* Compare i., 3, 7.

## § 16, 17.

*ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ, κ. τ. λ.* "Begged of them, by every art and device, not to be left behind."—*συνειλεγμένοι.* "Collected in a mass."—*τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινε.* "At length he began to grow angry." Literally, "ending, he began to grow angry."—*οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι.* "For (they said) that they could not go on." Supply *ἔλεγον*.—*φοβῆσαι.* "To scare off."—*μὴ ἐπιπέσοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι.* "Lest they should fall upon the weary."—*οἱ δὲ προσήσαν.* Referring to the enemy.—*ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι.* "Disputing with one another about the plunder which they had." Attraction for *ἀμφὶ τῶν εἶχον*. Observe, moreover, the force of the middle in *διαφερόμενοι*.

## § 18, 19.

*ἀεὶ ἐγχαίνοντες.* "As being in good condition," i. e., still strong

and healthy.—*ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἠδύναντο μέγιστον.* "Having shouted out as loud as they could."—*ἤκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνης.* "Threw themselves down the snow."—*ἐφθέγγατο.* "Raised a sound."—*τοῖς ἀσθενούσιν.* "Unto the sick," i. e., unto those who were ailing in any way from the cold and from fatigue. These are the same with the *οἱ κάμνοντες* mentioned previously.—*ἐπ' αὐτούς.* "Unto them," i. e., with aid.—*ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις.* "Covered up," i. e., with the snow. They had heaped it about them for the purpose of warmth.—*καθείστηται.* "Had been set."—*καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς.* "And they tried to rouse them up." Observe the force of the imperfect.

## § 20—23.

*οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν.* "Did not make way."—*παριών.* "Going past."—*οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο.* "Rested so."—*ἠύλισθησαν αὐτοῦ.* "Took up their quarters there," i. e., on the snow.—*φυλακὰς οἷας ἠδύναντο.* "Such guards as they were able," i. e., τοῖας φυλακὰς οἷας.—*πρὸς ἡμέραν.* "Toward day."—*πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης, κ. τ. λ.* "Sends some of those from the village to see how the hindmost were faring." Observe that *τῶν* is the partitive genitive, and equivalent to *τινὰς τῶν*.—*ἐχοιεν.* Literally, "might be having themselves."—*οἱ δέ, ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες.* "The young men, glad to see them," i. e., the νεώτατοι sent by Xenophon, glad to see those who came from Cheirisophus.—*αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο.* "And themselves set forward."—*πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ.* "At the village."—*κατὰ τὰς κώμας τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν.* "To quarter the troops up and down the villages."—*διαλαχόντες.* "Having divided by lot." The reference is to the other Grecian commanders.—*τοὺς ἑαυτῶν.* Supply *στρατιώτας*.

## § 24.

*Πολυδότης.* The common text has *Πολυκράτης*, which Dindorf and others retain.—*ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιέναι ἑαυτόν.* "Desired them to let him go his own way." More literally, "to let him loose," "to leave him free," i. e., to go where he pleases.—*καταλαμβάνει.* "He surprises."—*πάλους εἰς δασμὸν, κ. τ. λ.* Strabo says that the satrap of Armenia sent every year 20,000 horses to the Persian king. (xi., p. 365.)—*ἑπτακαίδεκα.* Weiske thinks this number too small, for we find Xenophon, not long afterward (§ 35), taking some of these horses for himself, and also giving one to each of the other generals and captains. He thinks that the true number was over 100, and that there is some corruption in the text. Krüger, who likewise considers the number too small, suggests that Xenophon may have, in stating the number of horses, written Σ in place of ΙΖ. (*de Authent.*, p. 47, seq.)—*ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην.* "The ninth day, married."

## § 25.

καταγαίαι. "Under ground."—τὸ μὲν στόμα ὡς περ φρέατος. "The mouth like that of a well," i. e., having an entrance like the mouth of a well. The writers on ellipsis would supply *ἐχουσαι* here. It is neater to regard *στόμα* as a kind of absolute nominative, or, if we are to supply any thing, to let the verb understood be *ἦν*.—αἱ δὲ εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς μὲν, κ. τ. λ. "The entrances for the animals were dug."—ἐπὶ κλίμακος. "Upon a ladder," i. e., by means of a ladder.—δρνιθεῖς. "Fowls."—χιλῶ. "Upon hay." "This description of a village on the Armenian uplands applies itself," remarks Ainsworth, "to many that I visited at the present day. The descent by wells is now rare, but still is to be met with; but in exposed situations the houses are uniformly semi-subterranean, and entered by as small an aperture as possible, to prevent the cold getting in. Whatever is the kind of cottage used, cows, sheep, goats, and fowls participate with the family in the warmth and protection thereof." (Ainsworth, p. 178.)

## § 26, 27.

οἶνος κρίθινος. The summer, according to Ainsworth, is occupied in these inhospitable uplands, in laying in stores of fuel and provender for the winter, and corn and vegetables are found in these dwellings in abundance; but he says that "barley-wine" he never met with.—ἐν κρατῆρσιν. "In large bowls." Xenophon employs here a term which in his own country meant a large vessel for mixing, and in which the wine for a meal was mixed with water. From this the cups were filled. On the present occasion, however, he means merely a large bowl containing the undiluted liquid, and from which each one helped himself.—ἰσοχειλεῖς. "On a level with the brim."—καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο. "And there lay in them reeds."—γόνυατα. "Joints."—λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. "To take into his mouth and suck." The reeds were used, as Krüger remarks, in order that none of the floating barley might be sucked up, since they were inserted into the liquor below. According to the traveler Niebuhr, the same mode of drinking existed in his day in Armenia.—ἄκρατος. "Strong."—καὶ πάνν ἡδὺν συμβαδόντι τὸ πόμα ἦν. "And the drink was a very palatable one to a person accustomed to it."

## § 28, 29.

σύνδειπνον. "His guest at supper."—τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "And that they will go away, having, in requital, filled his dwelling with the good things of life." Observe the force of *ἀντί* in composi-

tion.—ἐξηγησάμενος. "To have been the author of." More literally, "to have pointed out."—ἔσ' ἂν γένωνται. "Until they shall be," i. e., shall have come.—φιλοφρονούμενος. "Being kindly disposed."—οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἐνθα ἦν κατωρυγμένος. "Told them of wine, where it was buried," i. e., told them where wine was buried. Allusion has frequently been made to this idiom.—διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως. "Having quartered thus here and there."—ἐν φυλάκῃ. "In safe-keeping."—ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. "(Collected) together within sight."

## § 30-32.

πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο. "Set out for Cheirisophus."—ὅπου διπαρίοι κώμην, κ. τ. λ. "But wherever he passed a village, he turned aside unto those in the villages." More freely, "he turned aside to visit those in it."—εὐθυμονόμενος. "Enjoying themselves."—ἀφίεσαν. "They let them go," i. e., allowed them to depart.—οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οἱ παρτίθεσαν. "And there was no place where they did not serve up." Observe here that the two negatives belong to different verbs, and are, therefore, each to be separately rendered.—ὅποτε δέ τις φιλοφρονούμενος, κ. τ. λ. "And whenever any person, disposed to friendship, was desirous of drinking with any one," i. e., of drinking health with another. The verb *προπίνω* properly means, "to drink before one," and hence, "to drink to a person's health," because the Greek custom was to drink first one's self, and then pass the cup to the person whom one pledged. The strict meaning, therefore, of *προπιεῖν τῷ*, in the present passage, will be "to drink before for any one."—εἰλκεν. "He drew him."—ροφούντα πίνειν ὡς περ βοῦν. "To drink, sucking up like an ox." Observe that *ροφούντα* is purposely employed here to express the gurgling sound of the fluid as it entered and passed through the reed.—ἐδέχετο. "Accepted."

## § 33, 34.

κάκείνους σκηνοῦντας. "These, also, in quarters."—τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ. "Of the dry grass," i. e., of hay. Being unable to procure any of the more ordinary materials, such as flowers, &c., they substituted hay. The use of chaplets at festive entertainments owed its origin to the practice of tying a woolen fillet tight around the head, for the purpose of mitigating the effects of intoxication. But, as luxury increased, crowns were made of various flowers or shrubs, such as were supposed to prevent intoxication.—διακονούντας. "Waiting upon them."—ὡς περ ἐνεοῖς. "As if deaf and dumb."—ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο. "Having greeted one another," i. e., having paid the dues of friendship to each other.—περρίζοντες. "Speaking the Per-



sian language."—καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐφραζεν, κ. τ. λ. "And he told them the road, which way it was," i. e., in what direction the road lay.

## § 35, 36

παλαιότερον. "Rather old." We must not, as some do, regard this as the only form of the comparative of παλαιός, since παλαιότερος also occurs in Attic. (Porpo, ad loc.—Kühner, § 132, 5.)—ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῆσαι. "To fatten, and offer in sacrifice."—αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἡλίου. "That it was a victim of the Sun," i. e., that the horse was an animal accustomed to be offered up in sacrifice to the sun. Xenophon, of course, does not mean that the particular animal which was given to the comarch was a sacred one, but merely that it belonged to a class of animals accustomed to be sacrificed to the God of Day. The Persian custom of immolating horses to the sun is alluded to by Xenophon in the Cyropædia. (viii., 3, 12.) As regards the prevalence among the Eastern nations, in former days, of the worship of that luminary, consult the remarks of Ritter, Vorhalle, &c., p. 85, seqq.—αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει. "And he himself takes some of the colts." Observe the force of the partitive genitive. Some, incorrectly, render τῶν πῶλων, "one of the colts."—οἱ ταύτη ἵπποι. "The horses in this country." Supply χώρα, as referring to the region of Armenia.—θυμοειδέστεροι. "More spirited."—σακία περιελεῖν. "To wrap little bags."—κατεδύοντο μέχρι. "They sunk up to."

## CHAPTER VI.

## § 1, 2.

τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβήσκοντος. "Who was just entering on the years of puberty." By ἡβη is here meant the period from about 14 to 20 years of age.—εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο. "If he (the father) should lead fairly."—ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον. "Having this one, also," i. e., in addition to his domestics, who had been left behind for him.—ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα. "As many things as they could."—λελυμένος. "Unbound."—καὶ ἡδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ. "And it was now during the third day's march." Observe here the impersonal employment of ἦν to indicate time, and compare i., 8, 1.—ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. "In this region"

## § 3, 4.

ἀποδράς ᾤχετο. "Ran off."—τοδὲ δὴ. "This you must know." Observe the force of δὴ.—μόνον διάφορον. "The only subject of dis-

pute." More literally, "the only cause of difference."—ἡ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις, κ. τ. λ. "(Namely), the ill treatment and neglect of the guide."—ἡοάσθη τε. "Both became fond of."—ἐχρήτο. "Found him." Literally, "made use of him as."—μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμούς, κ. τ. λ. "After this, they proceeded seven days' march, at the rate of five parasangs a day." Observe the distributive force of ἀνά. The distance here given would carry the Greeks over the mountains, to the River Aras, north of Mount Ararat. In applying the name of Phasis, given by the Argonauts, and, after them, by Strabo, Pliny, Mela, and many other authorities, to the Colchian River, now called Rhion, to the River Aras, or Araxes, Xenophon appears to have followed a tradition belonging to earlier times than the imagined discovery of the Phison or Phasis, as a tributary of the Euxine; and to have identified the Aras with the Phison of the Scriptures, which sprang from the same locality as the Euphrates, and the Hiddekel or Tigris. Rennell, Delisle, and others have advocated this identity; and it is remarkable that the upper part of the Aras is still called Pâsin-chai. (Ainsworth, p. 179.)

## § 5, 6.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπερβολῇ. Having crossed the Phasis, or Aras, north of Mount Ararat, the Greeks would have before them the redoubtable chain called the *Karân Tâgh*, the Coraxii of Pliny, and which, according to Xenophon, they reached in two marches. Here they found a mixed army of Chalybes, Taochians, and Phasians posted upon the passage which led over the chain.—ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίου. "Holding off about thirty stadia."—κατὰ κέρα. "In column." The term κέρα has here literally its meaning of the "wing of an army," and ἀγειν κατὰ κέρα is, properly, "to lead by a wing," whether right or left, and hence, to lead or advance "in column." This must not be confounded, however, with προσβάλλειν κατὰ κέρα, "to attack in flank." Compare *Luzerne*, vol. ii., p. 76., and the Latin expression, "agmine longo ducere."—παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, κ. τ. λ. "To bring their companies alongside, in order that the army might be formed on a full line to the front," i. e., in a full front line. The manœuvre here indicated was as follows: when the column halted, the λόχος forming its head remained firm, and the other λόχοι marched by a flank movement into line with this, and stationed themselves side by side, thus forming an extended front, technically called here a *φάλαγξ*. (Compare *Luzerne*, l. c., note.)

## § 7-9.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες. "And when the rear guard had come up," i. e., when the rear companies had come up, and all were now formed into line.—ὅπως ἀγωνιούμεθα. "In what way we shall contend."—ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι. "And that we, meanwhile, deliberate together."—τάχιστα. "With all haste."—ἐξοπλισαμένους. "Having fully armed ourselves."—εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν. "For, if we shall waste the present day." Observe the adjective force given to τήμερον by its position between the article and noun.—πλείους προσγενέσθαι. "Will join them in greater numbers." The aorist here takes the place of an instantaneous future. (Kühner, § 403, 2.)

## § 10, 11.

μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν. The discussion which here takes place between Xenophon and Cheirisophus appears to be characterized in some parts by a partial want of that good feeling which had hitherto attended their councils. It may be traced, probably, to the dispute respecting the treatment of the guide.—οὕτω γινώσκω. "Am of the following opinion."—ὅπως ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα, κ. τ. λ. "How we may receive fewest wounds, and lose as few bodies of men as possible." Observe that σώματα ἀνδρῶν is not a mere circumlocution for ἀνδρας, but the expression is purposely employed to call attention to the idea of physical aid implied in σώματα.—τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον, κ. τ. λ. "The mountain, then, as far as we may judge by the eye, is more than for sixty stadia," i. e., reaches above sixty stadia in length. Observe that τὸ ὁρώμενον is what grammarians term the accusative absolute, where writers on ellipsis used to supply κατά. (Kühner, § 581.) The literal meaning will be, "as far as regards what is seen (of it)." Some, less correctly, make it the nominative, agreeing with ὄρος, and make it signify "which lies before our view," "which is seen (by us)."—φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς. "Watching us."—ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδόν. "Except along the road itself," i. e., the direct path that crosses it.—τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι, κ. τ. λ. "Both to try to seize, unobserved, some part of the desert mountain, and to take possession of it by anticipation," i. e., and to take possession of it before the foe.—μᾶλλον ἢ. "Rather than." Where μᾶλλον thus follows a comparative, it may be explained on the principle of a blending of two constructions, namely, κρεῖττον κλέψαι τι ἢ μάχεσθαι, and ἀγαθὸν κλέψαι τ. μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι (Krüg., ad loc.)

## § 12, 13.

ὄρθον ἀμαχὶ ἵεναι. "To go over steep ground without fighting." Supply χώριον with ὄρθιον, and observe in this the accusative of motion along or over a surface. (Kühner, § 558.)—καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχὶ μᾶλλον, κ. τ. λ. "And one may see the things before his feet, more by night without fighting, than by day fighting."—καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα, κ. τ. λ. "And the rough road is more pleasing for the feet, unto those marching without a battle." Literally, "is kinder."—βαλλομένοις. "Unto them getting struck." The reference is to missiles getting hurled at them.—κλέψαι. "To steal a post."—ἐξὸν μὲν νυκτὸς ἵεναι, κ. τ. λ. "It being in our power to go by night, so as not to be seen; and it being also in our power to go so far away as not to afford any chance of being heard." More literally, "as not to afford a being heard."—ταύτην προσποιούμενοι προσβάλλειν. "By pretending to attack in this way."—αὐτοῦ. "Here," i. e., where they at present are.

## § 14, 15.

τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι. "Why do I talk about secret acquisition?"—ὅσοι ἐστε τῶν ὁμοίων. "As many as are of the class of equals." In the Greek aristocratic states, the ὅμοιοι were all those citizens who had equal right to hold state offices (as the whole people, on the other hand, had in a democracy). This was especially the case at Sparta. (Xen., Lac., 13, 1, and 7. Compare Aristotle, Polit., 5, 7, 3.)—κλέπτειν μελετᾷν. This singular Spartan usage will be found fully explained in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus.—ὅπως δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτητε, κ. τ. λ. "But, in order that you may steal as cleverly as possible, and may, (at the same time), try to escape notice," &c.—νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστίν, κ. τ. λ. "Now, then, it is the very time for you to show your education."—κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους. "While stealing a part of the mountain."

## § 16, 17.

δεινὸς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια. "Are clever at stealing the public property." More freely, "the public moneys."—καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου, κ. τ. λ. "And that, too, although the risk is very formidable unto him that steals." Any citizen of Athens who was guilty of peculation in any shape was compelled to restore two-fold the amount taken, and was held in a state of total ἀτιμία until this was done.—καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, κ. τ. λ. "And, indeed, the worthiest the most, if, at least, the worthiest are deemed worthy by you of ruling," i. e., of filling public offices, and thus having the charge of the public property." We have given ὑμῖν heretofore what ap



pears to be its most natural meaning. Jacobs (*in Att.*, xxii., 24; thinks that the meaning is rather "among you," but this seems less satisfactory. (*Krüg.*, *ad loc.*)—τῶν κλωπῶν. "Of the marauders." The reference is to the plunderers from the enemy who hung upon the skirts of the Greek army.—νέμεται. "Is grazed upon."—βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐσται. "There will be places passable, also, to the beasts of burden."

## § 18-21.

ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ. "On a level with them." Compare *Luzerne*, "de niveau avec eux."—εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν. "To equal terms with us."—ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, κ. τ. λ. "But do send others, unless some volunteers present themselves."—Χῖος. "A Chian," i. e., a native of the island of Chios, in the Aegean, between Lesbos and Samos, on the coast of Asia Minor.—Οἰταῖος. "An Oëtean," i. e., an inhabitant of the chain of Oëta, in Thessaly.—σύνθημα. "An agreement."—ὅπως ὥς μάλιστα δοκοίη, κ. τ. λ. "That he might seem as much as possible to be about to lead against them in this direction."

## § 22-24.

οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες. "Those appointed to the service."—καταλαμβάνουσι. "Take possession of."—αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. "Reposed where they were." Literally, "there," i. e., on the very spot.—ἐχόμενον. "Occupied."—ἐγρηγόρεσαν. "Kept watch." From *ἐγείρω*.—οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες, κ. τ. λ. "And they who had gained possession of the mountain marched upon (the enemy) along the heights."—ἀπὴντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. "Went to meet the troops along the heights."—πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλούς, κ. τ. λ. "Before, however, the main body on each side met, those upon the heights close with one another," &c. Observe the force of τοὺς πολλούς as indicating the majority on either side, or, in other words, the main bodies.

## § 25, 26.

ἐν τούτῳ. "At this moment."—βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο. "Followed with a quick step." Literally, "step by step, quickly." The others ran, but they themselves went along "step by step" (βάδην), though still, however, at a "quick" rate (ταχύ).—οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ. These were the main body of the enemy, described in § 24 as remaining ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους.—τὸ ἄνω. "The party above." Supply μέρος. These are also mentioned in § 24, as the part of the enemy that went to meet the Grecian troops along the heights, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπὴντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα.—καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν.

Some MSS. have οἱ πολλοὶ, which remained the common reading until the good sense of the editors changed οἱ to οὐ. The opposition between οὐ πολλοὶ and γέγρα δὲ πάμπολλα is a sufficient argument of itself in favor of the alteration. (*Krüg.*, *ad loc.*)—θύσαντες. The active voice is now employed, and not the middle, as in § 23, because it is now an offering after a result has been achieved, not one connected with an inspection of the entrails for the purpose of ascertaining whether a particular thing is to be performed or not.

## CHAPTER VII.

## § 1.

εἰς Ταόχους. The name of the country of the Taochians is still preserved, according to Delisle, in that of *Taochir*, a district of Georgia. The country of this race occupied that part of Georgia which extends between the *Aras* and the *Kur*, or *Cyrus*. The Greeks, as will be seen, were five days in marching through it. The Taochians, inhabiting mountains and fortresses, may probably have derived their name, as Ainsworth thinks, from this very circumstance. For *taok*, in Turkish, the original language of the Georgians and Tatars of the *Kur*, signifies "a fowl" or "bird," the inhabitants living, in their mountain fastnesses, like the fowls of the air. (p. 181.)—ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα, κ. τ. λ. "In which they had, also, all their provisions, having carried them up," i. e., into which they had carried up all their provisions. Observe the middle meaning of ἀνακεκομισμένοι.

## § 2.

συνεληλυθότες ἦσαν αὐτόσε. "Had flocked thither."—πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἤκων. "Immediately on his arrival, made an attack upon it." Literally, "directly having come." (*Kühner*, § 696, *Obs.* 5.)—ἡ πρώτη τάξις. "The first band," i. e., the band first led against it.—ἀπέκρινεν. "Began to grow weary."—οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι. "For it was not possible for them to stand around it in a body." After ἦν supply αὐτοῖς, with which ἀθρόοις agrees.—ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλῳ. "But there was a river around it." The river, however, did not completely encircle it, but where it intermitted was the πάροδος, or passage, which the Taochians defended with stones. The common text has ἀπότομος, which Leunclavius altered on conjecture, to ἀπότομον, and which conjecture has been adopted by Wells, Hutchinson, Zeune, and Weiske. But "why," asks

Krüger, "could they not stand around a place rising abruptly on all sides, in a body?" The true reading, therefore, appears to be the one which we have given in the text, and which is sanctioned by three of the best MSS.

## § 3-5.

εἰς καλὸν ἦκετε. "You have come in good season." Thus, Suidas explains εἰς καλὸν by εὐκαίρως.—ἀλρετέον. "Must be taken." Supply ἐστί.—τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν. "What the thing was that hindered from entering."—ἀλλὰ μία αὕτη πάροδος, κ. τ. λ. "Why, this is the only passage, which you see (before you)."—ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερχούσης πέτρας. "Over this impending rock."—οὕτω διατίθεται. "Is thus disposed of." Observe that οὕτω is explained immediately after.—ἅμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους, κ. τ. λ. "And, at the same time, he showed him men crushed both in legs and ribs," i. e., and while thus speaking, he showed him, &c.—ἦν δὲ ἀναλώσωσιν. "But, if they shall expend," i. e., throw away at last all.—ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν, κ. τ. λ. "Is there nothing that hinders our advancing?" As before remarked, ἄλλο τι ἢ forms an elliptic compound question for ἄλλο τι γένοιτ' ἂν ἢ, and is used in the simple sense of *nonne*. From its frequent use, this expression became a mere adverb. (Kühner, § 875, c.—Compare note on ii., 5, 10.)—οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὁρῶμεν. "For we do not, indeed, see any on the opposite side."

## § 6, 7.

τὸ χωρίον. "The space."—δὲ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν. "Through which it is necessary to pass, being thrown at."—τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον, κ. τ. λ. "And of this, as much as a plethrum is thick with large pine-trees at intervals." Literally, "pine-trees, leaving (room) between them."—ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες, κ. τ. λ. "Against which standing what would men suffer, either from the flying stones or from the rolling ones?" Observe here the peculiar meaning to be assigned to the expression ἀνθ' ὧν. Thus, Weiske explains it by "*quibus oppositi*," and makes it equivalent, in fact, to ἐφ' ὧν, "*post quas pinus*," *hinter welchen*, i. e., "behind which." So, again, Toup: "*Quibus ex adverso si consistant milites*." (Emend. in Suid., p. ii., p. 80, ed. Oxon.)—ὅταν λωφῇσωσιν οἱ λίθοι παραδραμεῖν. "To run past when the stones shall have ceased."—εἰς τὸ δασύ. "Into the part thick with trees."—φέρονται πολλοί. "Fly in great numbers." Literally, "are borne along," &c.—αὐτὸ ἂν τὸ δεῖν εἴη. "It would be the very thing we want."—ἀπελθεῖν. "To come back."

## § 8, 9.

ἡ ἡγεμονία τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν. "The lead of the captains of the rear-guard." His λόχος was the leading one among the rear-guard for that day. As this post was always accompanied with more or less of danger, the captains took it by turns each day.—ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. "In safety."—ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα. "There went under the trees."—καθ' ἓνα. "One by one."—φυλαττόμενος. "Guarding himself."—ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων. "Stood close behind, without the trees." We have adopted ἐφέστασαν, with Schneider, Dindorf, and others, as far preferable to ὑφίστασαν, which is given by some editors.—οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλές. We have given ἀσφαλές here, with Poppo, Schneider, Dindorf, and others. Some MSS. have ἀσφαλῶς. If this latter reading be adopted, the adverb must then be construed with ἐστάναι, and ἦν must have the force of ἐνῆν or παρῆν.

## § 10, 11.

προέτρεχεν. Observe the asyndeton.—ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, κ. τ. λ. "And whenever the stones flew, he retired expeditiously."—ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς. "And at each run forward."—μὴ οὐ πρόωτος παραδράμοι. "Lest he should not be the first to run by." The reference is to Agasias. Observe that in such constructions as the present, μὴ performs the functions of a conjunction, "lest," or "whether," while οὐ belongs to the clause depending on that conjunction.—ἐταίρους ὄντας. "Who were comrades of his."—αὐτός. "By himself."

## § 12-14.

ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἱτιος. "Seizes the border of his shield." The term ἱτις means, properly, the edge or rim of any round body, and hence, the outer edge of a shield, the felly of a wheel, &c. Observe that ἱτιος here is the genitive of part.—ἀντεποιούντο ἀρετῆς, κ. τ. λ. "Laid claim to valor, and used to contend with one another (respecting it)," i. e., they were rivals in valor.—αἰροῦσι. "They take."—ὡς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον. "For, when once they had run in," i. e., to close quarters.—ρίπτονται. "Flinging (down the rocks)."—καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν. "Threw themselves, also, down upon them."—ὡς ῥίψοντα ἑαυτόν. "To fling himself off."—ὡς κωλύσων. "To prevent him."—αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται. "Drags him after him." Observe the force of the middle.—ᾤχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι. "Went tumbling down the rocks." Literally, "carried down."



## § 15.

διὰ Χαλύβων. The Chalybes, or Chalybians, were a nation extensively distributed in the mountainous regions of Armenia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. Xenophon describes them here as occupying that part of Georgia which is immediately east of the Harpasus; and he afterward notices a few of the same nation as living subject to the Mosynœcians, and subsisting by the manufacture of iron. Mr. Hamilton has shown that the iron in which they trafficked occurs in the mountains immediately south of *Uniyeh Kalch*, where the natives are, to the present day, occupied in its extraction by scraping it out of the soil. This serves, then, to give an idea as to where, in Xenophon's time, the Mosynœcians were succeeded by the Tibareni, since that author places them between these two nations, and the Tibareni occupied the district of Cotyora. (*Ainsworth*, p. 184.—*Hamilton's Researches*, vol. i., p. 276.)

ὃν διήλθον. "Of those whom they passed through." Attraction for ἐκείνων οὐς διήλθον. (*Sturz, Lex. Xen.*, s. v. διέρχεσθαι.)—καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἤσαν. "And they came to close quarters." Literally, "to hands."—θώρακας λινοῦς. The early use of the linen cuirass is indicated by its being mentioned in the *Iliad*. It continued to be worn to much later times among the Asiatics, especially the Persians, the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and, as here mentioned, the Chalybes. Iphicrates endeavored to restore the use of it among the Greeks, and it was occasionally adopted among the Romans, though considered a much less effectual defense than a cuirass of metal. (*Dict. Ant.*, s. v. *Lorica*.)—ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερόγων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. "And, instead of skirts, thick cords twisted." By πτέρυγες are here meant the flaps or skirts at the bottom of a coat of armor.

## § 16.

κνημίδας. Compare i., 2, 16.—καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον, κ. τ. λ. "And a knife at the girdle, as large as a Laconian sickle-shaped dagger." The term *κνημὶς* seems to have been one of Laconian origin.—ὃ ἐσφαττον ὃν κρατεῖν δύναιντο, κ. τ. λ. "With which they cut the throats of whomsoever they could master; and, cutting off their heads, they would march away carrying them." Observe that ὃν here, though immediately following the participle, is to be construed with ἐπορεύοντο, and, moreover, that this particle is here employed with the imperfect indicative to express the repetition of an action. (*Matthias*, § 599, 2, a.)—ὄψεσθαι ἐμελλον. "Were likely to see them."—μὴν λόγῃν ἔχον. "Having a single spike." The Grecian spear, besides its iron head, had also the bottom enclosed in a pointed cap

of metal, by forcing which into the ground, the spear was fixed erect. It had, therefore, in fact, two spikes, namely, the head, and the pointed cap at the bottom. The Chalybian spear, on the contrary, had merely a head of metal, or one spike. (*Dict. Ant.*, s. v. *Hasta*.)

## § 17, 18.

ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πόλεσιν. "Stayed in their towns."—ἐν τοῖς ὀχυροῖς. "In strong-holds."—διετράφησαν. Passive in a middle sense.—ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρπασον ποταμόν. The Harpasus is now the *Arpa-chai*, being the northern branch of the *Aras*, or ancient *Araxes*. (*Rennell*, p. 225.) "How the Greeks, after advancing ninety miles into Georgia, were led to change their direction, and return the same distance, and that quantity added to it, which would make the difference between where they entered the country from the *Aras*, and issued from it by the *Arpa-chai*, or, in all, one hundred and fifty miles through the country of the Chalybians, does not appear, but it is connected with the capture of the fort of the Taochians, toward which they may have moved out of their way in search of the positive necessities of life, or it was at it that they obtained information calculated to mislead them with regard to their direct road to the sea. Be this as it may, it is the only practical way of viewing the subject, for the distance traveled from the Phasis to the fort of the Taochians, and the distance traveled after that from the fort to the Harpasus, will admit of scarcely any other interpretation." (*Ainsworth*, p. 183.)

ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν, κ. τ. λ. The Greeks must necessarily have crossed the Harpasus low down in its course, from the account given of its width; and also from east to west, for, crossing it, they came into the country of the Scythini. (*Ainsworth*, p. 184.)—διὰ Σκυθινῶν. The country of the Scythini was westward of that of the Chalybes, and westward of the Harpasus, as it extended to the country of the Macronians, which was followed by that of the Colchians, which latter commenced at fifty miles from the sea, and extended to within twenty-one miles of it. (*Ainsworth*, p. 185.)—εἰς κώμας. The distance given from the lower part of the *Arpa-chai* to these villages, would have led the Greeks to the village at the head waters of the river of *Kars*, a tributary to the *Arpa-chai*, and from this point they would have to pass the *Soghanli Tagh*, to reach the city of *Gymnias*. (*Ainsworth*, p. 185.)

## § 19, 20.

Γυνίας. Rennell, erroneously, seeks to identify this place with

the modern *Comasour*, called by some *Coumbas* and *Kumatie*, a town or large village on the northern bank of the *Aras*, about thirty-five miles below its source. (p. 236.) But Ainsworth is more correct in making it correspond to the modern *Erz-Rum*, though we can not arrive at any direct certainty on this head. (*Ainsworth*, p. 186.)—ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων. We have given this reading, with Schneider, Bornemann, Poppo, and Dindorf, from a comparison with *Diod. Sic.*, xiv., 29, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὁ τῶν τόπων τούτων ἀφηγούμενος, κ. τ. λ. The common text has ἐκ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὁ ἄρχων, κ. τ. λ.—διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας. "Through their own enemy's country."—πέντε ἡμερῶν. "In five days." Compare note on βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, i., 7, 18.—τεθνάναι ἐπηγγέλλετο. "He professed himself willing to die."—ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμίαν. Supply χώραν.

## § 21.

Θήκης. Mount Theches evidently belongs to the chain of *Kop Tagh*, which separates the *Kara-su* from the *Tchoruk-su*. "Five marches," remarks Ainsworth, "certainly appear considerable to have been required to arrive at this distance from *Erz-Rum*, and the length of the marches is not given; but that of the three subsequent marches, through the country of the *Macrones*, is given us, and amounts to about ten miles per day. If the Greeks only marched at the same rate from *Gymnias* to *Theches*, the five marches would be at once explained, for, by the road I traveled, there were sixty-seven miles from *Erz-Rum* to *Baiburt*, on the *Tchoruk-su*; and that they were on the northern side of the chain, or that which is above the *Tchoruk-su*, when they first distinguished the sea, is evidenced by the fact that there only remained part of a day's journey to gain the river." (*Ainsworth*, p. 188.)

## § 22, 23.

ὥθησαν ἄλλους, κ. τ. λ. "Thought that other enemies in front were assailing them."—αὐτῶν. Depending on τινάς.—καὶ γέβρα ἔλαβον, κ. τ. λ. "And they took about twenty targes covered with raw hides of thick-coated oxen."—καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες, κ. τ. λ. "And those who came up from time to time, kept running at full speed to join those who were continually shouting," i. e., those who successively came up kept running, &c. Observe the force of αἰεὶ in this construction, and compare iv., 1, 7.—ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίνοντο. "By how much now they were becoming more numerous." More freely, "the more numerous they became."—μειζόν τι εἶναι. "To be something of greater moment (than usual)."

## § 24, 25.

παρεβοήθει. "He rode up to lend aid."—Θάλαττα! This striking scene is well depicted. The thoughts of home, wives, children, friends, came crowding upon their minds. For the *Euxine* spread its waters before them; waters which rolled on to the shores of Greece, and which washed the walls of many Greek cities on the nearest coast of Asia. (*Thirlwall*, iv., p. 345.)—καὶ παρεγγυώντων. "And cheering on (those who were in the rear)."—ἡλαύνετο. "Were put to the gallop."—περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους. "They threw their arms around one another."—ὅπου δὲ παρεγγυήσαντο. "Whoever it was that induced them."—κολωνὸν μέγαν. "A large mount." "Misled by a remote, but no real connection of names," observes Ainsworth, "some have sought for the monument left by the Greeks, at a place called *Tekkiyeh*, 'the monastery;' others have sought for it at *Kara Kapan*, where there is a positive pile of stones; but Colonel Chesney assures me of his being acquainted with the position of the actual monument, under circumstances the geographical relations of which are, I believe, similar to what are contained in this memoir." (*Ainsworth*, p. 188.)

## § 26, 27.

ἀνελθόντων. "They put up," i. e., on the pile of stones.—βακτηρίας. "Staves."—κατέτεμεν τὰ γέβρα. "Cut to pieces the osier bucklers." This was done, as Krüger remarks, to make them useless, and to prevent their being carried off by the adjacent inhabitants.—ἐπὶ κοινού. "From the common stock."—δαρειακοὺς δέκα. Compare i., 19—τοὺς δακτυλίους. "Their finger-rings."

## CHAPTER VIII.

## § 1, 2.

διὰ Μακρόνων. "Through the *Macronians*." According to Herodotus (ii., 104), the *Macronians* were of the same origin as the *Colchians*. Mr. Hamilton thinks that he discovered in *Trebizond*, and the neighboring mountains, some of the descendants of this race. (*Researches*, vol. i., p. 240.)—ἐλχον δὲ ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον, κ. τ. λ. "And they had over their right a spot (of such a nature) as (to be) most difficult of access," i. e., the Greeks had on their right an eminence very difficult of approach. Observe here the employment of οὐκ to strengthen the superlative. The sentence, however, is, in fact, an elliptical one, the full form of expression being as follows



χωρίον τοῖον οἷον χαλεπώτατον ἦν. (Kühner, § 870, Obs. 4.)—ἄλλος ποταμόν. Reichard (p. xxxii.) makes both this and the other river first mentioned to be branches of the Acampsis. (Compare Mannert, vi., p. 405.) Ainsworth makes the river designated in the text as ἄλλον ποταμόν to be a branch of the Tchoruk-su, flowing to the east of Baiburt, from the Kop Tagh. (p. 189.)—δασὺς δένδροις παχέσι μὲν οὖ, κ. τ. λ. "Closely edged with trees, not, indeed, large, but thick set."—ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ προσῆλθον, κ. τ. λ. The Greeks cut down the trees which grew on the river banks, to prepare a way for their passage, by casting them into the stream, and thus forming a kind of bridge.

## § 3, 4.

τριχίνους χιτῶνας. "Tunics made of hair." Goats' hair, in all probability. (Consult Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, p. 140.)—καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμόν ἐβρίκτον, κ. τ. λ. We have here followed Dindorf, and some other of the best editors, making the text refer merely to a hurling of stones at the Greeks while in the stream attempting to cross. The common text has ἐξικνούντο δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως, which is retained by Krüger and others, who explain it by making the barbarians to have thrown stones into the river, on which to stand, in order to discharge their javelins at the Greeks from these as a nearer point of approach. This, however, is extremely far-fetched.—τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. "The language of the men."—ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι. The common text inserts τὴν after ταύτην, which we have rejected with Dindorf.

## § 5-7.

τί ἀντιτετάχεται. "Why they are drawn up against us." The form ἀντιτετάχεται is Ionic for ἀντιτεταγμένοι εἰσίν. It is here employed by Xenophon, an Attic writer, and elsewhere, also, by other Attic prose writers. (Buttmann, § 103, iv., 3.)—ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, κ. τ. λ. "Because you, also, are coming against our country." The force of καὶ is well explained here by Krüger, who gives the full form of expression as follows: ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν χρήσετε πολέμοι εἶναι, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐρχόμενοι.—οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσοντες. "Not with the intention of injuring you, at least."—εἰ δοίεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. "If they (the Greeks) would give pledges of these things," i. e., of their intention not to injure, &c.—θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέροι. "And both parties called the gods to witness."

## § 8, 9.

τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον. "Aided them in cutting away the trees."

The Macrones now aided the Greeks, after the latter had crossed, in cutting away the trees on their side of the river, in order to open a passage for the Greeks.—τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὥδοποιοῦν, ὥς διαδιβύσσοντες. "And they made a path, as about to pass them through," i. e., and they opened a path for them through the woody and rugged country, with a view of affording them the means of a more rapid passage through their territory.—παρήγαγον. "They led them along."—ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια, κ. τ. λ. "Until they set the Greeks down upon the borders of the Colchians." More freely, "placed the Greeks upon," &c. The Colchians, according to Strabo and Ptolemy, occupied that part of the coast of the Euxine which extended from Trapezus to the Phasis. Some MSS. and editions give ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τῶν Κόλχων. This, however, is a much inferior reading, as plainly appears from what immediately follows, viz., ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα.—ὄρος μέγα. This mountain formed, according to Ainsworth, one of the maritime chain, called by geographers the Colchian range, and by others that of Kara Kapan, or Kohat Tagh.—ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φάλαγγα. "Drew themselves up against them in full line." Literally, "in phalanx," i. e., with a greater front than depth.—ἄξοντες. "About to lead," i. e., to advance.

## § 10, 11.

παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα. "Having discontinued the full-line arrangement," i. e., having left off their present phalanx-form.—λόχους ὀρθίους. Compare chap. ii., § 11.—διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς. "Will immediately be drawn asunder," i. e., be separated and broken.—τῇ μὲν ἀνοδῶν, τῇ δὲ εὐοδῶν. "In one part impassable, in another having a good road."—ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι. "Drawn up many deep," i. e., many in file. Compare *Luzerne*: "sur un ordre profond."—περιτεύσουσιν ἡμῶν. "Will be more extensive than we," i. e., will have a more extended front. Observe that the genitive is here employed on account of the idea of comparison implied in the verb.—τοῖς περιττοῖς. "Their superfluous men," i. e., those portions of their line which they will have extending beyond our own right and left. There will be a danger, then, of the Greeks being attacked on both flanks also.—ἐπ' ὀλίγων. "Few deep," i. e., few in file.—ὑπὸ ἀθρόων καὶ βελῶν, κ. τ. λ. "By both collected missiles, and men falling upon it in great numbers." We have omitted πῇ after ἀθρόων, with Dindorf. We have differed, however, from the same editor in retaining πολλῶν, which is well defended by Poppo. Compare *κῶμαι πολλὰ ἀθρόαι*, vii., 3, 9.

## § 12, 13.

ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους πεισημένους, κ. τ. λ. "That, having formed columns of companies, we keep these (columns) so far apart from each other, as that the last companies (in the line) be without the enemy's wings." Each λόχος is to be thrown into column, and a line is to be formed of these columns, reaching beyond the enemy's right and left; and, in order to affect this lengthening of the Grecian line, the several columns, or λόχοι, are to leave intervals between one another. Hence, διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις is the same as διαλιπόντας ἀλλήλοις. The common text has τοὺς λόχους.—καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα, κ. τ. λ. "And thus we, the extreme companies, will both be beyond the line of the enemy, and, leading in column, the best of us will advance first, and, wherever it may be easy to pass, this way will each company guide its march." By οἱ κράτιστοι are meant the λοχαγοί.—εἰς τὸ διαλείπον. "Into the vacant space," i. e., between each λόχος, or column.—ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν λόχων ὄντων. If the enemy attempt to enter the vacant spaces, both their flanks will be exposed to attack from the λόχοι ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν ὄντες.—οὐ βῆδιον. On account of the depth of the advancing column.—πιέζεται. "Be hard pressed."—εἰς πη λόχων. "Any one of the companies any where."

## § 14, 15.

εἰσὶ μόνοι ἐτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν, κ. τ. λ. "Are the only men yet in our way (to hinder us) from presently being where we have long been hastening to be." Literally, "are alone still a hinderance unto us, as regards the not presently being," &c. The more usual construction is ἐμποδὼν τοῦ μὴ, κ. τ. λ. We have given τό, however, with Dindorf and Poppo. Compare Kühner, § 670, and note on ii., 5, 22.—καὶ ὥμοις δεῖ καταφαγεῖν. "We must even devour alive;" literally, "raw." An idea borrowed from the Homeric ὦμόν βεβρώτοισι Πριάμου Πριάμοιο τε παῖδας (Il., iv., 35), and intended as a hyperbolical one for "we must utterly destroy." (Weiske, ad loc.)—ἐν ταῖς χώραις. "In their places."—σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν. "Amounting nearly to a hundred men."—τριχῇ. "In three divisions." Literally, "in a three-fold manner."

## § 16-18.

παρηγγύησαν εὐχεσθαι. "Exhorted them to offer up vows," i. e., for a successful termination of the present affair. These vows they pay in § 25.—τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γεγόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. "Being without the enemy's line, pushed on." The two extremities of the Grecian line, the right commanded by Cheirisophus and the

left by Xenophon, having no one to oppose them, push on toward the summit of the mountain, and, of course, the rear of the enemy—ἀντιπαρθεόντες. "Running off to either side to oppose them." Observe the force of παρά.—διεσπύσθησαν. "Were drawn asunder."—διαχάζοντας. "Making an opening (in their line)." This is the only instance where διαχάζω occurs as an active; it is elsewhere a deponent.—οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί. "The targeteers in the Arcadian division." Supply στρατεύμαι or μέρος. They belonged to the division stationed κατὰ μέσον. Compare § 15.—ὁ Ἀκαρνάν. "The Acarnanian." Acarnania was a country of Greece, between Epirus and Ætolia.

## § 19-21.

ὥς ἤρξαντο θεῖν. "The moment they (the targeteers) began to advance on a run."—τὰ μὲν ἄλλα. "With regard to other things," i. e., in other respects.—τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, κ. τ. λ. "But the bee-hives were numerous there, and as many of the soldiers as ate of the combs both all lost their senses, and vomited, and it passed through them downward," &c. They lost their senses, and were seized with vomiting and purging, and none of them were able to stand upon their legs.—ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες, κ. τ. λ. "Now those who had eaten only a little strongly resembled drunken persons; but those (who had eaten) much, madmen, and some even dying persons."—ὥς περ τροπῆς γεγεννημένης. "As though a rout had taken place."—ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πον ὥραν ἀνεφρόνου. "But somewhere about the same hour (with that of their seizure on the previous day) they recovered their senses."—ὥς περ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας. "As if from taking physic."

"This fact," observes Ainsworth, "of the honey of Asia Minor being in certain places, and at certain seasons, of a poisonous nature was known to all antiquity, and is very common at the present day—so much so, that I have known the peasants inquire if we would prefer the bitter or the sweet honey; for the honey so qualified has a slight, but not unpleasant, bitterness, and is preferred by many, from producing, when taken in moderate quantities, the effect of slight intoxication. Pliny notices two kinds of honey (H. N., xxi., 44, § 13): one found at Heraclea, in Pontus, and another among the Sanni, or Macrones. The first he supposed to be produced by a plant called Ægolethron, or goats'-bane; the second by a species of rhododendron. Dioscorides, Diodorus Siculus, and Aristotle all notice the honey of Heraclea Pontica. The celebrated botanist, Tournefort, ascertained on the spot that the honey of bees feeding on the *Aralea Pontica*, as also on the *Rhododendron Ponticum*, pos-



sessed mischievous properties. But, as the bitter and intoxicating honey is met with in many parts of Asia Minor, where these plants do not flower, it is also extremely probable that these peculiar properties are further derived from the flower of the *Nerium oleander*, or common rose-laurel, the leaves of which are known to be acrid and poisonous. The natural family to which the rose-laurel belongs (*Apocynæ*) is distinguished by plants endued with dangerous and fatal properties, and these juices act on the nerves so as to produce stupefaction. The *Rhodoracæ* also possess narcotic properties, but in a less marked degree." (*Ainsworth*, p. 191.)

## § 22-24.

Τραπεζοῦντα. "Trapezus," the modern *Trebizond* (*Tarabuzún*). Trapezus was a Greek city, on the northeastern coast of Pontus, founded by a colony from Sinope. Its ancient name was derived from the form in which the city was laid out, resembling a table (τράπεζα). It lay in the territory of the Colchians.—Σινοπέων ἀποικίαν. Compare v., 9, 15.—καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Supply εἰς τὴν πόλιν.—ξένια. "Gifts of hospitality and friendship." These are specified immediately after, and consisted of articles of food and drink. (*Weiske*, *ad loc.*)—συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ, κ. τ. λ. "They negotiated with them, also, in behalf of the neighboring Colchians, those especially who dwell in the plain," i. e., that the Greeks should refrain from plundering the Colchian territory.

## § 25, 26.

ἦν εὐξαντο. Compare § 16—ἱκανοὶ βόες. "Sufficient oxen."—ἡγεμόσυνα. "Sacrifices due for safe conduct (vouchsafed them)." Supply *λερά* or *θύματα*.—ἀγῶνα γυμνικόν. "A gymnastic contest," i. e., gymnastic games.—ὃς ἐφυγε παῖς ὃν οἰκοθεν. "Who was banished from home while yet a boy."—ξυήλη. Compare chap. vii., § 16.—δρόμου τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι, κ. τ. λ. "Both to provide for a race, and to preside over the games."—τὰ δέρματα. The skins of the victims were to be prizes for the victors.—ἡγεῖσθαι. "To lead to the place." Supply *ἐνταῦθα*.—τὸν δρόμον. "The course."—δείξας. "Having pointed to the spot." Supply τὸν τόπον.—ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως. "On so hard and rough a spot."—μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται. "Will feel it somewhat the more." Literally, "will be somewhat more distressed."

## § 27.

ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες, κ. τ. λ. "Boys, the most of them from among the prisoners, contended in the stadium race." The term *στάδιον* was

applied to the simple foot-race, from the starting-place to the goal, over a stadium or space of six hundred Greek feet, or six hundred and six feet nine inches English. This was commonly run by boys; and, as there were few free Greek boys, probably, in the army, the soldiers appear to have waived the point, and, rather than lose their sport, to have allowed captive boys to run.—δόλιχον. "The long race." The *δόλιχος*, according to some, consisted of twenty (not twenty-four) stadia, run both ways twelve times, and so near thirty English miles. Others, however, make it only seven stadia run seven times, or about five and a half English miles. The length, indeed, of the *δόλιχος* depended, in a great degree, on time, place, and circumstance; and on the present occasion, therefore, the shorter computation just given comes, in all probability, nearer the truth.—πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον ἕτεροι. Supply *ἡγωνίζοντο*. The pancratium consisted of boxing and wrestling, and indicated an athletic game in which all the powers of the fighter were called into action. Hence the derivation of the name from *πᾶν* and *κράτος*. It was reckoned one of the heavy or hard exercises, on account of the violent exertions it required, and for this reason was not much practiced in the gymnasia.—κατέβησαν. "Entered the lists." Literally "went down (into the contest)." Supply *εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα*.

## § 28.

κατὰ τοῦ πρηνοῦς ἐλάσαντας, κ. τ. λ. "Having galloped down the steep, to turn in the sea, and come back up to the altar."—ἀνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς, κ. τ. λ. "But upward, against the exceedingly steep ground, the horses went at scarcely a walking pace."—παρακέλεις. "Cheer-  
" " " "

## BOOK V

### CHAPTER I.

#### § 1-3.

καὶ ὡς ἀπέθυσαν, κ. τ. λ. "And how they performed the sacrifices for their safety, which they had vowed they would offer up."—Θούριος. "A Thurian," i. e., a native of Thurii, a city of Lucania, in Italy, on the Sinus Tarentinus, and founded by a colony of Athenians near the site of the earlier Sybaris.—ἀπειρήκα ἤδη ξυσκευαζόμενος. "Am, by this time, tired with packing up."—ἐκταθείς. "Stretched at full length."—ὥς περ Ὀδυσσεύς, κ. τ. λ. Compare Odyssey, xiii., 75, seqq.—ἀνεθορύθησαν ὡς εὖ λέγοι. "Signified by their noise that he spoke well."—καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες. "And, in fact, all who were present." Observe the force of καὶ in this collocation.

#### § 4-6.

Ἀναξίβιος. Anaxibius was the Spartan admiral in this quarter, and was stationed at this time in Byzantium. Compare vii., 1, 3.—οἶμαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν. "I think that I will, in all likelihood, come," i. e., back to you here.—τὰ ἡμᾶς ἄξοντα. "To carry us away."—ἐν τῇ μονῇ. "During our stay."—οὔτε ὅτου ὠνησόμεθα, κ. τ. λ. "Nor have we, except some few, a supply of the means with which we shall purchase." Literally, "a supply (of that) with which," &c. Observe that ὅτου is the genitive of price.—ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. "In quest of provisions."

#### § 7-8.

σὺν προνομαῖς. "With foraging parties," i. e., by means of foraging parties regularly marshaled.—ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανῆσθαι. "And not to wander about at random."—ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. The reference is to himself and the other generals.—ἐτι τοίνυν. "Still further, then."—ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξιέναι, κ. τ. λ. "That the person intending to go out should tell us, and also inform us to what place," i. e., he may intend to go.—συμπαρασκευάζωμεν. "May prepare ourselves in concert."—κἂν καιρὸς ᾗ. "And if there be occasion."—καὶ ἐάν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων, κ. τ. λ. "And that, in case any one of the more inexperienced undertake to do any thing in any direction."

#### § 9-11.

ληγέσθαι. "To rob us." Supply ἡμᾶς.—τὰ ἐκείνων. "Then

property."—ἐὰν οὖν κατὰ μέρος μερισθέντες, κ. τ. λ. "If, therefore, being divided into portions, we guard and keep a look-out in turn, our enemies may be less able to make us their prey." More literally, "to hunt us down."—οὐδὲν ἂν ἴδῃ ὧν μέλλω λέγειν. "There would be no need of the things which I am going to say." Observe that ὧν is by attraction for τῶν δ.—δοκεῖ μοι πειρᾶσθαι, κ. τ. λ. "It seems to me proper that we try to get together ships from this quarter also."—ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐλθῶν. Supply πλοῖα ἔχων.—ὑπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε. "There being ships also here," i. e., of our own collecting. Supply πλοίων.—ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις. "In greater plenty of them."—μακρὰ πλοῖα. "Some long ships," i. e., vessels of war. Ships of war, among the ancients, were long and sharp, and well adapted for rapid progress. Ships of burden, on the other hand, were bulky, with round bottom, and although they were not without rowers, yet the chief means by which they were propelled were their sails. (Dict. Ant., s. v.)—κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν αὐτά. "We should bring them in and guard them."—παραλνόμενοι. "Loosening," i. e., unshipping.—κομιδῆς οἷας δεόμεθα. "Conveyance such as we are in need of."

#### § 12, 13.

εἰ εἰκός. "Whether it be (not) right."—καὶ ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι. "And to come to an agreement with them about the passage-money."—ὥστε ἄρκεῖν πλοῖα. "(Namely), so that ships be sufficiently numerous."—ἐντελεσθαι. "That we enjoin upon."—ὁδοποιεῖν. "To repair."—πέισονται γάρ. "For they will obey."—ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι. "To rid themselves of us."

#### § 14, 15.

ὥς οὐ δεοὶ ὁδοιοποιεῖν. "That they ought not to travel by land," i. e., that there must be no traveling by land.—ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν. "Put nothing to vote."—ἐκούσας ὁδοποιεῖν. "To repair the roads of their own free will."—θᾶπτον ἀπαλλάσσονται. "They will the sooner be delivered (from them)."—πεντηκόντορον. "A fifty-oared galley." The πεντηκόντοροι belonged to the class of long war-ships (νῆες μακραί), and had fifty rowers, twenty-five on each side of the ship, who sat in one row.—Λάκωνα περιόικον. "A Lacedæmonian provincial." The περιόικοι were in Laconia the free inhabitants of the towns, except Sparta itself; the provincials, who enjoyed civil, but not political liberty, being opposed, on the one hand, to the Spartans, and, on the other, to the Helots and Neodamodes. (Dict. Ant., s. v.)—ἐξω τοῦ Πόντου. "Out of the Euxine."—δίκαια. "A just retribution." Literally, "just things."—παρὰ Σεύθῃ. "At the court of Seuthes." Compare vii., 1, 5.—πολυπραγμονῶν τι. "Meddling with something."



## § 16, 17.

τριακόντορον. "A thirty-oared galley."—καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα, κ. τ. λ. "And taking out the cargoes, in case they carried any thing."—εἰς παραγωγὴν. "For their own conveyance." This does not refer to their conveyance homeward, but along the shores in their present neighborhood, for purposes of plunder. Hence the employment here of παρά in composition. (Krüger, *ad loc.*)—ἐπὶ λείαν. "In quest of plunder."

## CHAPTER II.

## § 1, 2.

οὐκέτι ἦν. "It was no longer possible."—ἀπανθημερίζειν. "To return the same day."—Δρίλας. The Drilæ are unknown in history except in the pages of Xenophon. Arrian advances a supposition that they were Sanni, which would make them the same as the Macrones, and Ainsworth coincides in this opinion, thinking it probable that they had learned the art of war in defending themselves against the Colchians, and the Greek colonists of Trebizond. (Arrian, *Peripl. P. E.*, p. 123, *ed. Blanc.*—Ainsworth, p. 198.) Manner, however, opposes this view. (vi., 2, p. 425.) D'Anville, as quoted by Larcher, makes the Drilæ to have occupied the tract of country now called Keldir (Tschaldir?)—ἄτε ἐκπεπτωκότες. "As having been driven out."—πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἄθροοι. "Were collected together in great numbers."—ὁπόθεν. "To those quarters whence." Supply ἐνταῦθα.—ὅφ' ὧν κακῶς ἐπασχον. "From whom they were accustomed to receive injuries," i. e., by whom their territory was infested.

## § 3, 4.

ὅποια τῶν χωρίων τοῖς Δρίλαις, κ. τ. λ. "The Drilæ retired, after setting fire to whatsoever ones of the places appeared to them liable to be taken." In adapting this to our idiom, supply οἱ Δρίλαι with ἀπῆσαν, and render τοῖς Δρίλαις as if equivalent to αὐτοῖς.—ὅς. Accusative plural. So, also, βοῦς.—κτῆνος. "Animal."—πάντες ξυνεβήνθησαν. "They had all flocked together."—προδραμόντες τῶν ὀπιτιῶν. "Having run ahead of the heavy-armed."—δορυφόροι. "Spear-men." There is no reference here to any particular kind of troops, but merely to the foragers, who were accustomed to go forth with long spears, both for the purpose of defending themselves, and also of carrying off by means of them the booty which they might obtain. Compare vi., 2, 23, and Halbkart p. 192.

## § 5-7.

μαχόμενοι. "By fighting."—καὶ γὰρ τάφος ἦν περὶ αὐτό, κ. τ. λ. "And (no wonder), for there was a wide trench around it, (the earth out of which had been) thrown up." Literally, "a wide trench around it thrown up." The earth thus thrown out formed the ἀναβολή, or mound. Observe the peculiar employment here of the verb ἀναβάλλω, and compare the remarks of Duker, *ad Thucyd.*, iv., 90.—ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς. "Upon the earth thus thrown up," i. e., upon the mound thus formed.—οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς. The Drilæ attack the Greeks.—ἦν ἐφ' ἐνός. "Was for only one at a time." (Matthiæ, § 584, α. θ.)—ὁ δ' ἔλθων. "And the messenger having come." Observe that ὁ refers to ἄγγελος, which is implied in πέμπουσι that precedes.—ἐπεξεληλυθότες. "Having sallied out upon us," i. e., upon our rear.—ἡ ὁδοῦ. "The way from it"

## § 8, 9.

θῆσθαι τὰ ὄπλα. "To halt under arms (on its edge)."—ἀπαγεῖν. "To lead back."—ὥς ἄλόντος ἀν τοῦ χωρίου. "In the hope that the place might be taken." Observe here the peculiar construction of ὥς with the genitive absolute, to which we have often already alluded, and compare the explanation of Krüger: "In *as Hoffnung dass erobert werden könne.*"—οὐκ εἶναι. "Not to be possible."—ἐλεῖν δ' ἂν ᾤοντο, κ. τ. λ. "Whereas, even the captains thought that they should take the place."—ξυνεχώρησε. "Yielded."—ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν. "Had shown."—τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. "But that the issue of the excursion will be favorable."

## § 10-12.

διαβιάσοντας. "To bring over."—ἀναχωρίσας. "Having drawn back."—τὸν λόχον ἑκαστον ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν. "Each of the captains to form his company."—οἱ λοχαγοί. "Those captains." Observe here the demonstrative force of οἱ.—ἀντεποιοῦντο. "Used to be rivals."—διηγκυλωμένους. Compare iv., 3, 28.—ὥς δεῖσον. "Since it will be incumbent on them." Observe, again, the construction of ὥς with an absolute case, which is here the accusative.—διαβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς. Compare iv., 3, 28.—τὰς διφθέρας. "Their pouches." These, as the term imports, were made of hide or leather.—τοὺς ἐπιτηδέους. "Suitable persons." More literally, "those who were fit."

## § 13, 14.

ἐπολοχαγοί. "Lieutenants."—καὶ οἱ ἀξιούντες ρουτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "And

they who claimed to be not inferior to these." Halbkart considers these to be the πεντηκοντῆρες and ἐνωμοτάρχαι. Compare iii., 4, 21.—καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν δὴ ξυνεώρων. "And, of course, beheld one another."—μηνόειδής. "In the form of a half moon." The common reading is εὐειδής, which Luzerne explains as follows: "on apercevoit d'un coup d'œil toute la ligne." We have given, however, Buttmann's conjecture, μηνόειδής (for which some of the MSS. afford a hint in reading μονοειδής), as decidedly preferable. If εὐειδής means any thing here, it must be "fair to the view," which does not at all suit the context.—Ἐνναλίφ ἠλάλασαν. Compare i., 8, 18.—τὰ βέλη. "The missiles."—ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ πῦρ προσέφερον. "There were, also, some who even threw fire at (the place)."

## § 15-17.

τά τε σταυρώματα. "Both the palisades."—Πελληνεύς. "A Pellemian," i. e., a native of Pellene, in Achaia, near Sicyon. The common text has Πεληνεύς.—καταθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα. "Having put down their arms," i. e., having laid them aside.—καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον εἴλκε, κ. τ. λ. "And one drew up another, and another (again) climbed up (of himself)."—ὥς ἐδόκει. "As it appeared." But it was not so, in reality.—κατὰ τὰς πύλας. "At the gates," i. e., in the gateway.—κατεκώλυε ἔξω. "Kept out."—ἐπ' ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς. "Upon certain strong heights."—οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔχοντες ἃ ἔλαβον, κ. τ. λ. "Some even having what they had taken; presently, however, some also wounded." Literally, "one also wounded," but the reference is, in fact, to more than one. We have given τάχα here a meaning which appears to suit the context much better than the ordinary one of "perhaps," though this latter is sanctioned by Sturz. (Lex. Xen., s. v. 4.)—οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες. "Those who rushed out."—ἄκρα. "A citadel."

## § 18, 19.

ἀνειπεῖν. "To proclaim aloud."—ἰενται. The common text has the feebler ἰενται.—καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας, κ. τ. λ. "And those who pushed in get the better of those who were rushing out, and shut up the enemy again," &c. The Greeks, who now pushed their way into the gates, met there with the crowd of their own countrymen rushing out, pursued by the Drilæ. A struggle, which is nothing more than a mere contest of strength, takes place between the two parties of Greeks, until, at length, those who are crowding in succeed in pushing back (νικῶσι) those who are endeavoring to escape from the place, and then, when once within, proceed against and drive the foe into the citadel. Compare the explanation of Stephens

\* Qui extra erumpere conabantur, coacti fuerunt retrogredi vi eorum qui ingredi volebant." Krüger, however, places a comma after εἰσω, and another after ὠθοῦμενοι, and explains as follows: "qui intus erant (οἱ ἐνδον ἄνθρωποι), propulsi ab iis qui, εἰσω ἵεντο," and makes ἐκπίπτοντας refer to the Drilæ. Dindorf reads εἰσωθοῦμενοι.—ἐξεκομίσαντο. "Carried them out."

## § 20-22.

ἐσκόπων. "Began to consider."—ἦν γὰρ οὕτω σωτηρία ὀσφαλής. "For thus safety was sure," i. e., for if this were done, their retreat would be a safe and sure one. The reference is to the taking of the citadel.—παντάπασιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι. "To be altogether impregnable."—καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἑκαστοὶ, κ. τ. λ. "And they each pulled up the stakes that were near them."—καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος. "And the crowd of the heavy-armed."—οἷς ἑκαστος ἐπίστευεν. "(Those) in whom each trusted." A trusty band was alone retained, to cover the rear of the retreating Greeks.—ἐνδοθεν. "From within (the citadel)."—κράνη Παφλαγονικά. These are said, in chapter iv., § 13, to have been made of leather. Herodotus (vii., 72) calls them κράνεα πεπλεγμένα. So that, probably, they were formed of platted thongs of leather or hide.—τὰς ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τῆς, κ. τ. λ. "That were on this side and on that of the road which led to the citadel," i. e., on each side of it.

## § 23-25.

κατὰ τὰς πύλας. "By the gates."—ξύλα μέγαλα. "Large logs of wood."—καὶ ἡ νύξ φοβερά, κ. τ. λ. "And the night coming on was frightful," i. e., fraught with every thing calculated to alarm.—μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. "Imparts unto them the means of safety."—ὅτον δὴ ἐνάψαντος. "Whosoever, then, it was that had set fire to it," i. e., some one or other having done it, it was not known who.—ξυνέπιπτεν. "Fell in."—ἔμαθεν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης. "Learned this from fortune." Fortune had given him a hint, and of this he proceeds to avail himself.

## § 26, 27.

οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα, κ. τ. λ. "They who were (pressing on) directly against them, alone, of course, gave any longer annoyance." The reference is to those of the enemy who were pressing on directly in their rear; that is, not on the right hand nor on the left (for the enemy there had been put to flight), but full against them (κατὰ τὸ στόμα) from behind.—ὅηλοι ἦσαν ὅτι, κ. τ. λ. "The ordinary idiom for ὅλον ἦν ὅτι, κ. τ. λ.—ἔσοι. For πάντας ὅσοι—εἰς τὸ μέσον.



the space between."—παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ χάραγμα. "Close to the very path-siding."—ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν. "Might be busy about these things," i. e., might have their attention diverted by these things.—ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου. A stratagem somewhat similar to this was practiced against Cæsar by the Bellovaci. (B. G., viii., 15.)

## § 28, 29.

πρανῆς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενὴ. Xenophon is supposed by some to mean here what is termed *Boz Tere*, or the gray hill, a steep and almost insulated hill a little to the southeast of Trebizond. (Hamilton, vol. i., p. 161.) This opinion, however, appears scarcely tenable.—Μυσὸς τὸ γένος, καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἔχων. "A Mysian by birth, and having this same name (Mysus)." Compare Lucian (*Tox.*, 28): οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ Σύρος καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα.—ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ. "In a bushy place." The adjective λάσιος seems to differ from δασύς (δάσος) only in dialect, λ and δ being often exchanged.—καὶ προσεποιεῖτο τοὺς πολέμιους, κ. τ. λ. "And affected to be endeavoring to escape the enemy's notice."—διεφαίνοντο. "Shone through (the bushes)." Literally, "appeared through."

## § 30.

ἐφοβοῦντο ὡς ἐνέδραν οὖσαν. "Feared it as if it were an actual ambuscade."—ἱκανὸν ὑπεληλυθέναι. "To have advanced sufficiently far." The reference in ὑπεληλυθέναι is, properly, to a slow and gradual progress, as was that of the Greeks on the present occasion.—τῷ Μύσῳ. We have retained here the common punctuation, namely, a comma after Μύσῳ, and so connecting it with what goes before.—ἐσήμηνε. "He gave the signal (to those with him)," i. e., he, the Mysian, gave.—ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρόμῳ. "For they said that they were getting caught in the race," i. e., they told their fellow-soldiers, on their return, that they were on the point of being taken in the race, and would actually have been caught had they continued to run. Commentators make a great deal of unnecessary difficulty here, and neither is ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν equivalent, as Portus supposes, to ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἂν ᾤοντο, nor is ἂν omitted, as Krüger thinks. The true doctrine, governing such cases as the present, is laid down by Hermann, *ad Soph.*, *Aj.*, 1061.—ἐπὶ πόδα ἀναχωροῦν βαλλόμενοι. "Retreated slowly backward, exposed to the missiles of the enemy." The expression ἐπὶ πόδα ἀναχωρεῖν means, properly, "to retreat step by step," facing at the same time the foe, and hence always carries with it the idea of a slow and leisurely retreat.

## CHAPTER III.

## § 1-3.

καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα, κ. τ. λ. "And they put on board the vessels both the sick," &c.—οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι. These stand opposed, by a slight anacoluthon, to those mentioned in the clause, καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα, κ. τ. λ.—ἐπορεύοντο. "Proceeded by land." Supply κατὰ γῆν, or else πεζῇ.—ὡδοπεποιημένη ἦν. "Was a ready-prepared one." Compare chapter i., § 4.—καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πορευόμενοι, κ. τ. λ. "And, marching along, they come on the third day to Cerasus." The ancient Cerasus is commonly supposed to have corresponded to the modern Kerasun. But this has been recently shown to be an error, and Kerasun to have been the ancient Pharnacia. According to Hamilton, the site of Cerasus appears to have been upon a river flowing through a vale, which he discovered at about twenty miles by the air line from Trebizond, and which is called Kerasun Dereh-su (*Ainsworth*, p. 199, *seqq.*)—Σινωπέων ἀποικόν. "A colony of the Sinopians." Observe that ἀποικόν is here strictly an adjective, and has πόλιν understood.—καὶ ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, κ. τ. λ. "And there was a review (of them) in arms, and an enumeration."—ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους. "Out of about ten thousand." Literally, "out of those about ten thousand."

## § 4, 5.

διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, κ. τ. λ. "They take each his share of the money that accrued from the captives," i. e., from their sale. Observe the force of διὰ in composition.—τὴν δεκάτην. Supply μερίδα.—ἣν ἐξεῖλον. "Which they had taken out," i. e., set apart.—διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοί, κ. τ. λ. "The generals took among them, each his portion, to keep it for these deities."—τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος. "Having caused the offering of Apollo to be made, deposits it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi," i. e., having caused an offering to be made out of a portion of the sum, which he, as one of the generals, held for that purpose. Diogenes Laertius says that he appropriated one half of the sum in question to this object, the other half having been left with Megabyzus for the Ephesian Diana. Observe the force of the middle in ποιησάμενος.—θησαυρόν. Each nation and prince had a separate chapel or treasury at Delphi for the reception of their offerings. (*Strab.*, ix., p. 420.)

## § 6.

τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας. "But the share of the Ephesia Diana." With τὸ supply μέρος, and not ἀνάθημα. It was to be converted into an ἀνάθημα, in case Xenophon perished.—ὅτε ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ, κ. τ. λ. Consult Life of Xenophon at the commencement of the volume.—τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ. "The warden of the Temple of Diana." By νεωκόρος is meant one having charge of a temple generally, answering to the Latin *ædituus*, or *æditumnus*.—κινδυνεύων ἐδόκει λέναι. "Appeared to be going (with Agesilaus), about to encounter danger," i. e., to be about to encounter danger by going with him.—ἐπέστειλεν. "He enjoined upon him." Compare, as regards ἐπιστέλλω in this sense, the remarks of Griffiths, *ad Æsch.*, *Prom. Vinc.*, 3.—αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι. "To restore it to him."—ἀναθεῖναι, ποιησάμενον, κ. τ. λ. "To dedicate it, having caused to be made (with it) for Diana, whatever he might think would gratify the goddess."

## § 7.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐφύγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν. "But when Xenophon was banished." Xenophon was banished from Athens, not only for having engaged in an expedition against Artaxerxes, then a friendly power, in favor of Cyrus, who was supposed to have given the Lacedæmonians aid in their recent wars against Athens, but also for having, at the close of the expedition, put troops into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, to act against the Persian king.—κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι, κ. τ. λ. "He now dwelling in Scillus, having been settled there near Olympia, by the Lacedæmonians." All the MSS. give οἰκισθέντος. The reading οἰκισθέντι, though adopted by Dindorf and others is decidedly inferior, since, as Krüger remarks (*De Vit. Xen.*, *Quæst. Crit.*, p. 24), it can not be proved that any colony was ever led to Scillus by the Lacedæmonians. Scillus was in Elis, near Olympia, and Xenophon settled there, on a spot which the Lacedæmonians gave him.—θεωρήσων. "To be a spectator at the games." The Olympic games are meant.—τῇ θεῷ. "For the goddess."—ὅπου ἀνείλεν ὁ θεός. "Where the god had directed him, by a response, (so to do)." Literally, "had given him a response," &c.

## § 8-10.

ποταμὸς Σελινοῦς. The name of this stream is less correctly written Σελληνοῦς. Consult Schneider, *ad loc.*, and Siebelis, *ad Pausan.*, v., 6, 3.—καὶ θῆραι πάντων, ὅποσα, κ. τ. λ. "There are hunts, also, of all, as many as are wild beasts accustomed to be taken by hunting," i. e., as many as are beasts of chase.—καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ

αἰεὶ δεκατέσων, κ. τ. λ. "And, for the time to come, always reserving a tenth part of the seasons' products from the land."—τῆς ἐορτῆς. "The feast that followed the sacrifice.—τοῖς σκηνώσιν. "To those encamped."—καὶ τῶν θυομένων, κ. τ. λ. "And, a share of the victims from the sacred pasture, and of the hunted beasts as well."—εἰς τὴν ἐορτήν. "For the feast."—οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεσθῆρων. "And those men, also, who wished it hunted along with them."—ἐκ τῆς Φολόης. "From Pholoë." Pholoë was a woody mountain range between Arcadia and Elis. Cramer makes it the same with the modern *Mauzo Bouni*. (*Anc. Greece*, iii., p. 92.)

## § 11-13.

ἣ πορεύονται. "On the road by which they go." Supply τῇ ὁδῷ before ἣ.—ἐνι. For ἐνεστι.—ἱκανὰ τρέφειν. "Sufficient to feed." More freely, "affording sufficient pasture for."—εὐωχεῖσθαι. "Are well supplied with food."—ἡμέρων δένδρων. "Of domesticated trees," i. e., of orchard trees, &c.—ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὥραϊα. "Of as many fruits as are eatable in the different seasons." The reference is to fruits, &c., that are eaten raw, especially at desserts, such as apples, pears, plums, figs, almonds, &c. Compare Perizonius, *ad Æl.*, V. H., i., 31: "τρωκτὰ ὥραϊα, h. e., *poma seu fructus, qui crudi in secundam mensam apponi solebant*." Krüger explains the construction in this sentence by supplying τούτων or πάντων before ὅσα.—ὥς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ. "As far as a small (may be) to a large one."—ἐκασταί. "Is built similar to." Literally, "is assimilated to."—ὥς κυπαρίττινον χρυσῷ ὄντι. "As far as a cypress one (can) one that is of gold."—γράμματα. "Written characters," i. e., the following inscription. This inscription is written in capitals, in conformity with ancient usage. The ancient Greeks used the capital and uncial letters in writings and inscriptions. The cursive character does not occur in MSS. before the eighth or ninth century, if we except the document found in Egypt, which is said to carry the employment of the cursive character as far back as B.C. 104. (*Gräfenhan, Gesch. der Class. Phil.*, i., p. 43.)

Ο ΧΩΡΟΣ, supply ΕΣΤΙ.—ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ, κ. τ. λ. "And (it is hereby directed) that the person who occupies it, and gathers in its fruits, offer each year the tenth part (of these) in sacrifice." The inscription is couched in the form of an injunction from the original consecrator of the spot, and contains conditions that must always be observed by the future owner. The infinitive, therefore, though apparently an independent and absolute one, depends, in fact, on some such phrase as "I direct," or "it is hereby directed," in the



mind of the speaker. Compare Kühner, § 671.—ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΥ "The residue."—ΕΠΙΣΚΕΥΑΖΕΙΝ. "Refit."—ΠΟΙΗΙ. In the cursive character, ποιῇ. So ΘΗΙ ΘΕΩΙ for τῇ θεῇ. In uncial writing the ι is adscribed.—ΘΗΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ. "Will be a care to the goddess," i. e., will be noticed and punished by her.

## CHAPTER IV.

## § 1, 2.

ὡς περ καὶ πρόσθεν. Compare chapter iii., § 1.—Μοσσυνόικων. "Of the Mossynæci." The Mossynæci are called *Mossyni* by Pliny and Pomponius Mela, and *Μόσσυνοι* or *Μόσυνοι* by some of the Greek writers. They are said to have derived their name of *Μοσσύνοικοι* from *μόσσυ*, "a wooden house or tower," and *οικέω*, from their living in wooden houses or towers. According to Ainsworth, the country of the Mossynæci must be considered as occupying a maritime tract equal in extent to about eighty or ninety miles, and stretching from beyond the hills down to Cape Kerelli or Coralla, as far as to the district of *Kerasua*, or *Pharnacia*, and including the considerable valley of the *Gumisch Khana* River, and the district of *Tereboli*. (Ainsworth, p. 202.)—πρόξενον. "The public friend and entertainer." When two states established public hospitality, a proxenus was generally appointed in each, whose duty it was to entertain and assist the ambassadors and citizens of the other state when they came to that in which he resided. The office of proxenus, therefore, bears great resemblance to that of a modern consul or minister-resident. (Dict. Ant., s. v. *Hospitium*, p. 512.)—πότερον πορεύσονται. "Whether they shall go." The reference is to the Greeks.—ὅτι οὐ δέξοιεν. "That they would not allow them to pass through." Literally, "would not send them through." The common text has οὐ διοίσειεν ("it would make no difference"), the reading of the MSS. This, however, is justly pronounced by Poppo a barbarous form, and we have, therefore, substituted for it, with Dindorf, Lion, and others, the conjectural emendation of Jacobs (*ad Athen.*, p. 265), namely, δέξοιεν, the future optative of δέχομαι.—τοῖς χωλοῖς. "Their strong-holds."

## § 3, 4.

ἐντεῦθεν. "Upon this."—ὅτι πολέμοι εἰσιν αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "That those of the territory beyond them are enemies unto them," i. e., that those Mossynæcians who live further beyond were enemies unto this branch of the tribe that had just refused the Greeks a passage

through. With ἐκ τοῦ supply χωρίον.—ἐκείνους. Referring to the more distant Mossynæci.—τοὺς ἀρχοντας. "Their chiefs."

## § 5-7.

διασωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περὶ. "To pass safely on foot to Greece." Literally, "to save ourselves through (the intervening regions) unto Greece."—ὕπηκόους εἶναι τούτους. In place of εἶναι we would expect ἔχειν here; but with εἶναι we may supply διαπράξεσθε, or something similar, from ἔξεστιν, which precedes. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)—εἰ δὲ ἡμῶς ἀφήσετε. "But if you shall send us away," i. e., shall allow us to depart, without availing yourselves of our services against your enemies.

## § 8-10.

ὁ ἀρχων. "The head chief."—τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι. "In what will you want to employ us?" We have here a blending of constructions, namely, τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε and τί δεήσεσθε ἡμῖν χρήσασθαι.—συμπράξει. "To co-operate."—οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι. Observe that ὅτι here answers merely to our inverted commas, or marks of quotation. Compare note on ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὐ, i., 6, 6.—ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα. "From the farther side."

## § 11-13.

ἐπὶ τούτοις. "Upon these things," i. e., hereupon.—πλοῖα μονόξυλα. "Boats made from a solid trunk," i. e., made of trunks of trees hallowed out.—εἰς τάξιν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. "Halted under arms in line."—οἱ μὲν. Referring to those who remained in the boats, one, namely, in each.—ἕστησαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, κ. τ. λ. "They stood very nearly one hundred in each line, like troops of dancers, fronting one another." All the MSS. have ὥς περ, for which Stephens gives οἶον, in which he is followed by Dindorf.—λευκῶν βοῶν δασέα. "Thickly covered with white ox-hides," i. e., all thick or shaggy to the view with coverings of white ox-hides.—ἐμπροσθεν. "At the top."—αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδές. "A ball-like rounding of the wood itself." Compare Krüger: "eine kugelförmige Rundung aus dem Holze-selbst."—χιτωνίσκους. "Short tunics."—πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμον. "Of the thickness of about a linen bed-sack." By στρωματοδέσμον is meant a leathern or linen sack, in which slaves had to put the bed-clothes (στρώματα), and tie them up therein.—κρόνυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον, κ. τ. λ. "Having a bunch of hair in the middle, shaped very nearly like a tiara." This bunch of hair, very probably goats' or horses' hair, formed a sort of crest. We must be careful not to understand κρόνυλον as meaning the hair on the heads of the Mossynæci them

selves, but merely a decoration for the helmet.—σαγάρεις. Compare iv., 4, 16.

## § 14, 15.

ᾄδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ. "Singing in regular cadence."—διὰ τῶν τάξεων, κ. τ. λ. "Through the lines and heavy-armed men of the Greeks."—ἐπιμαχώτατον. "Most assailable."—Ἰκεῖτο, i. e., ἔκειτο. The common reading is ἔκειτο, which is, probably, a mere interpretation of ἔκειτο.—τῆς μητροπόλεως. "Their metropolis," i. e., capital.—τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσσυνόικων. "The highest point of the country of the Mossynæci."—οἱ αὖτε τοῦτ' ἔχοντες. "They who, at any time in possession of this."—ἔφασαν τοῦτους. Observe that ἔφασαν refers to the Mossynæci with the Greeks, and τοῦτους to their opponents.—ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὃν καταλαβόντες πλεονεκτεῖν. "But that, having seized it, being common property, they enjoyed an advantage over themselves."

## § 16-19.

προσιόντων, τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον. "While they were advancing, so long kept quiet."—τρέπονται αὐτούς. "Put them to the rout."—τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολέμοις. Those of their own countrymen are meant who were with the Greeks.—νόμῳ τινὶ ᾄδοντες. "Singing to a kind of tune," i. e., in a kind of regular cadence.—θρασύτερον. "Bolder."—ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. "During the whole expedition."—ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μείον, κ. τ. λ. "That a good has even resulted of no less magnitude than the evil."

## § 20, 21.

τῷ ὄντι πολέμοι εἰσιν, κ. τ. λ. "Are, in reality, enemies to those to whom there is a necessity that we also (should be)."—τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἀφροντιστήσαντες, κ. τ. λ. "Those of the Greeks who were heedless of the order (that prevails) with us," i. e., of our rules of discipline.—ἀπερ ξὺν ἡμῖν. "As with us," i. e., as they are wont to do when acting along with us, and following our rules.—κρείττους αὐτῶν. "More valiant than they," i. e., than those Greeks who were just now defeated along with them.—καὶ ὅτε τοῖς ἀτάκτοις ἐμάχοντο. "As when they fought with the undisciplined."

## § 22, 23.

ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλιέρησαντο. "When they had obtained favorable omens," i. e., when they found the entrails favorable. The common text has ἐκαλλίερησαν, but the middle is more emphatic here, and is sanctioned by good MSS. (Compare Schneider, ad loc.)—κατὰ ταῦτα. "In the same way."—μεταξὺ τῶν λόχων. They were stationed in the intervals between the columns of companies.—ὕπολειπομένους δὲ μικρὸν,

κ. τ. λ. "Though receding a little from the front of the heavy-armed," i. e., though not fully in line with them.—ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων, κ. τ. λ. "For there were some of the enemy who, being active in their movements, ran down and flung at them with stones."—ἀνίστελλον. "Kept in check."—οἱ βάρβαροι. The Mossynæci on the side of the Greeks.

## § 24-26.

ἐδέξαντο. Observe the employment of the aorist here, and throughout the whole passage, to denote an instantaneous action, and of the imperfect, on the other hand, to denote a continuance of action.—ἐτρέποντο. "They turned about."—πρὸς τὴν μητρόπολιν. According to Ainsworth, it is difficult to venture an opinion as to the site of this place, since Xenophon makes no mention of its name.—πρὸς ταῖς οἰκίας. "By the buildings."—ἐξηκόντιζον. "Darted."—ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκ χειρός. "To defend themselves hand to hand."—οὐχ ὑφίεντο. "Did not remit."—ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ, κ. τ. λ. "Whom, abiding there, they all in common maintain and guard." The common text has φυλάττοντα, for which we have, with the best editors, substituted φυλάττονσι, the conjectural emendation of Brunck (ad Apoll. Rhod., ii., 1030), and which is approved of by Porson. This emendation rests on the account given by Pomponius Mela (i., 19, 70) of the mode in which the Mossynæcians treated their king: "reges suffragio deligunt, vinculisque et arctissima custodia tenent; atque ubi culpam prave quid imperando meruere, inedia diei totius afficiunt."

## § 27.

εὑρισκον θησανρούς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, κ. τ. λ. "Found in the dwellings store-rooms of loaves heaped together, in accordance with hereditary usage," &c. The common text has περυσινῶν ("from the last year") after πατρίους; but this savors of a gloss, and is not found, besides, in nine of the MSS. Luzerne, however, retaining the common reading, thinks that a kind of biscuit is meant. With regard to the peculiar meaning of θησανρούς here, compare the explanation of Krüger and Zeune, "apothecas, receptacula, cellas."—ξὺν τῇ καλᾷ ἀποκείμενον. "Laid up with the straw," i. e., in the straw.—δελφίνων τεμάχη. "Slices of dolphins."—ἐν τεύχεσι. "In vessels."—κάρνα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνωγاليῶν, κ. τ. λ. "There were also, in the upper rooms, many nuts that are broad and flat, not having any cleft." The chestnut is here meant, as Salmasius has clearly shown (Exercit. Plin., p. 603, c); and, according to the same scholar, since κάρνον means, in general, any kind of nut, Xenophon adds a particular description, in order that the chestnut may not be confounded here with the al-



mond. It would appear, also, from Xenophon's language, that he was unacquainted with any definite appellation for the chestnut. It was subsequently called *κάρνον* *Ενδοίκον* and *κάστανα*.—*τούτω καὶ πλείστῳ σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο*. "This they used even most as food." Leunclavius conjectured *τούτοις* and *πλείστον ὡς σίτῳ*; but *τούτω* stands, as Krüger remarks, by a kind of attraction with *σίτῳ*, instead of referring back to *κάρνα*, and the absence of *ὡς* is well defended by Porson, on the ground of Attic usage.—*ἔφοντες καὶ ἄρτους ὀπτῶντες*. "Boiling (them), and baking loaves." Ainsworth says that chestnuts still abound along this coast.

## § 30-32.

*ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις*. "On the side of the enemy."—*οἱ μὲν*. "Some (of the enemy therein)."—*προεχώρουν*. "Surrendered."—*τὰ δὲ πλείστα, κ. τ. λ.* The order is *τὰ δὲ πλείστα τῶν χωρίων ἦν τοιαύδε*.—*ἀναβοῶντων δὲ ἀλλήλων, κ. τ. λ.* "And they heard one another crying aloud from the one city to the other." This statement, at first, seems rather incredible. But probably the echoes among the mountains and in the valleys would tend materially to propagate the sound. Hence the remark of Xenophon, *οὕτως ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ κοίλῃ ἡ χώρα ἦν*.—*παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων σιτευτούς, κ. τ. λ.* "Boys belonging to the wealthy classes, fattened (by) being fed on boiled chestnuts, soft, and exceedingly white, and not wanting much of being equal in length and breadth, of various colors on their backs, and pricked with the shapes of flowers on all their fore parts." These were the children of the wealthy ("Kinder, die reichen ältern angehörten," as Halbkart renders), and not, as Ainsworth (who entirely mistakes the meaning of Xenophon) terms them, "certain reprobates in the nation." The abundant feeding, and the tattooing, which distinguished them, was a mark of rank. For further remarks, compare *Schneider, ad loc.*

## § 33, 34.

*λευκοὶ δὲ πάντες, κ. τ. λ.* Their color would seem to indicate some affinity to the Leuco-Syri, or White Syrians, but the practice of tattooing militates, as Mannert remarks, against such an opinion.—*τούτους ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευσάμενοι, κ. τ. λ.* "They who served on this expedition used (afterward) to say that these were the most barbarous people they had passed through." Literally, "said that they had passed through these men (as the most barbarous)."—*ἐν ὄχλῳ*. "Amid a large concourse."—*ἐν ἱερμίᾳ*. "In private."—*ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμῶεν*. "And (what) they would not dare to do in any other situation."—*ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς*. "At themselves."—*καὶ ὠρχοῦντο ἐπίσταμενοι*.

*κ. τ. λ.* "And they danced, stopping (for that purpose) wherever they might happen to be, as if showing off to others."

## CHAPTER V.

## § 1-3.

*Χάλυδας*. These were a branch of the nation already described Compare iv., 7, 15, *seqq.*—*καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις, κ. τ. λ.* "And their living was, for the most of them, from working in iron," i. e., from mining and forging.—*Τιβερηνούς*. Apollonius and Dionysius Periegetes designate the Tibareni as "rich in flocks," or *πλούρηδες* (*Apoll. Rh.*, ii., 377.—*Dionys. Per.*, 767); and their country, according to Eustathius (*ad Dionys.*, l. c.), extended as far as Armenia Minor. Cotyora was situated in their territory. They appear to have been a very cheerful race, and to have made the chief good of life to consist in laughing and sportive amusements. (*Pomp. Mel.*, i., 19 10.—*Steph. Byz.*, s. v. *Τιβερηνία*.—Compare Wagner, *ad Ammian. Marcell.*, xxii., 8, 21.)—*πολὺ πεδινωτέρα*. "Much more level," i. e., than that of the Mossynæci.—*ἐχρηζον προσβάλλειν*. "Wanted to make an attack." They were disposed, in other words, to repeat the uncalled-for attack made upon the Drilæ.—*τὰ ξένια*. "The gifts of hospitality."—*ἀπεδέξαντο γνώμην*. The priests happily prevented this plundering of a peaceful people.—*οὐδαμῇ προσίοιντο*. "In no wise permitted."—*Κοτύωρα*. Cotyora was at this time a rich and prosperous colonial town; but having been diminished in power by the building of Pharnacia, by King Pharnaces, who carried off the greater part of its population to inhabit the new city (*Strab.*, xii., p. 261), it was in Arrian's time scarcely more than a village. (*Peripl.*, p. 17.) The site is supposed to correspond to the modern *Per-shenbat*. (*Ainsworth*, p. 204.—*Hamilton*, i., p. 267.)—*Σινοπέων ἀποίκους*. Observe that *ἀποίκους* is in apposition with *πολίτας*, as contained in *πόλιν*. (*Schneider, ad loc.*)

## § 4-6.

*ἐπέξενσεν*. "Had proceeded by land." Aorist of *πεζεύω*.—*πλήθος τῆς καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ*. "The full amount of the descent, along the route." The march from Upper Asia down to the coast of the Ægean is termed *κατάβασις*, just as the march upward was styled *ἀνάβασις*—*ἐν Βαβυλωνίᾳ*. "In the Babylonian territory." Literally, "in Babylon." The name of the city embraces that of the adjacent territory.—*πομπάς*. "Processions."—*κατὰ ἔθνος*. "According to his na-

tion."—τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας. Xenophon considered the country of the Tibareni to end at Cotyora, and to be succeeded by Paphlagonia. But compare note on Τιβαρηνοῦς, § 1.—εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. "Within the city-wall."

## § 7-9.

περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν, κ. τ. λ. "For both the city of the Cotyrites."—καὶ φόρους ἐκείνοις ἔφερον. "And they (the Cotyrites) paid tribute unto them." Observe here the change from the city to its inhabitants. By φόρος is strictly meant "that which is brought," or "brought in," and so usually "tribute."—προηγόρει. "Spoke for them," i. e., as their foreman or head.—δεινός. "Able," i. e., clever, powerful.—ξυνησθησομένους. "To congratulate you." Supply ὑμῖν.—πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν. In forms of this kind it is most usual to employ καὶ alone, so that τέ is added here for emphasis' sake.—ἄξιόν μιν δεῖ. "We think, moreover, that we are entitled." More literally, "we think it worthy," "we claim."

## § 10-12.

βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι. "Having taken it from barbarians."—οἷο καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν, κ. τ. λ. "Wherefore, also, these men pay unto us an appointed tribute, and the Cerasuntians and Trapezuntians in like manner."—ἐνίοις σκηνοῦν. "Are, some (of you), lodging." Observe that ὑμᾶς, the whole, is here put in the same case as its part (ἐνίοις). In construing, however, it is neater to take them separately, in accordance with our own idiom; "that you . . . are, some of you," &c. (Matthiæ, § 319.)—οὐ πείθοντας. "Without the consent of the owners." Literally, "not persuading."—οὐκ ἄξιόν μιν. "We do not think becoming."—Κορύλλαν. Corylas was the present ruler of Paphlagonia. A vassal, originally, of the Persian throne, he subsequently threw off his allegiance to Artaxerxes Mnemon, and entered into an alliance with Sparta through Agesilaus. He is also called Cotys. (Smith, Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biogr., s. v. Cotys.)—φίλον ποιέσθαι. Observe the force of the middle, implying to make friendly unto one's self.

## § 13-16.

ἀγαπῶντες. "Content." More literally, "well pleased."—ἅμα τε χρήματα ἀγεῖν καὶ φέρειν. "At one and the same time, both to drive and carry off things," i. e., "both to bring away valuable booty." Compare note on ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε, ii., 6, 5.—ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν. Opposed to Κοτυωρίτας δέ, § 19.—ὠνούμενοι. "By purchasing them."—καὶ ἀντὶ ὧν ἐτίμησαν, κ. τ. λ. "And, in return for the things in which they

honored us," &c. Attraction for ἀντὶ τῶν ἀ.—ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον. "What sort of persons they found us."—πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε. "For those are here present."—ἡ πόλις. "That city."—ἂν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν, κ. τ. λ. "Whether (we may have come) to either a barbarian territory or a Grecian one." Supply ἐλθωμεν. In antithetical sentences, τε . . . τε approaches in sense to ἢ . . . ἢ, vel . . . vel

## § 17-19.

Χαλδαίους. The Chaldæi here mentioned are generally supposed to have been the same with the Chalybes, and a strong argument in favor of this opinion is drawn from the language of Strabo (xii., p. 549): οἱ δὲ νῦν Χαλδαῖοι Χάλυβες τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο. Xenophon has before this spoken only once of the Χαλδαῖοι, namely, in iv., 3, 4, where he speaks of Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι in the army of Orontas and Artuchus. They are mentioned again in vii., 8, 25, and there, indeed, separately from the Chalybes, but strong doubts have been entertained respecting the authenticity of that whole section as well as the one which follows it.—μάλα φοβερούς. "Very formidable."—πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα. "We made our enemies."—τῶν ἐκείνων. "Of the things belonging to that people." Observe that ἐκείνων does not agree with, but is governed by, τῶν.—Κοτυωρίτας δέ. "As regards however, the Cotyrites." A species of accusative absolute, intended to subserve the purposes of emphasis.—ὑμετέρους εἶναι. "Are yours," i. e., your tributaries and dependents.—οὐ γὰρ ὡς φίλοι προσέφεροντο ἡμῖν. "For they did not carry themselves as friends toward us."—ἡτιῶντο δὲ τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρμοστήν, κ. τ. λ. "And they alleged that the governor from you was the author of these things." More literally, "they assigned as the cause (αἰτία) of their so doing." The term ἀρμοστής properly denotes a governor of the Greek islands and towns in Asia Minor, sent out by the Lacedæmonians during their supremacy. Here, however, it is used in a more general sense, as the governor of a dependent colony.

## § 20, 21.

ὃ δὲ λέγεις. "As to what you say, however."—ἡμεῖς ἠξιοῦμεν. "We (merely) required (them)," i. e., thought that we had a good right to ask.—ἢ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, κ. τ. λ. "After what fashion the place itself received us, after this fashion having entered." Literally, "after what way." Supply ὁδῶ. The common text spoils the meaning by inserting a negative before ἐδέχετο. The passage is an ironical one, and the idea intended to be conveyed is simply this: "as the Cotyrites did not give us leave to enter, we entered with-



out any longer asking their leave.—τὰ ἰαυτῶν δαπανῶντες. "Spend ing their own money," i. e., supporting themselves.—μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἁρμοστῇ ὄσιν, κ. τ. λ. "May not be in the power of your governor, but that it may rest with us to carry them away," &c.—ἐν τῇ τάξει. "In the usual order."

## § 22, 23.

ἡμεῖς δέ. "We, on our part."—πολλαπλασίοις ἡμῶν. "Many times more numerous than you."—ἡμῖν καὶ φίλον ποιήσομεν, κ. τ. λ. Zeuno and others make a difficulty here, by following the common punctuation, which places a comma after ἡμῖν, and thus connects the pronoun with δοκῇ; for they maintain that Xenophon would have used the middle voice instead of the active ποιήσομεν. Krüger, accordingly, reads ποιούμεθα, the Attic contracted future middle. But there is no need of any alteration, since we have merely to regard ἡμῖν ποιήσομεν as purposely employed to express a still stronger emphasis than the middle voice alone would have done. Compare Kühner, § 363, 4, ed. Jelf.—τὸν Παφλάγονα. Corylas.—πειρασόμεθα οὖν, κ. τ. λ. This remark alone would prove an effectual one with the Sinopians.

## § 24, 25.

ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. Observe the change of mood from ἤκοιεν to εἰσὶ, and the animated air which the indicative imparts.—τοὺς ἐνθάδε. The Cotyrorites.—πολλά τε καὶ φιλικὰ διελέγοντο. "They conversed about both many and friendly things," i. e., they had a long and friendly conversation. The best MSS. prefer φιλικὰ here. Some, however, give ἐπιτήδεια, "they conversed about both many things, and such as concerned both parties." Compare Luzerne, "ce qui concernoit les uns et les autres."—τί τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς, κ. τ. λ. "They asked also, particularly about the rest of their route, (such things) as each wanted (to know)." The Sinopians were anxious to ascertain the future movements of the Greeks, and the Greeks equally anxious to ascertain the best and most expeditious route homeward. The literal meaning of τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ, κ. τ. λ., is, "among other things, they also asked," &c.; but, as we render prominent by this mode of expression only that which is distinguished, it ought always to be translated "particularly," "especially," &c. (Buttmann, § 150.)

## CHAPTER VI.

## § 1, 2.

παρακαλέσαντας. "Having called in."—χρήσιμοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "The Sinopians appeared likely to prove useful."—προσδεῖν ἐδόκει Σινωπέων. "There seemed, also, to be a need of the Sinopians."—καὶ ἤξιουν, Ἑλλήνας ὄντας Ἑλλήσι, κ. τ. λ. "And requested that, as Greeks toward Greeks, they would in this first receive them in a proper manner, both in being friendly of feeling unto them, and in advising them for the best," i. e., that they would act toward them with all the frankness that ought to characterize the intercourse of Greek with Greek, and, as the first proof of their sincerity, both show good feeling and give good advice. We have given to the words Ἑλλήνας ὄντας Ἑλλήσι the explanation of Stephens, "ut Græcos s. Græcis exhibentes," which appears to be the only true one. Hutchinson, on the contrary, makes Ἑλλήσι depend on εἰνους, in which he is followed by Schneider, Bornemann, Buttmann, and others.

## § 3, 4.

ἀπελογήσατο περὶ οὗ εἶπεν, κ. τ. λ. "Alleged in his own defense, respecting what he had said, (namely), that they would make the Paphlagonian their friend, that he did not say it as if they were about to make war upon the Greeks, but (meaning), that though it was in their power to be friends with the barbarians, they shall prefer the Greeks."—ἐπευξάμενος. "Having uttered an imprecation (on his own head)."—πολλά μοι κάγαθὰ γένοιτο. "May many and good things befall me." Observe the employment of the optative without ἂν, to denote a wish.—αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ συμβουλή, κ. τ. λ. "For that very consultation which is said to be sacred in its nature appears to me to be present here." An allusion to a common proverb of the Greeks, ἱερὸν ἡ συμβουλή χρῆμα, "Consultation is a sacred thing." (Compare Plato, Theag., p. 122, B: λέγεται γε συμβουλή ἱερὸν χρῆμα εἶναι.) Hence, the meaning of Hecatonymus is as follows: this is now, as appears to me, the very time and place for applying in its full force the well-known proverb, that consultation is a sacred thing, and should not be profaned by falsehood or insincerity.

## § 5-7.

πράγματα. "Trouble."—ἐὰν κομίζησθε. "If you are conveyed."—ἦν δὲ στέλλησθε. "But if you are sent." We have preferred here the ordinary meaning of the verb, the more especially as it implies

the idea of being guided on their way.—ὅμῳς δεήσει τοὺς μαχομένους εἶναι. "It will behoove you to be the fighters," i. e., all the trouble will fall upon you.—λεκτέα δὲ γινώσκω. "The things which I know must be spoken."—πεδία κάλλιστα. Especially the plains of Themiscyra and Gadilonitis. (Strab., xii., p. 546, 548.)—ὄρη ὑψηλότατα. In particular, Mount Olgasys and Mount Cyturus. (Strab., xii., p. 562.—Plin., H. N., vi., 2.)—οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλη, ἢ ἡ τὰ κέρατα, κ. τ. λ. "For it is not possible by any other than where the peaks of the mountains on each side of the road are high." The allusion is to a narrow pass, with lofty mountains towering on either side of it. By κέρας here is meant any projection or elevation of a mountain, e. g., a mountain peak, like the Swiss Schreckhorn, Finsteraarhorn, &c.—ἀ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες, κ. τ. λ. "By holding possession of which, even a very few would be able to prove superior (to you)." The pass here meant appears to be in the range of mountains which extends northward into the sea to form Cape Iasonium, now Yasun Burnu, and which Kinneir succeeded in crossing. (Ainsworth, p. 205.)

## § 8.

ἱππέων. "Cavalry." Paphlagonia was a country well adapted for cavalry, and was consequently famed for this species of force.—καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρεγένοντο, κ. τ. λ. "And but lately these men did not present themselves unto the king calling them; on the contrary, their ruler entertains loftier notions (of himself, than to obey such an order)." The allusion is to Corylas, who, at a subsequent period, sided openly with Agesilaus. On the occasion here alluded to, he had, when summoned to court, as a test probably of his loyalty, refused to obey. The Paphlagonian chiefs, indeed, at all times, knowing their strength and the peculiar resources of the country, considered themselves almost independent of the Persian satraps. (Cramer, Asia Minor, i., 218.)—τά τε ὄρη κλέψαι, ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες. "To gain the mountains secretly, or to anticipate (the enemy) in taking possession of them."—Θερμῶδοντα. The Thermodon is now the Thermeh Su. A little town on the left bank of the river is also called Thermeh. (Hamilton, i., 281.) This river rises in Pontus, in the mountains, on the confines of Armenia Minor, and pursuing a course nearly due west, until it reaches the plain of Themiscyra in Paphlagonia, then turns to the north, and empties into the Sinus Amisenus.—Ἴριον. The Iris also rises in Pontus, and empties into the Euxine near Amisus. It is called by the Turks Tokathu, but near its mouth it is more usually styled Yeshil Irmak, or the Green River.—Ἁλυν. The Halys rises on the confines of Pontus and Armenia Minor, and enters the Euxine

some distance to the northwest of Amisus. It is now the Kizil Irmak, or Red River.—ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος, κ. τ. λ. "In like manner, also, the Parthenius is impassable," i. e., without boats. The Parthenius formed the boundary between Paphlagonia and Bithynia, and fell into the Euxine to the southwest of Amastris. It is now the Bartan, as the modern Greeks term it. The Turkish name, according to Ainsworth, is Su-chati.

## § 10, 11.

χαλεπήν. "Difficult only."—ἐστὶν ἐνθένδε μὲν, κ. τ. λ. "It is in your power to coast along from this quarter to Sinope."—οὔτε πεζῇ, οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία. "There is no want of a passage either by land or by sea."—φιλίας ἔνεκα τῆς Κορύλα λέγειν. "That he said them through friendship which he had for Corylas."—πρόξενος. Compare τ., 4, 2.

## § 12, 13.

ἡρῶνται πορείαν, κ. τ. λ. "Have chosen the mode of prosecuting their route, which you advise."—οὕτω δὲ ἔχει. "And now the affair stands thus," i. e., and now the terms on which we will sail away are the following.—ὡς ἕνα μὴ καταλείπεσθαι ἐνθάδε. "So that not a single one (of us) be left behind here."—ὅτι, ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶμεν. "That, wherever we may be strongest."—ληφθῆσόμεθα. "We shall be caught," i. e., we shall be found to be.—ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρῃ. "In the situation of slaves." The term χώρα is frequently employed to indicate the place assigned to any one in life, one's post, station, office, &c. Compare the Latin locus.

## § 15-17.

καὶ μάλα ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανούς. "And now, through exercise very efficient."—ἐνθα οὐκ ἂν ἀπ' ὀλίγων χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ. "Where so large a force could not have been provided from small means," i. e., at a small expenditure.—κατοικίσαντας. "By their having founded." Xenophon alludes here to himself, in conjunction with the other Greeks composing the army. Haken thinks, from § 30, that Xenophon had in view the seizing and enlarging of Cotyora. (Hak., ii., p. 475.)—γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει. "It seemed to him likely to become"—τοὺς περιουκοῦντας. These being neither brave nor skilled in war.—καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο. "And, with this view, he inspected the entrails," i. e., of a victim which he caused to be sacrificed for this purpose.—Σιλανὸν καλέσας. Compare i., 7, 18.—καταμείνῃ πον. "May settle somewhere (away from home)."—καταμείναι. "To remain (where it now is)."



## § 18-20.

οὗς ἔλαβε δαρεικοὺς. For τοὺς δαρεικοὺς οὗς ἔλαβε.—*δτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας, κ. τ. λ.* "When, on inspecting the entrails for Cyrus, he told the truth about the ten days." Compare i., 7, 18.—*Δαρδανεύς.* Compare iii., 1, 47.—*εἰ μὴ ἐκποριοῦσι, κ. τ. λ.* "Unless they shall supply pay to the army, so that they have provisions when sailing out."—*ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μείναι, κ. τ. λ.* "That so large a force will be in danger of remaining in Pontus," i. e., there will be a danger of so large a force remaining. Observe here the repetition of *ὅτι*. When *ὅτι* or *ὥς* is separated from the clause to which it belongs by a parenthetical clause, the conjunction is sometimes repeated, either accidentally or for the sake of the clearness. (Kühner, § 804, 3.)—*καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.* "Both how to have provisions in our sail homeward."—*τοὺς οἰκοί.* Referring to those who composed their families.—*τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον, κ. τ. λ.* "Having selected (a spot) out of the country inhabited in a circle around the Euxine, wherever you may wish to take possession of it." Observe that τὸν Πόντον is here employed to designate the Pontus Euxinus. Compare v., 1, 9.—*πλοῖα δ' ὑμῖν πάρεσιν.* "Ships are thereupon ready for you," i. e., here are ships ready for you. The particle *δέ*, which marks the apodosis here, is extremely awkward. Leunclavius conjectures *ὅγ*, which Hutchinson adopts.

## § 21-24.

τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐροῦντας. "To tell these same things," i. e., to confirm the account of the merchants.—*προστατεῦσαι.* "To bring it about by his influence." This verb properly means, "to stand at the head of," "to be a ruler over," &c., and hence, to take the lead in an affair, to bring about certain results by the influence which such a situation gives.—*οὐ δὲ προσέχειν τῇ μὲν.* "We ought not to think of staying here." Supply τὸν νοῦν after *προσέχειν*, and compare Sturz, *Lex. Xen.*, s. v.—*τῆς Ἑλλάδος περὶ πλείονος.* "Of more value than Greece."—*ἀπὸ νομηνίας μισθοφορὰν, κ. τ. λ.* "That I will furnish, as pay, a Cyzicene to each per month, (computed) from the beginning of the month," i. e., from the beginning of the present month. The common text places a comma after *νομηνίας*, connecting it with *ἐκπλήτε*; but compare § 31.—*Κυζικηνόν.* Supply *στατήρα*. The Cyzicene, or Cyzicenean stater, was a gold coin, so called from the city of Cyzicus. Its value was twenty-eight Attic drachmæ, or somewhat over \$4 75.—*ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν.* "Will be at your service." Compare Krüger, "Wird zu Diensten sein."—*ἐμπειρος.* "Familiar with."—*τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς.* The satrapy of Dascylis, compre-

hending the provinces just named, together with Bithynia.—*τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ.* "Partly . . . partly."—*Δερκυλλίδῃ.* When Dercylidas was the Spartan harmost at Abydus.

## § 25-27.

περὶ στρατηγίας. "About the command of the army."—*Χερρόνησον.* The Thracian Chersonese is meant, the peninsula of Thrace between the Sinus Melas and the Hellespont, a tract of country remarkable for its fertility.—*ὥστε τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐνοικεῖν.* "So that it will be in the power of him wishing it to dwell therein." Supply *ἐσεσθαι* from the previous clause. (Weiske, *ad loc.*)—*μαστεύειν.* "To seek for it," i. e., for this land.—*ἔστε δ' ἂν, ἐφῃ, ἐκεῖ γένησθε.* "But until, added he, you may get there."—*ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν.* "So that they sailed," i. e., provided they sailed.—*ἐν τούτῳ.* "Meanwhile."—*ὥς δεινὸν εἶη ἰδίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.* "That it was a thing not to be endured, that Xenophon should both in private try to persuade (persons) to stay," &c. For this meaning of *δεινόν*, consult Sturz, *Lex. Xen.*, s. v. 7.

## § 28-30.

ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω, κ. τ. λ. "In order that I may say, and think, and do those things which," &c. Observe the construction of *τυγχάνω* with the participle.—*ἀρχεσθαι λέγειν.* "To begin to speak."—*τὸ μὲν ὑγιστον.* "The thing of the greatest importance." Observe here the force of the parenthetical accusative, which is in apposition, in fact, with the clause coming after. (Matthiæ, § 432, 5.)—*ἄπειρον.* Supply τῶν ἱερῶν.—*ἐπιβουλῇ.* "Plotting."—*ὥς ἄρα γινώσκων.* "As knowing, forsooth."—*ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ τὸν λόγον.* "For he circulated the report." Literally, "he brought out (i. e., published) the report."—*τοῦτ' ἂν ἐσκόπονν, κ. τ. λ.* "Would have looked out for that, from which it might have resulted that you, having taken a city, might, the one of you that pleased, sail away now," &c. Haken thinks that Xenophon alludes here to the city of Cotyora. Compare note on § 15.

## § 31-33.

ἀπὸ νομηνίας. Compare § 23.—*σωζομένους, ἐνθα βουλόμεθα.* "That we, being safely conveyed (to that quarter) where we wish (to be)." Supply *ἐνταῦθα* after *σωζομένους*.—*πορείας.* A much neater reading than *σωτηρίας*, though the latter is preferred by Dindorf.—*ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας.* "From that idea of mine," i. e., of remaining and settling here.—*ταῦτα πράττειν.* Referring to his plan of settling.—*ἀναπαύσασθαι χρῆναι.* Several editors object to *ἀναπαύσασθαι* here, on the ground that *ἀναπαύομαι* is never employed for the simple *παύομαι*,

and they therefore read *παύεσθαι*. As regards the tense, however the aorist is certainly preferable, since the reference is to an instantaneous action. With regard to *ἀναπαύομαι* itself, it may be remarked, that Xenophon probably means it to be more emphatic here than the simple verb would have been.—*οἱ μὲν ὄντες πολλοί.* "Being many together."—*ἀν εἶναι.* "Likely to be."—*ἐν γὰρ τῷ κρατεῖν, κ. τ. λ.* "For in the exertion of superior force is also the taking of the property of the weaker," i. e., it forms a part of it.—*καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως.* "And your force having been made into small portions," i. e., broken up into small parties.—*οὔτε χαίροντες ἀν ἀπαλλάξαιτε.* "Nor would you be likely to depart with impunity," i. e., uninjured. Literally, "rejoicing." Compare *Krüg., ad loc.*—*δοκεῖ οὖν μοι, ἅπερ ὑμῖν.* "(The same things), then, seem good to me which (do) to you."—*ἢ ἀπολιπὼν τινα ληφθῇ.* "Or be caught leaving any one behind."—*κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ.* Xenophon evidently seeks to retaliate here on Silanus and his other adversaries. (*Haken, ii.* p. 168.)

## § 34, 35.

*ἐπεχείρει λέγειν.* "Attempted to show."—*οὐκ ἠνείχοντο.* "Did not endure it."—*καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτός, κ. τ. λ.* "And that Xenophon himself had put it to vote."—*τὰ δὲ χρήματα, κ. τ. λ.* "But the money of the pay, which they had promised to Timasion and Thorax, they have proved false about." The common text has *μισθοφορᾶς*. The position of this word, whichever form we adopt, is extremely awkward here, and probably, as Krüger thinks, arose from a gloss.

## § 36, 37.

*ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν.* "Were astounded."—*οἷς ἀνεκοινοῦντο, κ. τ. λ.* "Unto whom they used to communicate what they were before this attempting to bring about." The editions generally give *ἀνακεκοίνωντο*; but the imperfect, the reading of one of the best MSS., seems decidedly preferable.—*ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει.* "Who commanded under Cheirisophus."—*εἰς Φᾶσιν.* Compare *iv., 6, 4.*—*Αἰήτου υἱοῦς.* "A grandson of Aetes." Strabo says, that the name Aetes was a common one for the monarchs of Colchis (*ἐπιχώριον τοῦνομα*). It is not very probable, however, that Xenophon would give here the name of the grandsire, without mentioning that of the ruling monarch himself; and it would seem, therefore, that he brings in the name of the fabulous parent of Medea, as being well known at that time throughout Greece, though, in point of legendary chronology far more remote than the present passage would imply.

## CHAPTER VII.

## § 1-4.

*ταῦτα ἀνεπίθοντο πραττόμενα.* "Heard that these things were doing."—*λέγει.* "Tells them."—*καὶ ξύλλογοι ἐγίνοντο, κ. τ. λ.* "And gatherings began to take place, and rings to be formed." Literally, "and rings to stand together."—*καὶ μάλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν μὴ, κ. τ. λ.* "And they were much to be feared lest they should do what they had done to the heralds of the Colchians, and to the clerks of the market," i. e., it was greatly to be feared lest they should do, &c. No mention has been made before this of any such occurrence as is here referred to. The account is only given afterward in § 13. Krüger seeks to defend the writer for this arrangement, on the ground that, if he had mentioned the matter before, he would have been compelled to employ here an awkward repetition. (*de Authent., p. 30.*)—*ἀγορανόμους.* These *ἀγορανόμοι* belonged to what we would call, in modern parlance, the commissariat. They regulated the buying and selling in the market that was furnished to the soldiery.—*ξυναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἀγοράν.* "To convene an assembly of them." This is the only instance in Xenophon where *ἀγορά* occurs in the sense of *ἐκκλησία*. This signification is much more frequent in Epic than in Attic Greek.—*τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν οὐ κατηγορεῖ, κ. τ. λ.* Xenophon does not divulge unto the troops that the generals had come unto him, and recommended the very step which had occasioned the commotion on the part of the soldiers, although such a statement would at once have fully exculpated himself.

## § 5-7.

*οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρῆσθε, ὥςπερ ἄξιον.* "So treat them even as is fitting."—*ἐφη.* "Continued he."—*τοῦμπαλιν πρὸς ἑω.* "(He must go) the contrary direction, toward the east." Supply *δεῖ πορεύεσθαι.*—*ὥς ἥλιος, ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, κ. τ. λ.* "That the sun, from what quarter it rises, sets, moreover, in the same; and in what quarter it sets, rises, moreover, from the same." Observe here the peculiar employment of *δέ*, not only in the apodosis of the first clause, but also in the protasis and apodosis of the second. Schaefer, dissatisfied with the present reading, however, proposes the following: *ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δόεται μὲν ἐνταῦθα, ἐνθα δὲ δόεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν.* (*Melet. Crit., p. 111.*) Weiske, also, has a different lection, namely, *ἐνθα μὲν ἀνίσχει, δόεται δ' ἐνταῦθα· ἐνθεν δὲ δόεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν*; and he supposes that



the speaker called in gesture to make his meaning clearer.—*ὅτι βο-  
οίας μὲν ἔξω, κ. τ. λ.* Compare Polybius (ii., 44, 10): *εἰσάγει μὲν εἰς  
τὸν Πόντον Νότος, ἐξάγει δὲ Βορέας.*—ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν, κ. τ. λ.  
“*That it is fair sailing for Greece.*” Literally, “that there are fair  
sailings,” &c.—*ἔστιν ὅπως τις.* “*Is it possible that any one.*” (Com-  
pare Kühner, § 817, Obs. 4.)—ὥστε ἐμβαλεῖν. Supply *εἰς τὰ πλοῖα.*

## § 8-10.

ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὁπόταν, κ. τ. λ. “*But (I will not, some one may say,  
thus openly impose upon you), for I will put you on board when there  
is a calm!*” Xenophon here starts another objection on the part of  
the soldiery, which he then proceeds to dispose of very summarily.  
Observe that *ἐμβιβῶ* is the Attic contracted future for *ἐμβιβάσω*.—*ποιῶ  
δ' ἑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας, κ. τ. λ.* “*I will suppose, however, that, deceived  
and tricked by me, you have come to the Phasis.*” Observe here the  
peculiar employment of the indicative to indicate a supposition.  
Literally, “I make (i. e., suppose) that you, deceived, &c., have  
come.” (Matthiae, § 510, 7.)—*καὶ δὴ ἀποβαίνομεν.* “*And, as a  
matter of course, we land.*” Observe the force of *δὴ*.—*ἔσομαι εἰς.*  
“*Will be only a single individual.*”—*πῶς οὖν.* “*On what grounds,  
then.*”—*ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.* “*Than for planning thus concern-  
ing both himself and you.*”—*εἰ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν δύναται.* Supply *λέγειν.*  
—*ἢ ἐγρηγορέναι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας, κ. τ. λ.* “*Or from watching for  
your safety, if caring (for it).*”—*ἐγὼ τινι ἐμποδὼν εἰμι;* “*Am I a hin-  
derance to any one?*” i. e., do I stand in any one's way?—*παρήμι, ἀρ-  
χέτω.* “*I yield to him; let him command.*” Compare Halbkart: “*Ich  
mache ihm Platz.*”

## § 11-13.

ἀλλὰ γάρ. Compare iii., 2, 25.—*αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν ταῦτα.*  
“*That he, of himself, could have been deceived in these things, or that  
another could have deceived him,*” i. e., could, either through his own  
error, or through the influence of another, have been so far misled  
as to believe these charges against Xenophon, and that he actually  
intended to convey the Greeks to the Phasis. Compare Bornemann  
and Halbkart, *ad loc.*, and observe that *ἂν* is to be repeated with *ἐξ-  
απατῆσθαι*.—*ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἅλεις ἔχητε.* “*And when you shall have  
enough of these things,*” i. e., shall have been satisfied on this head.—  
*ὅλον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, κ. τ. λ.* “*What state of things I see beginning  
in the army; for if this shall go on, and shall be such as it is gradu-  
ally showing itself (to be),*” &c. Observe here the force of *ὑπὸ* in  
*ὑποδείκνυσθαι*, as referring to something that shows itself by little and  
little, that is, in the present instance, by various indications through-

out the army. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)—*λέγειν.* “*To say on.*”—*ὅτι χωρία  
ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, κ. τ. λ.* “*That there were places in the mountains  
belonging to the barbarians.*”—*ἀλλὰ ὧν εἶχον.* Attraction, for *ἀλλὰ  
τῶν ἃ εἶχον.*—*ἀπελθεῖν.* The common text has *ἐλθεῖν*. Dindorf  
reads *ἀπῆλθον*, from some of the MSS. The lection which we have  
adopted is the conjecture of Lion. We might endure *ἀπῆλθον* if  
*δοκεῖ* preceded.

## § 14-16.

τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὅτι εἶη. For *καταμαθὼν ὅτι τοῦτο εἶη.*—*διὰ τὸ φίλιον  
νομίζειν εἶναι.* “*Through its thinking that it was on friendly terms  
with us.*”—*ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγχανον οἱ ξύσκηνοι, κ. τ. λ.* “*In which his com-  
rades happened to be sailing past.*”—*ξυνωμολόγησαν.* “*Had concerted.*”  
—*πορευόμενον δ' αὐτὸν φθάνει, κ. τ. λ.* “*But the day, having come on,  
gets before him on his march,*” i. e., daylight overtakes him before he  
reaches the place.—*ξυστάντες.* “*Having come together.*”—*ἀπὸ ἰσχυ-  
ρῶν τόπων.* “*From their strong-holds.*”

## § 17, 18.

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ᾗ. “*On the day on which.*” Supply *ἐν* with *ᾗ*, from  
the previous clause. When a relative refers to a noun or pronoun  
joined with a preposition, it is itself used without one. (Matthiae,  
§ 595, 4. Compare Schaefer, *ad Oed. Col.*, 749.)—*τῶν πλεόντων.* Re-  
ferring to those who, in chap. iv., 1, are said *ἐκ Κερασούντος κατὰ  
θάλατταν κομίζεσθαι.*—*οὐπω ἀνηγμένοι.* “*Not having yet weighed  
anchor.*” Supply *τὰς ἀγκύρας.*—*πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον.* “*To our  
public council,*” i. e., to the council of the Grecian commanders.  
Compare Sturz, *Lex. Xen.*, “*ad nostrum consilium publicum.*”—*τί  
ἡμῖν δόξειεν.* “*Why it had appeared good unto us.*”—*ἐπεὶ μὲν τοι σφεῖς  
λέγειν, ἔφασαν, κ. τ. λ.* “*They (the Cerasuntians) said that when they  
told them, however, that the thing had not proceeded from,*” &c. Ob-  
serve that *σφεῖς* and *ἔφασαν* both refer to the inhabitants of Cerasus,  
and therefore the nominative is employed with the infinitive. The  
common text has *σφᾶς*, for which Schaefer conjectured *σφεῖς*. As  
regards the employment here of the infinitive itself, compare the  
remark of Buttman (§ 141, 3, n.). “*In the use of the infinitive for  
quoting the language of another, or in any other dependent discourse,  
the Greeks go further than the Latins in this respect, namely, that  
they more frequently employ this construction with relatives, and  
also in the protasis.*”—*καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς κελεύειν αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ.*  
“*And that they invited those who desired this to take and bury their  
dead.*”

## § 19-22.

τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινές, κ. τ. λ. Referring to the party that had gone out with Clearetus.—αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους. A change to the *recta oratio*. Why the writer did not say αἰσθομένους δὲ . . . . . τολῆσαι, the accusative βαρβάρους sufficiently indicates.—οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκροί. Those who had fallen in the affray between Clearetus and the barbarians.—ἐξωθεν τῶν ὀπλων Compare note on πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων, ii., 4, 15.—παῖε, παῖε, βάλλε, βάλλε. "Hit, hit, fling, fling." Compare Aristophanes, *Acharn.*, 269, seq.—ὥς ἂν καὶ ἐωρακότες, κ. τ. λ. "As having, also, seen the affair at home." Literally, "with them." From the frequent use of the formula ὥς ἂν in Greek, it lost its proper force, and assumed, as here, an adverbial meaning, *quasi*. In strictness, however, ἀποχωροῖεν is understood. (Kühner, § 430.—Krüger, *ad loc.*)

## § 23-26.

δεινότατα ποιοῦσι τὸ στράτευμα. "Treat the army most dreadfully." Compare, as regards the term ἀγορανόμος, the note on § 2.—ἰενται. We have here, as well as in ἰεσθαι further on, given the stronger form of expression. The common text has ἰενται and ἰεσθαι.—καὶ τοὺτους τί δοκεῖτε; "And what think you of these persons?" i. e., what think you of their flight? Compare the explanation of Krüger: "Was meint ihr von diesen? i. e., quid de eorum fuga censetis?"—ἔδεισαν δὲ μὴ λύττα, κ. τ. λ. "They feared, however, lest some madness had fallen upon us, as (is wont to do) upon dogs."—εἰ οὖν ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ἔσται, κ. τ. λ. "If, then, these things are to be so, see of what sort the constitution of our army will be," i. e., if, then, such things as these are going to take place, &c.

## § 27-29.

ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ πάντες. "You, the whole army," i. e., you acting as a body.—ἀνελέσθαι. "To take up."—ἰδίᾳ. "In private," i. e., by private intrigue.—κατακτείναντες τοὺτους οἱ βουλόμενοι. "Those who wish it, having killed these."—τῶν λόγων. "The proposals."—ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ χώρᾳ. "In no estimation." Compare note on ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρᾳ, chap. vi., § 5.—ἀκριτον. "Untried."—ἦν ὥσιν οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. "If there shall be those who will obey him as it happened even now," i. e., in case he shall find a disorderly crowd ready and willing to obey such a mandate, &c.—οἷα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ διαπεπράχασιν, κ. τ. λ. "See, moreover, what sort of things these self-chosen generals have effected for you."—φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος. "He is self-banished from the army."

## § 30, 31.

διεπράξαντο ὑμῖν μόνοις, κ. τ. λ. "Have brought it about that, for you alone of the Greeks, it is not safe to go to Cerasus, unless with a strong force."—ἐκέλευον θάπτειν. "Bade you bury," i. e., gave you permission to bury.—ξὺν κηρυκίῳ. "With a herald's wand," i. e., through the agency of a herald; or, though a herald be sent. The κηρύκιον was the staff or mace carried by heralds and ambassadors in time of war. (Pollux, *Onom.*, viii., 138.)—ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασυντιῶν, κ. τ. λ. "(No one, indeed, appeared to us likely to do this), but we ourselves entreated the Cerasuntians to bury them." Compare the explanation of Krüger: "Ante hæc tale quid subaudiendum: nos quidem hanc legationem neminem obitutum putabamus, sed," &c.—δοξάτω ὑμῖν. "Let them be sanctioned by you." Literally, "let them appear good to you."—καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις, κ. τ. λ. "One may both set a guard in private (for himself), and may endeavor to lodge, having the strong places over his right." Bornemann takes the meaning to be, "occupying strong and lofty places," but it is more probable that Krüger's opinion is correct, namely, that either ἐρυμνά or else ὑπερδέξια must be removed from the text. (*de Authent.*, p. 38.)

## § 32, 33.

σκοπεῖτε παῦλάν τινα αὐτῶν. "Meditate some cessation of them." Literally, "look out for," &c.—ἠδέως. "With cheerfulness," i. e., with the cheerful certainty of propitiating them by the act.—ἀνομίαν. "Lawlessness."—ἦν περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα, &c. "If we appear trespassing in regard to such matters (that are) of the greatest importance." Krüger explains τὰ μέγιστα by "*jus fasque*," or, in other words, human and divine rights. The reference is, as Balfour remarks, principally to the murder of the heralds, involving not only a violation of the rights of nations, but also of the ordinances of religion. The ill treatment of the ἀγορανόμοι is also alluded to.—οὗ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἴομεθα, κ. τ. λ. "And who would praise us, being such (in that very quarter) where we think now that we will meet with the praise of all." Supply ἐνταῦθα before οὗ, and refer this last to the land of Greece. Lion, by a harsher construction, refers οὗ, which he makes a relative pronoun, to ἐπαίνου, and construes as follows: τίς ἂν ἡμῶς . . . . ἐπαινέσειε (τὸν ἐπαινον) οὗ ἐπαίνου πάντων οἴομεθα τεύξεσθαι; Krüger sides with Lion; but Dindorf, Bornemann, and Poppo are in favor of the first explanation.

## § 34, 35.

τοὺς μὲν τούτων ἄξαντας, κ. τ. λ. "That the persons who began



these things should suffer punishment."—ἀνομίας ἀρξαι. "To begin any lawlessness (of the kind)."—ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Compare i., 6, 10.—ἐς δίκας πάντας καταστῆσαι. "Should bring all to trial."—εἶναι δὲ δίκας. "And that there should be a trial."—καθῆραι τὸ σπράτευμα. The ancient Greeks and Romans employed purification for many purposes, but chiefly to remove the pollution of human blood. (Balfour, *ad loc.*)

## CHAPTER VIII.

## § 1, 2.

δίκην υποσχεῖν. "Should undergo a trial," i. e., should undertake to give a satisfactory account.—καὶ διδόντων. "And they giving (an account of their conduct)." Supply δίκην.—ὥστε τῆς φυλακῆς, κ. τ. λ. "Were fined each, for their (careless) supervision of the cargoes of the merchant ships, the deficiency (which had accrued, namely,) twenty minæ." Verbs of accusing, criminating, condemning, fining, &c., take a genitive of the offense, and hence we have φυλακῆς here after ὥστε. (Matthiæ, § 369. Kühner, § 501.) The term γανλικός means, "of, or belonging to a γανλός," and γανλός, in this sense, denotes, properly, "a round-built, Phœnician vessel," and then "a merchant vessel" generally. The cargoes here referred to are those of the ships which the Greeks had taken, as mentioned in chapter i., § 16, and which are there called ἀγώγισμα. The Greeks, having taken these cargoes out of the ships in question, had appointed guards to take care of them, under the command, as would appear, of Philesius and Xanthicles, and these officers were now fined for having allowed an embezzlement of part of these effects to take place. (Spelman, *ad loc.*)—εἰκοσι μνᾶς. Twenty minæ would amount to \$352, the mina being equivalent to \$17 60.—κατημέλει. "He neglected his duty."—καὶ ὥς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐποιούντο. "And they brought an impeachment against him as acting insolently."—ὅπου καὶ τῷ ῥίγῃ ἀπώλλυμεθα. "Where we were even perishing with the cold."

## § 3, 4.

οἶον λέγεις. Attraction for οἶον λέγεις.—οἶνον δὲ μὴδ' ὁσφραίνεισθαι παρόν. "And it not being in our power even to get a smell of wine." The common text has παρόντος, "wine not being at hand even to smell at." But this is less elegant.—ἀπαγορευόντων. Supply ἡμῶν.—οἷς φασὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως, κ. τ. λ. "In which they say that, through their viciousness, fatigue is not engendered." Every one knows, remarks Spelman, that asses, and mules, their offspring, have such

an inbred viciousness that no fatigue can subdue it. Xenophon, therefore, means, that he must have been more vicious even than the ass, if he could at such a time as this have been insolent toward any one.—ἐκ τίνος. "In consequence of what."—ἀλλ' ἀπήτονν, κ. τ. λ. "Well, then, did I reclaim something, or (did I strike you) while quarreling," &c. Supply ἐπαίον before μαχόμενος. Observe here the employment of ἀλλὰ in rapid interrogations, where all after the first ἀλλὰ may be rendered by "or," and compare Hartung, ii., 38, 43.—ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαρώνησα. "Or did I, being in liquor, act turbulently toward you?"

## § 5-7.

εἰ ὀπλιτεύοι. "Whether he served as a heavy-armed man."—ἐλαύνειν. Depending on ἐφη understood. The common text has ἤλανον, which is less elegant.—ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συσκήνων. "Having been appointed (so to do) by his comrades."—ὁ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀπάγων. "That carried away the sick man."—διέβριψας. "You threw away."—τοιαύτη τις ἐγένετο. "Was somewhat as follows."—διέδωκα ἄλλοις ἔχειν. "I distributed it among others to carry."—ἐπεὶ. "When."—καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον. "For it is even worth your while."

## § 8-11

κατελείπετο. "Was getting left behind."—τοσοῦτον. "So far (only)." Equivalent to τοσοῦτον μόνον.—ἐπεὶ προὔπεμψά σε. "After I had sent you forward." Observe that προὔπεμψα is, by Attic contraction, for προέπεμψα.—ὥς κατορύζοντα. "As about to inter."—συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος. "Drew up his leg." Literally, "bent together his leg."—ὅποσα γε βούλεται, κ. τ. λ. "As much as he pleases, since I, at least, shall not carry him." Compare the explanation of Muretus: "Vivat sane quantum vult; nam ego quidem eum hinc non aveham." For this brutal speech Xenophon struck him.—ἔδοξας γὰρ μοι, κ. τ. λ. "For you seemed to me to resemble a person who knew that he was alive," i. e., to have the air of one who knew.—ἤττόν τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγώ, κ. τ. λ. "Did he die any the less, after I showed him to you again," i. e., did all this care on your part save him eventually from dying, after I had brought him to you at the muster!—καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς. Certainly not), for we also."—τούτον ἐνεκα. "On this account."

## § 12, 13.

τούτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον πάντες, κ. τ. λ. "All cried out that he had struck this fellow (too) few (blows)." Supply πληγὰς after ὀλίγας.—ἀταξία. "Disorderly behavior."—δοῖς σώζεσθαι μὲν ἡρκεῖ δι' ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. λ. "As many as were content to be saved by us, we both marching

in rank, and fighting wherever it might be necessary." Literally, "unto as many as it sufficed to be saved," &c. Observe here the peculiar employment of the genitive absolute in *λόντων καὶ μαχομένων* (supply *ἡμῶν*), where we would expect the accusative, agreeing with *ἡμᾶς*. Examples of a similar construction are by no means uncommon in Greek, and, according to Thiersch, § 131, *Anm.*, 2, are employed either for purposes of perspicuity or emphasis. The latter appears to be the case in the present instance. Poppo has collected many instances of the kind from Thucydides, in his edition of that author. (vol. i., p. 119, *seqq.*) For analogous examples in Latin, which are also not unfrequent, consult Sanctius, *Minerv.*, vol. i., p. 234, *ed. Lips.*

## § 14-16.

*μαλακίζόμενον*. "Giving way to slothful feelings."—*προϊέμενον* *ἑαυτόν*. "Abandoning himself." Observe the middle voice strengthened by the addition of the reflexive pronoun. (Kühner, § 363, 2.)—*συχνὸν χρόνον*. "For some considerable time."—*κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς ὑβλῖς*, κ. τ. λ. "Found that I could hardly rise and stretch out my legs." Observe the construction of the participle with a verb of sense, in place of the infinitive. (Kühner, § 683.)—*ἐν ἑμαυτῷ οὖν πείραν λαβὼν*. "Having, then, obtained experience in my own case."—*βλακεύοντα*. "Indulging in sloth."—*ἀνδρίζεσθαι*. "Acting manfully."—*ὑγρότητα*. "Suppleness."—*ὑπουργὸν ὄν*. "Contributing."—*βαστώνην*. "Indolence."

## § 17-19.

*εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις*, κ. τ. λ. "But if they had got into the power of the enemy, what harm could they have endured of such magnitude, or which they could have claimed to obtain satisfaction?" i. e., having suffered even the greatest injuries, they would have been unable to obtain redress.—*ἀπλοῦς*. "Is a frank one," i. e., I attempt no disguise, and the case needs none.—*ἄξιῳ ὑπέχειν δίκην*, κ. τ. λ. "I claim to undergo punishment, such as parents render to sons," &c. Supply *ὑπέχουσι* or *δίδουσι*. The remark is ironical, of course.—*καὶ οἶνον πλείω πίνω*. "And drink more wine."—*ἐν εὐδίᾳ γὰρ ὄρω ὑμᾶς*. "For now I see you in a calm," i. e., enjoying calm weather, all tempests having passed away.

## § 20-22.

*καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρηται*. "And a towering sea rushes on." Literally, "and a great sea (i. e., a sea made great by blasts of wind may be bearing itself onward." Hutchinson compares with this the "magnum mare" of Lucretius, ii., 553.—*καὶ νεύματος μόνον ἔνεκα*. "Even for a mere nod," i. e., even for the merest slip, the slightest

deviation from orders.—*πρωρεὺς*. "The officer stationed forward." By *πρωρεὺς* is meant an officer who exercised command in the prow of a vessel. He seems to have been next in rank to the steersman, and to have had the care of the gear, and the superintendence of the rowers. (*Dict. Ant.*, p. 392.)—*κυβερνήτης*. "The steersman." He had an elevated seat on the stern. (*Dict. Ant.*, l. c.)—*ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ*, κ. τ. λ. "For, at such a juncture, even small things erred in are sufficient to ruin all."—*ἐχοντες ξίφη, οὐ ψήφους*, κ. τ. λ. Xenophon means that, as they stood by with arms in their hands, they would have punished him at once had they been convinced that he was in the wrong, and would not have waited to condemn him by their votes at some subsequent period.—*ἐξουσίαν ἐποιήσατε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν*. "You gave license to the bad among them." Observe that *αὐτῶν* is here equivalent to *τῶν ἀτακτούντων*, since *τὸν ἀτακτούντα*, which precedes, is to be taken collectively.—*ἐῷντες*. "By permitting," i. e., by not aiding me in punishing them.

## § 23, 24.

*διεμάχετο, ὥς κάμνων*, κ. τ. λ. "Struggled hard not to carry his shield, as being a sick man," i. e., alleging that he was sick.—*ἀποδέδυνκεν*. "He has stripped," i. e., he has shown life and activity enough in stripping them of their effects.—*τούτῳ τὰναντία ποιήσετε*, κ. τ. λ. "You will do to this one the contrary to that which they do to dogs." In place of the accusative, we have in *τούτῳ* the remoter object in the dative, but the accusative immediately after in *κύνας*. This joining of different constructions offends some of the commentators, and they adopt *τοῦτον* in the first clause, the conjectural emendation of Stephens. But compare iii., 2, 24, and iv., 2, 23; and consult also the remarks of Lobeck, *ad Soph.*, *Aj.*, 716 (p. 332, *ed.* 2), where many similar instances are given.—*διδέασι*. "They tie up." The common reading is *δεσμεύουσι*, which Porson altered to *διδέασι*, 3d plur. pres. indic. of *δίδημι*, an Epic collateral form of *δέω*, on the authority of one of the MSS., and being led to adopt it, also, by the language of Hesychius; *Διδέασι. δεσμεύουσι*. Observe that *διδέασι*, from *δίδημι*, follows the analogy of *τιθέασι*, from *τίθημι*. Porson, in his note on this reading, refers to the remark of Hemsterhuis (*ad Thom. Mag.*, p. 26) on Xenophon's occasional fondness for poetic and Doric forms; a remark which Carmichael (p. 74), by a singular oversight, ascribes to Porson himself.

## § 25.

*ἀλλὰ γάρ*. Compare iii., 2, 26.—*εἰ μὲν τινι ὑμῶν ἀπηχθόμην*. "If I became hateful to any one of you," i. e., did any thing to incur your



hatred. The aorist is here purposely employed to leave the time undefined, the reference being to any and every period during the march alluded to.—*χειμῶνα*. "Against a storm." The accusative after a verb of aiding. (Compare Kühner, § 568; Matthiae, § 415, n. 3.)—*συνεξεπόρισά τι*. "Aided in procuring any thing." The earlier editions had *συνεξεπόρησα*, which Wells, Hutchinson, Zeune, and Weiske, following Stephens, changed into *συνεξεπόρισα*. Porson, however, condemns this last as decidedly barbarous, and gives *συνεξεπόρισα* as the true reading, which Schneider, Poppo, Krüger, and Dindorf adopt. But consult, on the other side of the question, the remarks of Lobeck, *ad Phryn.*, p. 595, *seq.*—*ἀνεμίμνησκον*. "Recalled to each other's recollection (past events)." Observe here the force of the active, and compare the explanation of Schneider: "*Commemorabant beneficia Xenophontis*."—*καὶ περιέγνετο ὥς τε καλῶς ἔχειν*. "And every thing turned out right." Literally, "and it came round so as to have itself right." Various explanations have been given of this clause. We have adopted that of Brodæus, which Poppo considers the only true one: "*Et huc ad ultimum res evasit, ut pulchre se haberent omnia*."

## BOOK VI.

### CHAPTER I.

#### § 1.

*ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ, κ. τ. λ.* Schneider, adopting the suggestion of Muretus, calls the present chapter the *Ninth* of the *Fifth* Book, and the succeeding chapter the *Tenth* of the same; and he begins the *Sixth* Book with the one which we have made the *Third* chapter. His reason for so doing is, because the present chapter wants the usual recapitulation with which Xenophon, except in this instance, commences each book, whereas the third chapter, according to him, has it. But, in the first place, the recapitulation to which he alludes, as commencing the last-mentioned chapter, interrupts the narrative, and is omitted in four of the better class of MSS.; and, in the next, we find Athenæus (xi, p. 476, c.) actually quoting a part of § 4 of the present chapter, as belonging to the Sixth Book. We have retained, therefore, the common arrangement with the best editors. Either the usual recapitulation is lost for this book, or else Xenophon never wrote one.—*ἐκλώπενον*. "Intercepted by stealth," i. e., stole them away and sold them as slaves. The common text has *ἐκλόπενον*, for which we have given *ἐκλώπενον* or Porson's authority, from Suidas and two of the MSS.—*τοὺς πρόσθεν σκηνοῦντας*. "Those who lodged far off."

#### § 2-4.

*ἔχοντας ἵππους, κ. τ. λ.* These were intended as presents for the Greeks.—*ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ*. "At a hospitable table." Supply *τραπέζῃ*.—*δικαιοτάτους*. The common text has *ἐδόκει δικαιοτάτον*. Xenophon very probably wrote *ἐπιτηδειοτάτους*.—*τῶν αἰχμαλώτων*. "Of those that had been captured." Supply *βοῶν*. The common text has *θύσαντες δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων βοῶν*.—*κατακειμένοι ἐν σκίμποις*. "Reclining on couches."—*κερατίνων ποτηρίων*. "Horn cups," i. e., cups made out of the horns of animals.

#### § 5.

*ἐπεὶ δὲ σπονδαὶ τ' ἐγένοντο, κ. τ. λ.* "But when the libations had been performed, and they had sung a psalm." Among the Greeks, wine was not drunk until the first course was finished; but, as soon as the quests had washed their hands, unmixed wine was introduced

in a large goblet, of which each drank a little, after pouring out a small quantity as a libation. This libation was said to be made to the "good genius" (ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος), and was usually accompanied with the singing of the pæan and the playing of pipes. After this libation, mixed wine was brought in, and with their first cup the guests drank to Διὸς Σωτήρος. (Dict. Ant., p. 345. Compare Becker's *Charicles*, p. 251.)—πρὸς αὐλόν. "To a pipe." The term αὐλός is commonly, but incorrectly, rendered by our term "flute." The instrument in question was more like an oboe, as well from its having a mouthpiece, as from its fuller, deep tone.—πεπληγέναι τὸν ἄνδρα. "To have wounded the man." We must be careful not to render πεπληγέναι here in a passive sense, a usage prevailing only in the later language, and never with the Attic writers. Buttmann conjectures, therefore, πεπληχθαι, but without any necessity. (Irreg. Verbs, p. 215, ed. Fish.—Compare Porro, ad loc.)—τεχνικῶς πως. "In an artificial sort of way," i. e., displaying a sort of artistic skill, as acting a part.

## § 6-8.

ὁ μὲν. The victor.—ᾄδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν. "Singing the (song) Sitalcas." This appears to have been a Thracian song in praise of Sitalcas, a Thracian king, famed for his valor. It was, however, an early monarch of the name, and not the Sitalcas of whom Diodorus Siculus (xii., 50) makes mention, about Olym. 88, 1, or B.C. 428. Compare Herodotus, iv., 80, where an earlier Sitalcas is mentioned.—Αἰνιῶνες. Compare i., 2, 6.—Μάγνητες. "Magnetians." Natives of Magnesia, a territory of Thessaly, on the eastern coast, between the chain of Ossa and the sea.—τὴν καρπαίαν. "The dance called Carpaean." Supply ὀρχησιν. The Carpaean was a dance of the mimic class, and peculiar to the Thessalians, in which a husbandman (γεωργός) scuffles with a robber (ληστής), both parties being armed. It is described by Maximus Tyrius, Diss. xii., p. 128, ed. Davies, though less in detail than by Xenophon.—ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν. "Keeping time to the pipe."—ᾄσας τὸν ἄνδρα, κ. τ. λ. The same as ᾄσας τὸν ἄνδρα, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει.—τὸν ληστήν Supply νικᾷ.—παρὰ τοῦς βοῦς ζεύξας. "Having yoked him by the side of his oxen."

## § 9.

τοτὲ μὲν . . . . τοτὲ δέ . . . . τοτὲ δ'. "At one time . . . . at another, . . . . and then again."—ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων μιμούμενος. "Mimicking as if two were engaged against him."—ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα "He whirled around, and (then) threw summersets," i. e., threw him

self heels over head. Xenophon, in another part of his writings (*Conviv.*, iii., 11), speaks of tumbling performed over swords placed upright, and he says that the dancer εἰς ταῦτα ἐκυβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. The first of these movements (ἐκυβίστα), according to Weiske, consisted in the tumbler's throwing himself head foremost upon his hands, with his legs bent over his head, and his face toward the ground, as in the following wood-cut from the *Museo Borbonico* (vol. vii., tav. 58); and the other movement 'εξ-



εκυβίστα) consisted in the performer's throwing himself back again upon his feet, and resuming the upright posture. If this be so, Krüger's suggestion may be a correct one, that the words ἐκυβίστα τε καὶ may have been dropped from the present passage of the *Anabasis*.

## § 10, 11.

τὸ Περσικόν. "The Persian dance." Supply ὀρχημα. This appears to have been a dance, in the course of which the performer sank on his knee from time to time, and which must, therefore, have been somewhat like the Mazurka. Hence the name ὀκλασμα that was given to it commonly, from ὀκλάω, "to crouch down on bended knee." A description of it is given by Heliodorus, iv., 17. Compare Jul. Poll., iv., 100.—ὀκλάζε. "He sank on bended knee."—Μαντινεῖς. The Mantineans were the natives of Mantinea, a city of Arcadia, near the centre of the eastern frontier, at the foot of Mount Artemisius. It was in the battle fought in its vicinity that Epaminondas terminated his glorious career.—ἦσαν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ, κ. τ. λ. "And they moved along in measure, being accompanied by the music of the pipe for the war-tune," i. e., the accompanying music being the war-tune that is played when the armed dance is performed. Com-



pare, as regards the *ἐνόπλιος ῥυθμός*, the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Nub.*, 651), who describes it as *εἶδος ῥυθμοῦ πρὸς ὃν ὄρχοντο σείοντες τὰ δπλα*, while another scholiast informs us that it consisted of a spondee, a pyrrhic, a trochee, and an iambus. Compare Hermann, *Elem. Doctr. Metr.*, p. 351, *seq.*—*ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις*. "In the processions to the gods." By *πρόσδος* is here meant a solemn procession to a temple, accompanied by singing and music.—*δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο πάσας τὰς ὀρχήσεις, κ. τ. λ.* "Made a wonderful thing of it, that all the dances were in arms." Observe that, in such forms of expression as this, *ποιεῖσθαι* has a meaning bordering closely on *ηγείσθαι*, or *putare*. (Krüger, *ad loc.*)

## § 12, 13.

*πεπαμένον ὀρχηστρίδα*. "Who possessed a female dancer."—*σκενύσας*. "Having equipped her."—*πυρρίχην*. "A Pyrrhic dance." Supply *ὀρχησιν*. The Pyrrhic dance was performed to the sound of the pipe, and its time was very quick and light, as is shown by the name of the Pyrrhic foot (υ), which must be connected with this dance; and from the same source came also the Proceleusmatic (υυυ), or challenging foot. The Pyrrhic dance was performed in different ways at various times and in various countries, for it was by no means confined to Doric states. Plato describes it as representing, by rapid movements of the body, the way in which missiles and blows from weapons were avoided, and also the mode in which the enemy were attacked. (*Leg.*, vii., p. 815.) In the non-Doric states it was probably not practiced as a training for war, but only as a mimetic dance. Thus, in the present instance, it was danced by a female to entertain a company. (*Dict. Ant.*, p. 851.)—*συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς*. "Fought along with them," i. e., in their company.—*ὅτι αὐταὶ καὶ αἱ τρεψόμεναι, κ. τ. λ.* "That these were even they who had repulsed the king from the camp." Compare the remark of Krüger: "*Jocose exaggerat quæ, i., 10, 3, narrata sunt.*"

## § 15.

*Σινώπην*. Sinope was a city of Paphlagonia, on the eastern coast, and a little below its northern extremity. It was the most important commercial place on the shores of the Euxine, and was founded by a Milesian colony at a very early period, even prior to the rise of the Persian empire. Among its own colonies were Cotyora, Cerasus, and Trapezus. Captured by Pharnaces, it became a royal seat of the Pontic kings, and Mithradates the Great was born and educated here. It was brought under Roman dominion by Lucullus

and became a Roman colony. The modern name is *Sinub.* (*Ainsworth*, p. 211, *seq.*—*Hamilton*, i., p. 307.)—*Ἀρμήνην τῆς Σινώπης*. "Harmene, (a port) of Sinope." Harmene or Armene was a small town and port of the Sinopians, according to Strabo fifty stadia (over five miles) from Sinope, but according to Arrian, forty stadia (over four miles). Marcianus agrees with Strabo. (*Strab.*, xii., p. 545; *Arrian, Peripl.*, p. 127; *Marcian.*, p. 72.) It was a place of so little note or traffic, that it gave rise to the proverb *Ὅς ἔργον οὐκ εἶχε Ἀρμένην ἐτείχισεν*. The modern *Ak-Liman* corresponds to the ancient site. (*Mannert*, vi., 3, p. 16.)—*Παφλαγονικῇ*. Supply *χώρα*.—*μεδίμνους*. The medimnus, or usual Attic corn-measure, contained very nearly twelve gallons English.—*κεράμια*. The *κεράμιον* contained about five gallons, seven pints, liquid measure.

## § 16–20.

*προσεδόκων*. "Expected."—*Ἀναξίβιος*. Compare v., 1, 4.—*μισθοφορίαν*. "Pay."—*ὡς ἐδόκουν*. "As they seemed."—*εἰσῆει αὐτούς*. "It occurred to them."—*ἡ πολυαρχίας οὐσης*. "Than if a command vested in many existed."—*χρησθαι τῷ στρατεύματι*. "To use the army to some purpose."—*ἥτιον ἂν ὑστερίξειν*. "There would be less coming late," i. e., less delay.—*ἐκ τῆς νικώσης*. "In accordance with the opinion that prevailed," i. e., the opinion which had the greater number of votes in its favor.—*ἐτράποντο*. "They turned their eyes." Literally, "they turned themselves."—*οὕτω γινώσκει*. "Is of this opinion."—*ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν*. "Endeavored to persuade him to undertake the command."—*πῇ μὲν*. "On the one hand." This, instead of being followed by *πῇ δέ*, has *ὁπότε δέ* corresponding to it in § 21.—*πρὸς τοὺς φίλους*. "Before his friends."—*τυχόν*. "Perhaps." Commonly regarded as an adverb, but strictly the accus. neut. of 2d. aor. part. act. of *τυγχάνω*, used absolutely like *ἐξόν*, *παρόν*, &c.

## § 21–23.

*αὐτοκράτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα*. "To become commander in chief."—*ὅπη τὸ μέλλον ἐξει*. "How the future will hold."—*τὴν προεργασμένην δόξαν*. "His fore-earned reputation," i. e., that which he had acquired in the previous part of the expedition.—*διαπορουμένῳ διακρίναι*. "Being at a loss how to decide."—*παραστησάμενος*. "Having placed by the altar."—*ἐθύετο*. "He sacrificed." The middle voice is here employed, because an inspection of entrails was connected with this sacrifice.—*ὅς περ αὐτῷ μαντεὺς ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν*. "Who had been recommended to him by the oracle at Delphi." Compare iii., 1, 6. The more regular form of expression would have been *ὥπερ* (*θύειν*)

αὐτῷ μαντευτὸν ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν.—τὸ δναρ. Compare iii., 1, 11.—δτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ, κ. τ. λ. "When he began to set himself to take charge, with others, of the army."—συσταθῆσόμενος. "In order to meet." Compare iii., 1, 8.—ἐαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον. "Crying on his right." Omens on the right were lucky. In the present instance, however, the lucky character of the omen was qualified by the eagle's being in a sitting posture.—ὥς περ. Hutchinson conjectures ὅν περ. The anacoluthon, however, ought not to be interfered with. The writer begins the sentence as if he were going to subjoin μέγαν μὲν αἰὼνόν, κ. τ. λ., but, as this would be somewhat harsh, he adapts what follows, not to ὥς περ, but to the nearer ἐλεγεν. (Krüg., ad loc.)

οὐκ ἰδιωτικός. "Not appertaining to the fortunes of a private individual." Compare Krüger: "Non privati hominis fortunam portendens." This the priest inferred from its being the bird of Jove.—ἐπίπονος. "Toilsome," i. e., portending toil.—μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. "Mostly set upon," i. e., are most accustomed to attack.—χρηματιστικόν. "Indicative of wealth," i. e., portending gain.—τὸν γὰρ ἑστὸν πετόμενον, κ. τ. λ. "For that the eagle, flying about, rather obtained its sustenance (merely)."

## § 24, 25.

Οὕτω δῆ. Observe that the particle δῆ here resumes the narrative interrupted at § 23.—προσδεῖσθαι. "To desire."—οὕτως ἐγένετο. "Thus fell out."—αἰρεῖσθαι. "Should be chosen."—προεδάλλοντο. "They proposed."—ἐπιψηφίζοι. "Should put it to the vote."

## § 26-28.

καὶ χάριν ἔχω. "And bear gratitude," i. e., and thank you.—αἴτιον. "The author."—τὸ μέντοι ἐμὲ προκριθῆναι. "My being preferred, however."—ἀλλ' ἦττον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ. "But (it rather seems) that you will, on this account, the less obtain it," &c.—οὐ πάντι ἀσφαλές. "Not at all safe." Literally, "not in any respect very safe." In such formulas τί is to be connected with the negative.—οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες, κ. τ. λ. Alluding to the Peloponnesian war, and its disastrous termination for Athens.—ἡγεμόνας εἶναι. The condition of peace, imposed at the end of the Peloponnesian war, is thus expressed by Xenophon (Hist. Gr., ii., 2, 20); ('Αθηναίους) τὸν αὐτὸν (Λακεδαιμονίους) ἔχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἤγῳνται.—οὐκέτι πέρα. "No longer beyond this." The employment of πέρα to indicate time, is comparatively rare.—δοκοῖν δπον δυνάμην, κ. τ. λ. "Should seem, where I might be able, there to make their dignity null, I am apprehensive of this, lest I should quickly be sobered." Porson

thinks that δν ought to be thrown out of the text here, as having arisen from a repetition of the final syllable of λίαν, it being unusual ὅρ δν to be construed with μή and the optative. But consult Bornemann, ad loc.

## § 29-31.

στασιάζοντα. "Exciting faction."—τινα. He appears, as Krüger remarks, to mean Cheirisophus, whom, in order not to offend him, he speaks of, not as στασιάζοντα, but ἀχθόμενον.—αὐτόν. Meaning Xenophon.—εἰ οὕτως ἔχει. "If the matter stands thus," i. e., for the case to be thus.—ὥς ὀργιοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κ. τ. λ. "Since (thus) the Lacedæmonians will be in a rage, even if persons having met to sup together do not choose a Lacedæmonian as president of the banquet," i. e., as toast-master.—λοχαγεῖν. "To lead companies," i. e., to be λοχαγοί.—πλείονος ἐνδέον. "That there was need of more speaking," i. e., of other arguments besides those which he had employed.—θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας. "By all the gods and goddesses." Compare Kühner, § 566, 2.—ὥς τε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν γινῶναι. "That even a private individual might know it," i. e., a person who was not a priest or professional soothsayer.—τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαι. "To hold off from this single rule," i. e., to refrain from this office of sole commander.

## § 32, 33.

ὥς καὶ νῦν Δέξιππος, κ. τ. λ. "Since Dexippus has even just now been accusing him to Anaxibius, as much as he could, and that, too, although I tried hard to make him be silent." Compare, as regards Dexippus, v., 1, 15.—ὁ δ' ἔφη. The reference is to Dexippus.—αὐτόν. Referring to Xenophon.—καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι. "I also will try."—ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ. "If there be a sailing," i. e., if there be sailing weather.—ἐκεῖσε κατασεῖν. "To arrive at that place."

## CHAPTER II.

## § 1.

τὴν Ἰασονίαν ἀκτὴν. "The Jasonian shore." Larcher conjectures ἀκράν, and thinks the Jasonian promontory is meant, not far from Cotyora, remarking, at the same time, on the geographical error committed by the writer. That there is an error here, and a gross one too, appears very plainly a little after, where mention is made of the mouths of the Thermodon, Iris, Halys, and Parthenius, as passed by the Greeks in sailing along the coast from Sinope to Her-



aclea, when, in truth, all these rivers except the last empty into the Euxine to the east of Sinope, and could not have been seen on this coasting voyage at all. Buttmann and Halbkart, it is true, attempt to defend Xenophon from the charge of error here, but on very weak grounds; and the only way to save the credit of the historian seems to be by supposing that there is an interpolation here of notes made on the sea-voyage from Cerasus to Sinope. The interpolation may be supposed to commence with παραπλέοντες, and to extend to τοῦτον δέ inclusive, and we have so marked it in our text. (Compare Bornemann, and Schneider, *ad loc.*; Halbkart, p. 243, note; and Ainsworth, p. 213.)—Ἡράκλειαν. "Heracleia." This is the celebrated Heraclea Pontica, on the coast of Bithynia. It was famed for its naval power, and its consequence among the Greek cities of Asia. The modern name is Ereklî, but the present town occupies only the southwest corner of the space covered by the ancient city. (Ainsworth, p. 214.)

## § 2, 3.

παρὰ τῇ Ἀχερουσιᾷ Χερρόνησῳ. "Near the Acherusian Peninsula." On this peninsula was the famous Acherusian Cave, through which Hercules was fabled to have descended to the lower world.—ἐνθα "Where," i. e., through a cavern which.—ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον κύνη "In quest of the dog Cerberus." The twelfth and last task imposed by Eurystheus on Hercules was to bring Cerberus from the lower world. The hero, after seizing him, brought him through Træzene to Eurystheus, and when he had shown the monster, took him back to the lower world.—ἢ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνῦσι, κ. τ. λ. "Where they now show the marks of his descent in depth more than for two stadia," i. e., they showed a deep cave in this quarter. (Compare Diod. Sic., xiv., c. 31.)—Λύκος. This river derived its name of Λύκος, or "Wolf," from its sudden inundations and overpowering floods. At present it is denominated the Kilij-su, or Sword River, an epithet expressive of the same peculiarity. Lion errs in making the Lycus the same with the Kulay Hissar, or Kouli Hissar Su, for this latter is a tributary of the Iris, and flows, therefore, between Cotyora and Amisus, so that it corresponds rather to the Lycus of Pontus. (Compare Kinneir, p. 310.)

## § 4, 5.

θαυμάζω τῶν στρατηγῶν. "I wonder at the generals." Verbs of wondering take a genitive of the cause whence the feeling arises, and the construction here is two-fold: when the quality or action which excites the feeling is distinctly stated, it is in the genitive,

and the person who is the patient or object of the feeling, is in the accusative; αἶ, ζηλῶ σε τῆς εὐτυχίας: but where the quality is not stated, but is only implied, and represented as being joined to or residing in the person, so that a consideration of the person himself exercising the quality excites the feeling, the person is put in the genitive, and the patient or object of the feeling is supplied from the genitive by the mind, or else is expressed, as in the present instance, by an explanatory sentence. (Kühner, § 495.)—σιτηρέσιον. "Money for provisions." The payment of troops among the Greeks was made under two different names; one being the wages (μισθός) paid for actual service, which the soldiers, when the cost of their arms and clothes had been deducted, were able to lay by; and, secondly, the allowance for provisions (σιτηρέσιον, σιτάρκεια, σίτος), they being seldom furnished in kind. (Böckh, *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, vol. i., p. 363.)—οὐ μὴ γένηται, κ. τ. λ. "Will not prove three days' food for the army." The particles οὐ μὴ, when joined with the subjunctive, have the force of the future. (Kühner, § 748, 1. Compare ii., 2, 12.)—ὁπόθεν δ' ἐπισιτισάμενοι, κ. τ. λ. "And there is no (place), added he, on having supplied ourselves with provisions from which, we shall proceed on our journey." Compare note on ὅθεν ἐπισιτισόμεθα, ii., 4, 5.—Κυζικηνούς. Compare v., 6, 23.—ἄλλος δ' εἶπε. Supply αἰτεῖν. So that εἶπεν αἰτεῖν is the same, in fact, as ἐκέλευσεν αἰτεῖν.—αὐτίκα μάλα. "On the very spot." More literally, "quite directly."—καθήμενων. Usually applied to assemblies in session, since in these they commonly were seated. Compare iii., 1, 33; vii., i., 33.

## § 6-8.

προϋβάλλοντο. "They proposed."—ἀπεμάχοντο. "Fought off."—ἀναγκάζειν. Schneider supplies διδόναι, but τοῦτο is better, i. e., ἀναγκάζειν (τοῦτο) . . . ὅ τι μὴ αὐτοί, κ. τ. λ.—ἐπαπειλεῖν. "Threatened (them) besides."—τὰ χρήματα. "Their effects."—καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἰσὼ ἀνεσκεύασαν. "And packed up (and carried) within the articles composing the market," i. e., the provisions, &c. Observe that the idea of motion implied in εἰσὼ gives ἀνεσκεύασαν the additional meaning of carrying away.

## § 9, 10.

οἱ ταραξάντες ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ. "They who had stirred up these troubles accused the generals of spoiling the affair."—συνίσταντο. "Clubbed together."—προειστήκει μάλιστα αὐτῶν. "Stood most at their head," i. e., exercised the principal influence over them.—Ἀθηναῖον. Xenophon is meant, whom they charged, not by name indeed, but in reality, with secretly exercising the chief authority.—καὶ ταῖτα, τῇ

οωτηρίεν, κ. τ. λ. "And that, too, when they themselves had worked out the common safety."—τοὺς κατειργασμένους. "That the men who had accomplished this."

## § 11, 12.

συστάντες. "Having united."—καθ' ἑαυτούς. "By themselves."—ἐκ τῆς νικώσης, κ. τ. λ. "Should do whatever might be decided by the casting vote."

## § 13, 14.

οὕτως ἀσφαλεστέραν εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "That it was a safer one thus, than that each should go his separate way." Observe the force of the middle in στέλλεσθαι, "to send one's self," i. e., "to go."—ἐπειθεν αὐτόν. "Tried to persuade him." It is rather singular that Xenophon should have listened for a moment to the suggestions of one whom he had known to be hostile to him. Perhaps, however, Neon explained to him that if each of the commanders went off separately, there would be a better chance to each of procuring provisions.—Κάλπησ λιμένα. Compare vi., 4, 3.—αὐτοί. Neon and Cheirisophus.—συνεβούλευε. "He advised him."—τοῖς γεγενημένοις. The breaking up of his command.—αὐτῷ. Referring to Xenophon, as Hutchinson, Zeune, Halbkart, and Bornemann correctly maintain, and not to the army, as Schneider thinks. Consult Halbkart, p. 245, note.

## § 15.

ἔτι μὲν. "For some time." Equivalent to τέως μὲν. Compare Plato, *Protag.*, 310, c. : ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησα εὐθὺς πρὸς σὲ λέγειν· ἐπειτά μοι λίαν πόρρω ἔδοξε τῶν νυκτῶν εἶναι.—ἀπαλλαγείς τῆς στρατιᾶς. "Having parted from the army."—τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ. "To Hercules, the leader."—κοινοῦμένῳ. "Communicating (with him)," i. e., consulting him.—λῶρον καὶ ἁμεινον. "More desirable and better." Compare i., 7, 3.—τοὺς παραμείναντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν. "Those of the soldiers that still remained with him." These are mentioned again at the close of the next section.—γίγνεται τριχῇ. "Is formed into three parts." Observe here the employment of an adverb in the predicate, which we have to render as if an adjective, and compare *Matthia*, § 309.—Βιθυνοῖς. The Bithyni were of Thracian origin, and, according to their own account, came from the banks of the Strymon, having been driven from their country by the Teucri and Mysi. Hence Xenophon calls the country occupied by this people by the name of Thrace, making this Thrace commence after Heraclea. (Compare chapter iv., 1.) At a later period, the whole

country was called Bithynia as far as the Parthenius, including the Mariandyni, who were also a part of the great Thracian stock. (*Cramer, Asia Minor*, vol. i., p. 200.)

κατὰ μέσον πῶς τῆς Θράκης. "Somewhere about the middle of Thrace." Asiatic Thrace is meant, which is said, in chapter iv., § 1, to have extended from Byzantium to Heraclea. (Compare previous note.)—διὰ τῆς χώρας. "Through their territory," i. e., that of the Heracleans, which appears to have reached some distance from Heraclea, before Asiatic Thrace commenced, although not, as Rennell thinks, to the River Sangarius. (p. 264, note.)—ἀποβαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια, κ. τ. λ. This would also seem to confirm the remark just made, that Asiatic Thrace did not extend quite up to Heraclea.

## CHAPTER III.

## § 1-3.

ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον, κ. τ. λ. The whole of this section is a mere interpolation, and is wanting in four MSS. It forms, moreover, an awkward interruption of the narrative, and appears to have proceeded from some grammarian, who, finding in his MS. no regular commencement for the present Book, prefixed a short summary, by the aid of chapter ii., § 12, and made this the beginning of a new Book. (Compare note on chap. i., § 1.)—Ἀρκάδες. Compare chap. ii., § 12 and 17.—ἐκαστος στρατηγός. Ten new commanders had been chosen by this division of the army. (Chap. ii., § 12.)—σύνδυο λόχους. "Two companies together."—ἦγον. Supply εἰς ταύτην.—συνεβάλοντο δὲ καὶ λόφον. "They agreed also upon a hill."—περιεβάλοντο. "Encompassed."

## § 4-5.

διαφεύγοντες. This is the reading of all the MSS. Weiske conjectures διαφύγοντες, which Krüger adopts; but the common reading is well explained by Poppo: "*fuga elapsi et adhuc fugientes*."—διέφενγον. The reading of four MSS. Dindorf, Bornemann, and Krüger, following Weiske and Schneider, give διέφονγον, which is decidedly inferior, and rejected by Poppo.—ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν χειρῶν. "Out of their very hands," i. e., when almost taken by them.—εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον. "To the spot agreed upon." Supply χωρίον.—τέως μὲν. "For a while." Compare note on ἔτι μὲν, chap. ii., § 15, and also iv., 2, 12.—τρεπονται αὐτούς. "They (the Thracians) put them to the rout."—ἀποκτινύσας. 3 plur. pres. ind. act. of ἀποκτείνωμι, a sister form in Attic prose (for the present and imperfect)



of ἀποκτείνω. (Buttmann, *Irreg. Verbs*, p. 159, ed. Fishl.) The original ending of the 3 plur., in verbs in μι, was -ντι, which is found only in Doric. This -ντι was weakened to -νσι, and the ν then changed to σ, which commonly coalesced with the preceding radical vowel: thus, ἀποκτινύσσι, commonly ἀποκτινύσι. (Kühner, § 268.)

§ 6-9.

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ λοχαγοί. Observe here the force of καὶ, implying that Hegesander was not the only one that escaped, but that the other captains also came together.—πράγμασιν. "Effects," i. e., plunder.—ἐπεὶ εὐτύχησαν τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύχημα. "Since they had luckily met with this piece of good fortune."—ἐβρώμενος. "Strongly," i. e., in great strength.—συνέβρεον. "Kept flocking together."—οἱ δὲ προσθέοντες. Referring to the Thracians.—ὁπότε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπλοῖεν. "And whenever they (the Greeks) advanced against them."—τῶν μὲν . . . . τῶν δέ. The first refers to the Greeks, the second to the Thracians.—τελευτῶντες. Compare vi., 1, 8.—ἀπορία πολλή. "Much distress."—τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολόγητο αὐτοῖς. "The other terms had been agreed upon by them."—ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἴσχετο. "But here there was a stoppage." Literally, "but in this it (i. e., the affair) held itself in, checked itself." Observe the force of the middle.

§ 10-12.

Ξενοφῶντι δὲ πορευομένῳ. "But while Xenophon was proceeding." The dative absolute, the subject of the participle being considered as that in reference to which the action of the verb takes place. (Matthiae, § 562, 2; Kühner, § 699.)—πορευομένοις ποι. "Going some whither," i. e., going on some journey.—εἰ πού τις ἴσθηνται, κ. τ. λ. "If they have any where heard of another army, being Grecian." Sintenis (*ad Plut., Vit. Pericl.*, p. 261) connects ὅντος here with πού, but the distance of the latter from the former opposes this.—καὶ νῦν ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται. Observe that νῦν is merely placed here before ὅτι for the sake of euphony, and belongs, in fact, to πολιορκοῦνται.—εἰ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολοῦνται. Schneider reads εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι from one of the MSS., but this is very properly condemned by Bornemann and others.

§ 13-15.

λειφθέντες. Two MSS. give ληφθέντες. But these forms are often confounded.—κινδυνεύωμεν. The common text has κινδυνεύσωμεν, but the present is preferable as denoting an action about to continue.—νῦν μὲν οὖν. He begins here as if about to add some such

expression as this, αὐρίον δὲ ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, and then omits this by a kind of negligence not unusual in this narrative. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)—ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "As far as may seem to be a suitable time for supping," i. e., after we shall have earned our suppers by a good march. Compare Halbkart: "wenn wir uns das Abendbrodt durch einen tüchtigen Tagesmarsch werden verdient haben."—ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς. "Keeping us in view," i. e., not losing sight of us.—παρέπεμψε δέ, κ. τ. λ. A singular interruption of the speech by means of a narrative.—εἰς τὰ πλάγια. "To the sides," i. e., to explore the country on either flank.—καλεῖν ἅπαντα, κ. τ. λ. "To burn all things, with whatever combustible matter they might meet." This was done for the purpose of striking terror into the foe. Compare § 19. (Krüg., *ad loc.*)

§ 16-17.

αποδρατήμεν ἂν. "Could escape." Compare note on ὅτι οὐτε ἀποδεδράκασιν, i., 4, 8.—πολλή. "It is a long way." Supply ὁδός ἐστι.—Χρυσόπολιν. Chrysopolis was a town and harbor opposite Byzantium, on the Asiatic shore. From its position with regard to Byzantium and Constantinople, of which it may be considered as the Asiatic suburb, it has always been a place of importance. The modern name is Uskudar, or, as the Europeans call it, Scutari. (Ainsworth, p. 222.) Compare chap. vi., § 38.—ἐκεῖ μὲν. Referring to Calpe. We must supply in mind after ἀποπλευσούμεθα some such idea as the following: "while unto Heraclea, where ships are to be found, we can not return on account of the distance." (Krüg., *ad loc.*)—μένονσι. Supply ἡμῖν.—τῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων, κ. τ. λ. As there were no ships at Calpe, and it would be necessary for them to prosecute their route by land, that route would be a much safer one if they relieved the Arcadians from their present besieged state, and the whole Grecian force became united again, than if Xenophon's troops left the Arcadians to their fate, and merely united their own force with that of Cherisophus.—πάντας εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθόντας, κ. τ. λ. "That all, having come to the same spot, busy themselves in common about our preservation." More literally, "take hold, in common, of our preservation." Observe the idea of part lurking in σωτηρίας, and compare Matthiae, § 330.—παρασκευασάμενους τὴν γνώμην. "Having made up our mind."

§ 18.

ἄγει οὕτως. "Is leading the affair thus," i. e., is guiding matters to so happy a termination.—ὅς τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας, κ. τ. λ. "Who

wishes to humble those that spoke haughtily, as if being superior to us in wisdom." The allusion is to the Arcadians and Achæans, who had haughtily boasted of their own superiority to the rest of the army, and had in consequence seceded from them. (v., 10, 10, seq.) These were now to be humbled by being made to owe their deliverance to the very persons whom they had contemned. (Consult Dindorf, *ad loc.*)—τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχομένους. "Who begin every thing with the gods," i. e., who do nothing without first consulting them.

## § 19-23.

διασπειρόμενοι ἐφ' ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν. "Spreading themselves over as much space as was fitting."—ἐπιπαριόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. "Moving along abreast of them on the heights."—παραλειπομένῳ. "Left (unburned)." Supply here, in mind, "burned this also," ἔκαιον καὶ τοῦτο.—ἐπὶ λόφον ἐκβάντες. "Having gone out (of the plain) upon a hill."—παρηγγέλθη. "An order was passed."—τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. The old men that had been taken. Compare § 10.—ἐλάνθανον αὐτοὺς, κ. τ. λ. "Got, without knowing it, upon the hill where the Greeks were besieged." Literally, "escaped their own observation in having got," &c. Observe that ἐπολιορκοῦντο is not, as Krüger makes it, the imperfect in a pluperfect sense, but the regular imperfect itself, the reference being to an action which was still supposed to be going on.—γραιδία δὲ καὶ γερόντια. "But some little old women and men."—εὐθὺς ἂψ ἑσπέρας. "Immediately at nightfall." Literally, "immediately from (or after) evening." Observe that ἀπὸ here denotes departure from a point of time, i. e., after.—δπον δέ. Supply οἴχεσθαι.

## § 24-26.

συνμῖξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις, κ. τ. λ. "To come to the harbor of Calpe and join the rest." Observe the employment of εἰς in place of a verb of motion.—κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάλπης ὁδόν. "Along the road to Calpe."—εἰς τὸ αὐτό. "Unto the same spot," i. e., together.—ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ἑωρῶμεν. "When we no longer saw."—ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν. "And the time was out," i. e., the time during which you ought, as we imagined, to have come.

## CHAPTER IV.

## § 1, 2.

ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. The reference is to what was termed Asiatic Thrace, and of which we have already made mention in the notes on § 15 of chapter ii.—ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι.

"On the right to a person sailing into the Euxine," i. e., on your right as you sail in.—καὶ τριήρει μὲν ἐστίν, κ. τ. λ. "And for a galley with oars it is to Heraclea, from Byzantium, a very long day's passage." The reference is, of course, to a passage in calm weather, when no sails are employed, the equable motion of the oars being best calculated to give an idea of the distance.—Θράκες Βιθυννοί. Consult note on Βιθυνοίς, chap. ii., § 15.—ἐκπίπτοντας. "Cast ashore." Compare Krüger: "durch Schiffbruch aus Land geworfen."—δεινὰ ὑβρίζειν. "To insult them dreadfully."

## § 3, 4.

ἐν μέσῳ μὲν κεῖται, κ. τ. λ. "Lies midway in respect of persons sailing from each place," i. e., when persons sail, &c. This seems a neater construction than to make, as some do, πλεόντων a genitive absolute.—ἐστὶ δ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, κ. τ. λ. "And there is in the sea (there) a piece of land jutting forward, that part of it which reaches down into the sea, being a craggy rock," &c. This promontory is now, according to Ainsworth, called *Kirpé*, or *Kefken Adasi*.—ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν, ὁ εἰς τὴν γῆν, κ. τ. λ. "But the neck, that (part) of the place which reaches up to the land."—Λιμὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ, κ. τ. λ. "The port is under the very rock, having its beach toward the west." According to Ainsworth (p. 218), there are at the present day two bays and two promontories in this quarter. The first bay is called *Kirpé Liman*, and between it and the second is a promontory, which, being sometimes mistaken by sailors for the real *Kirpé*, or *Kefken Adasi*, is called *Ialandji Kefken*, or the lying or deceitful *Kefken*.—ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ. "Close to the sea." Literally, "upon or at the sea itself."—ξύλα δὲ πολλά, κ. τ. λ. According to Ainsworth, this is so much the case now, that the country around is designated by the Turks as the *Aghaj Denizi*, or "sea of trees."

## § 5-7.

τὸ δὲ ὄρος, κ. τ. λ. Ainsworth gives the modern name of this mountain as *Kefken Tagh*.—γεῶδες καὶ ἄλιθον. "Earthy and clear of stones."—τὸ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν. "But that (part which extends) along the sea." The neater and more regular form of expression in Greek would have been, παρὰ θάλατταν δὲ (παρήκει) πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ εἰκοσι σταδίων.—σῦκα ἀρκούντα. "Figs in sufficiency."—ἐσκήνον δ' ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ. Supply οἱ Ἕλληνες. Luzerne, on the supposition that the Greeks were still without tents, makes this refer to a going into barracks.—εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἀν' γενόμενον, κ. τ. λ. "Into the little city, however, that might have been, they were unwilling to (march, and



there) *encamp*." Compare the explanation of Zeune and Weiske, of which Bornemann and others approve: "*In loco, qui facile futurum fuisset oppidum, sive, in loco urbi condendæ apto.*" Xenophon's narrative of transactions during the period of the army's stay at Calpe, as Thirlwall remarks, very mysterious. "It is clear, from his description of Calpe, that he thought the situation admirably adapted for a colony. It was generally believed in the army that he wished to found one there; and the men were unwilling, on this account, to encamp in a strong position which might have served as the citadel of a new town; and when at last they were compelled to do so, through fear of the Bithynians and Pharnabazus, this encampment was universally regarded as the beginning of a settlement." (Thirlwall, iv., p. 352.) Xenophon, however, does not inform us how far this opinion was well grounded, but only seems anxious to guard himself from the suspicion of collusion with the soothsayers; a suspicion which it is, nevertheless, very difficult to suppress, when we find the sacrifices by which the movements of the army were regulated, uniformly tending toward the object which he was supposed to have had in view.—(Thirlwall, l. c.)

## § 8, 9.

ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει βίου ἐκπεπλευκότες, κ. τ. λ. "Had sailed from home upon this service, not through any scantiness of subsistence."—καὶ ἀνδρας ἄγοντες. Observe the force of καὶ here: not only coming themselves, but even bringing men with them.—προσανηλωκότες χρήματα. "Having besides expended money (in the cause)."—ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, κ. τ. λ. "Hearing that the others also who were with Cyrus were faring well, and on an extensive scale," i. e., were making large fortunes. Compare Poppo, *Ind. Græc.*, s. v.: "*Multa bona sibi acquirere.*"—ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστέρα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, κ. τ. λ. "But when the day after their meeting together came," i. e., the morrow of their meeting. Observe that ὑστέρα governs the genitive συνόδου from the idea of comparison implied in it.—ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ. "For an expedition."—τοὺς νεκρούς. The dead bodies of those who had fallen in battle with the Bithynians.—ἤδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταίοι. "For they were already five days gone." More literally, "for they were already five-day ones," i. e., five-day corpses. They had been lying five days unburied: the first day was that on which they had been slain (chap. i., § 5); the second, that during which the Arcadians were besieged by the Thracians (§ 6, seqq.); the third, that during which Xenophon was hastening to their assistance (§ 10, seqq.), the fourth, that on which he came up with the Arcadians at Calpe

(§ 21–26); the fifth, that on which he set out to inter the dead bodies of the slain.—ἐθαψαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, κ. τ. λ. "They buried very becomingly, as far as they were able out of their existing means," i. e., as becomingly as their existing means would allow.—κενοτάφιον. A cenotaph was an empty or honorary tomb, erected as a memorial of a person, whose body was either buried elsewhere, or not found for burial at all.—στεφάνους. The material is not stated. In Greece, sepulchral garlands were commonly made of parsley.

## § 10, 11.

συνῆγε. "Brought them together."—μνησθῆ δέχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν. "Shall (even) mention the dividing of the army," i. e., the breaking up of the army again into different divisions.—καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι, κ. τ. λ. "And that the army should return to the same order in which it was before," i. e., that the soldiers should return to the different companies in which they were serving before the secession of the Arcadians and Achæans took place, and thus Xenophon, for example, get his own soldiers again. (Compare v., 10, 12.)—ὑπερ πρόσθεν εἶχε. The full expression would be, ὑπερ χώρα πρόσθεν εἶχε ἐαυτόν.—φάρμακον πίων, πυρέττων. "Having taken physic, being in a fever." He died from the effects of a medicine which he had taken for a fever.—τὰ ἐκείνου παρέλαβε. "Received his command." Literally, "the things of that (commander)."

## § 12, 13.

ὁῖον δι. Krüger, quite unnecessarily, regards this as interpolated, and a mere explanation of ὡς εἰκοι.—ἀνάγκη δὲ πορεύεσθαι ἤδη. "And there is a necessity for our setting out forthwith."—ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν. "We (the generals) then." Compare § 13.—εἰ ποτε καὶ ἔλλοτε. "If you ever even at any other time (did so)," i. e., so prepared yourselves. Supply οὕτως ἐποιήσατε.—ἀνατεθαβήκασιν. "Have regained their courage."—ὁ δὲ Σιλανός. The article here prefixed to the proper name, marks the individual as already well known. (Consult Krüger, *de Authent.*, p. 61, note.)—οὐκ ἐγένετο τὰ ἱερὰ. Consult note on ii., 2, 3.

## § 14–16.

πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν, κ. τ. λ. Compare note on εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γενόμενον, κ. τ. λ., § 7.—τῇ αὐριον παρῆναι. "Should be present on the morrow." Supply ἡμέρα.—ὡς συνθεασόμενον. "To inspect along with him."—εἰς τρίς. "For three times." Literally, "up to thrice." (Kühner, § 625.) Compare Appian, *Mithr.*, 78, εἰς δὲς.—

καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλειπεν, κ. τ. λ. "And (no wonder), for the provisions had failed which they had when they came."

## § 17-19.

ἐκ τούτου συνελθόντων. "They having assembled in consequence." Supply αὐτῶν.—εἰκότως ἄρα. "With good reason, forsooth."—καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ. The editions have all ὡς γὰρ ἐγώ, which the commentators in vain endeavor to explain satisfactorily, and for which we have adopted Schaefer's emendation. (Melet. Crit., p. 73, note.) Some editors have recourse to the usual remedy of a blending of constructions (Krüg. et Born., ad loc.); others write ὡς (i. e., οὕτως), as, for example, Zeune; while Matthiae seeks to explain the passage by giving ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἤκουσα a kind of parenthetical force, and making ὅτι depend on this parenthesis, and be connected with ἤκουσα, the verb of the parenthesis. (Matthiae, § 539, 2. Compare Hermann, ad Vig., p. 744, note 156.)—ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἤκουτος πλοίου. "A vessel having of itself come (hither) yesterday." The allusion is to an accidental arrival.—οὐκ ἔφη. Compare i., 3, 1.—μὴ γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν. "If the victims were not propitious." Observe the force of μὴ. If we substitute οὐ, the meaning will be, "since the victims were not propitious." Compare Hermann, ad Vig., p. 802.

## § 20-22.

σχεδόν τι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιά. "Nearly in some sort the whole army." Observe here what is termed the limiting power of τι, making the meaning of σχεδόν less precise and determinate. (Buttmann, p. 434.)—ἐκυκλοῦντο. "Were formed in a circle."—ἐξῆγον μὲν οὐ, κ. τ. λ. "Led them out not, but called them together."—καταλιπόντες τὰ σκεύη, κ. τ. λ. This suggestion would seem to confirm Bishop Thirlwall's view of the whole matter. (Consult notes on § 7.)—ἴσως ἂν προχωροίη. "Might perhaps prove propitious."—βοῦς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμάξης. Schneider, on the strength of a passage in Arrian (Peripl. Pont., p. 3, ed. Huds.), reads βοῦν in the singular, and makes the words ἐν τούτῳ refer to this animal. Arrian, however, evidently refers to § 25, and not to the present one, where all the MSS. have the plural form as the best editions give it.—Κλεάνωρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος, κ. τ. λ. "Besought Cleanor, the Arcadian, to prepare himself with all zeal (for marching forth) in case there should be any thing (favorable) in this (sacrifice)." Among the various explanations that have been given of this sentence, the one which we have here adopted appears to convey the best sense. Compare Luzerne: "Xenophon recommanda à Cléanor Arcadien, de tout préparer avec

zele, afin que rien ne retardât la marche, si les Dieux l'approuvoient;" and also Halbkart: "Xenophon ersuchte den Arcadien Kleanor, sich mit Eifer zu einer Unternehmung anzuschicken, wenn etwan dieses Opfer günstig wäre."

## § 23, 24.

κατὰ τὸ μέρος. "In the place." (Sturz, Lex. Xen., s. v. μέρος, c.)—ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς τῇ ἐνδείᾳ. "How dreadfully they were circumstanced through want."—ἐκήρυξε, τὸν βουλούμενον, κ. τ. λ. "He proclaimed by a herald, that he who wished (so to do) might go in quest of provisions as there was about to be a guide." Literally, "he proclaimed, &c., for him that wished (so to do) to go," &c.—ἐξέρχονται. This is the reading of some of the best MSS. Others have ἐπεξέρχονται, where ἐπὶ can have no other meaning than "thereupon," a meaning that can easily be dispensed with here.—σὺν δοράτοις, καὶ ἀσκοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "With small spears, and leather bags, and sacks." The δοράτια answered the purpose of both spears for defence and poles for carrying away booty.—Φαρναβάζου. Pharnabazus was satrap of Phrygia Minor. The satrap of Phrygia Major was Artacamas. (Hist. Gr., iv., 1, 1.—Krüg., de Authent., p. 7, note.)—πρῶτοι. In contradistinction to the attack by the Bithynians subsequently mentioned, § 26.—μὴ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν. Observe the employment of μὴ to strengthen the negation, after a verb embracing a negative idea.—οὐ μείον πεντακοσίους. With the neuter words, μείον, ἑλλαττον, πλέον, &c., if followed by a numeral, ἡ is often omitted without any change in the case following. So in Latin, after plus and amplius; as, decem amplius homines. (Kühner, § 780, Obs. 1.)

## § 25.

ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ. "A certain one of those who had escaped reports these things unto the camp." The common text has ἀποπεφυγότων, but several of the MSS. ἀποφευγόντων. We have adopted the aorist, on the suggestion of Dindorf.—μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν. The common text has πεντήκοντα, for which we have substituted τριάκοντα, on good MS. authority, with Bornemann, Poppo, and Dindorf. Xenophon needed on the present occasion, as Bornemann remarks, the more active and spirited portion of the soldiery (velocioribus et animosioribus militibus). Besides, in v. i., 3, 46, on an occasion where haste was also required, as in the present instance, we have, from the best MSS., τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα ἐτη.—τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνδρας. The men who had escaped the slaughter.—διὰ τῶν λασίων. "Through the thickets." More literally, "the bushy



places." Supply χωρίων.—*δασέα ἦν*. "Were thickly overgrown." The common text has *λάσια*, but the best editors now give *δασέα*, on good MS. authority. Xenophon, in all probability, employed this latter form in order to vary the phraseology, since *λασίων* has just preceded. (*Schneider, ad loc.*)—*ικανοῖς φύλαξι*. The common text has *μάχεσθαι* after *φύλαξι*, as given by some of the MSS. But the best MSS. omit it, and correctly too, as it savors of a mere explanation. The object of a strong guard would be, of course, to repel any sudden attack, or, at least, to keep the foe in check until the main army should be aroused.

## CHAPTER V.

## § 1-3.

*τὸ ἐρμυνὸν χώριον*. Compare chap. iv., § 7.—*ἀπετάφρευσαν*. "They had trenched off."—*καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσαν ἅπαν*. "And had fenced off the whole place with a palisade."—*ἦκεν*. "Had (now) come."—*ἐθύετο ἐπεξόδια*. "Offered up a sacrifice preparatory to a march." Supply *λερά*. By *ἐπεξόδια λερά* is meant a sacrifice, and an inspection of entrails, before the march of an army.—*ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου λερείου*. "At the first victim."—*ἀετὸν αἰσιον*. "A lucky eagle," i. e., an eagle flying on the right.—*τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται*. "They halt under arms."—*ἀριστήσαντας ἐξιέναι*, κ. τ. λ. Xenophon probably went out first with the younger portion of the soldiery, and then caused proclamation to be made that those who had not taken their morning meal should take it within the enclosure, and then join him without the entrenchment. (*Luzerne, ad loc.*)

## § 4, 5.

*τοῦτον*. Referring to Neon and his soldiers along with him.—*τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου*. "Of the things in the camp."—*ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ*, κ. τ. λ. "When, however, the captains and soldiers (of the rest of the army) had left them (i. e., Neon's men), they, becoming ashamed not to follow, when the others were going forth," &c. The meaning of this passage has been misunderstood by many commentators. The *λοχαγοὶ* and *στρατιῶται* here meant are not, as some suppose, those of Neon's force; on the contrary, Neon's men are referred to in *αὐτοῖς*. This view of the subject saves the necessity of either changing *αὐτοῖς* into *αὐτόν*, as some do, or of referring *αὐτοῖς*, as Lion most strangely does, to the *δχλον* and *ἀνδράποδα*.—*ἐνέτυχον ἤδη*. "They already met with."—*καὶ τὴν οὐρανὸν τοῦ κέρατος*, κ. τ. λ. "And

having brought the rear of the wing near the first dead bodies that were seen, they buried all, as many as the wing covered." The manœuvre here described, although a very simple one, has been very generally misunderstood by commentators. The object of the Greeks was two-fold, to avoid trampling under foot the dead bodies of their countrymen, and to inter them without annoyance from the enemy. When they met, therefore, with the corpses of the slain, they marched by them and formed a line in front. Then, according as the bodies lay on their right or left, they faced in that direction, and executed a flank movement, passing sufficiently far to the right or the left to cover the corpses. Upon this a halt took place, the whole army faced again to the front, and the rear ranks of that wing, behind which the bodies lay, proceeded to inter them, the other troops guarding in front, and being ready to receive any foe that might come against them. When the bodies were interred, the men who had been employed in this work resumed their places, and the whole line moved on until they came to other corpses, when the manœuvre was repeated. Krüger is altogether wrong in making *κέρας* denote here a long column of march, and *οὐρανὸν* the rear of that column. This arrangement is contradicted expressly by the term *φάλαγξ*, which is subsequently applied to the Grecian order. (Compare *Luzerne*, vol. ii., p. 285, note.)

## § 6, 7.

*κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων*. Referring to the unburied corpses with which they again came in contact on resuming their march, and so on in succession.—*περὰ τῆς μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας*. "After mid-day." Literally, "beyond the day being at its meridian." As before remarked, *περὰ* is more rarely employed of time.—*ἐξω τῶν κωμῶν*. "Beyond the villages." We have here the same manœuvre repeated as in the case of the interment of the slain, but with a different object in view, namely, the procuring of provisions. The army advances beyond the villages, the houses of which are scattered up and down, and remains halted in line, while the soldiers in the rear are occupied in collecting provisions, taking care, at the same time, to keep themselves well covered by the line.—*ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*, κ. τ. λ. "They were occupied in taking provisions, whatever any one saw, under cover of the line." Literally, "within the line." (*Luzerne, l. c.*)—*ὑπερβάλλοντες κατὰ λόφους τινάς*. "Passing over and down certain hills."—*ἐπὶ φάλαγγος*. "In line." Observe that *φάλαγξ* has here its usual meaning of a line, the length of which considerably exceeds its depth.—*τὴν δύναμιν*. "The force which they brought with them." Supply *ἣν εἶχον*.

## § 8-10.

ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. Supply ἱερείου.—ἐπιτάξασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι, κ. τ. λ. "To station behind the main line companies to be on the alert," i. e., ready to lend aid in case the front line be any where hard pressed.—καὶ οἱ πολέμοι τεταραγμένοι, κ. τ. λ. "And that the enemy, thrown into disorder, may fall in with men arranged in order and fresh." The enemy are here supposed to have broken through the Grecian line, and to be pushing on in more or less of disorder, occasioned by the eagerness of pursuit, when they unexpectedly come upon fresh troops drawn up to receive them.—ὥς μὴ ἐστήκωμεν, κ. τ. λ. "That we may not stand still, now that we have been seen, and have seen the enemy." To remain inactive now would appear to the enemy to be the result of fear, and would also have a discouraging effect on our own men. (Weiske, *ad loc.*)—τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους καταχωρίσας. "Having stationed these hindmost companies." These are the same with the λόγοι φύλακες mentioned above.

## § 11-13.

τρεις ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις. "Having taken apart the three hindmost ranks," i. e., having detached them from the rest of the line.—ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἄνδρας. "Two hundred men each." Luzerne, supposing the whole force on this occasion to be four thousand men, and taking two hundred as the number in each rank, makes the whole depth of the line to have been twenty ranks. But this is little better than mere idle conjecture.—ἀπολιπόντας. Consult note on κόπτοντες, ii., 1, 6.—καὶ παρεγγυῶσι στρατηγοὺς, κ. τ. λ. "And they pass the word for the generals and captains to repair to the van." More literally, "to come forward to the leading (division)." Supply μέγας.—ὅ τι τὸ ἰσχυρὸν εἴη τὴν πορείαν. "What it was that stopped the march."—ἐλαύνει. "Rides up." Supply τὸν ἵππον.—ὅτι βουλῆς οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη, κ. τ. λ. "That it was not worth deliberating about, whether," &c., i. e., that the matter was too clear to need deliberating upon. The common text omits βουλῆς, which is given, however, by some of the best MSS.

## § 14, 15.

οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον, κ. τ. λ. "Have never as yet voluntarily brought danger upon you." Observe that προξενέω is employed here in a figurative sense. The chain of meanings is as follows: 1. To be any one's πρόξενος; to offer him hospitality in the name of the state, &c. 2. To introduce a stranger, as his πρόξενος, to the notice or acquaintance of others. 3. To bring unto or upon in gen-

eral, whether it be a person or a thing. Compare Krüger: "προξενήσαντα, adduxisse; sicuti πρόξενος ignotum aliquem commendaturus alicui adducit."—ἐθελούσιον. Weiske maintains, but with very little propriety, that this epithet must be connected not with μέ, but with κίνδυνον, in the sense of "sponte susceptum, non necessarium." But both the usual signification of ἐθελούσιος, as well as its position in the present sentence, are against him. (Krüger, *ad loc.*)—οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὥρῳ δεομένους, κ. τ. λ. "For I do not see you in want of reputation for valor, but of safety." Observe that εἰς is here employed to denote the aim or ultimate object.—νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχει. "Now, however, the case stands thus."

## § 16-18.

προβαλλομένους τὰ ὅπλα. Consult note on ἐκέλευσε προβάλλεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, i., 2, 17.—ἢ μεταβαλλομένους. "Or, turning them away," i. e., retreating, and, of course, facing away from the enemy.—οὐδένι καλῶ ἔοικε. "Looks like nothing honorable," i. e., in no respect wears a becoming appearance.—καὶ τούτους οἶδ' ὅτι, κ. τ. λ. "So with regard to these men, I know that," &c.—οὐδ' ὑμεῖς ἐλπίζετε. "Not even you expect."—τὸ δὲ διαβάνας δριδθεν, κ. τ. λ. "Moreover, is not the circumstance that we, having crossed it, should place a difficult valley in our rear when on the point of fighting, a thing worth even snatching at?" i. e., a thing at which we ought eagerly to catch.—εὐπόρα. "Easy to pass through."—ὥστε ἀποχωρεῖν. "So that they may retreat," i. e., so as to have it in their power to effect an easy retreat, and to be, therefore, the more readily inclined to do so.—μὴ νικῶσι. "(Unto us), if we do not conquer." Observe here the distinction between the absolute οὐ and the conditional μή.

## § 19-21.

διαβατὸν. Supply ἔσται.—πῶς δέ. Supply διαβατὰ ἔσται.—ἂ ὄρη. For τὰ ὄρη ἂ.—ἣν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν. "But if, indeed, we shall have also arrived in safety at the sea."—τὰ ἀπάγοντα. "That will convey us away," i. e., to convey us away.—ἣν θάπτον ἐκεῖ γενόμεθα. "The sooner we get there." Literally, "if we get there sooner."—ἡρισθηκότας μάχεσθαι. "To fight, now that we have taken our morning meal." Compare § 3.—οἱ τε οἰωνοὶ αἰσιοί. "And the omens are propitious." Compare § 2.—τὰ στάγια. Compare i., 8, 15.—ἡδέως δειπνήσαι. "To sup with comfort."

## § 22-24.

ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. "Bade him lead on."—ἢ ἕκαστος ἐτύγχανε, κ.



τ. λ. "In what part of the valley each happened to be." Observe that *νάπος* is the genitive of position after the adverbial *ἤ*. (Kühner, § 527.)—*ἀθρόον*. "All together."—*ἢ εἰ κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, κ. τ. λ.* "Than if they defiled along the bridge which was over the valley." Krüger, who makes the *νάπος* to have been the same with a *χαράδρα*, or bed of a mountain torrent, supposes that the bridge was constructed to afford a passage when the valley or ravine was inundated by the winter rains.—*παριῶν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα*. "Going along the main line."—*ὁμόσε ἰόντες*. "Engaging closely with the foe." More literally, "coming to close quarters."—*ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. Compare ii., 2, 4.—*μνήμην ἐν οἷς ἐθέλει, κ. τ. λ.* "To furnish a remembrance of himself (among those) among whom he wishes (so to do)." The full expression would be, *ἐν τούτοις ἐν οἷς τις ἐθέλει παρέχειν μνήμην ἑαυτοῦ*.

## § 25, 26.

*ἐπὶ φάλαγγος*. "In line."—*ποιησάμενοι*. Supply *οἱ στρατηγοί*.—*εἰς προβολὴν καθέντας*. "Having brought them down to a charge," i. e., having couched them.—*δρόμῳ διώκειν*. "To advance on a run." Compare Krüger, "*eilen*."—*σύνθημα*. As this has no article, it is to be taken as the predicate, and hence we have removed the comma after *παρήει*.—*καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον*. "That they occupied a fine position." More literally, "that they had in the place a fine one."—*οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτασταί*. Compare iii., 4, 26.

## § 27-29.

*ὑψηντίαζον*. "Came up." Compare note on *ὑπελάσας*, i., 8, 15.—*ὧς ὀλίγοι οὐντες*. "As being but few."—*καθ' ὃ*. "Over against which."—*συνέστη*. "Stood collected."—*ἀπέθανον δὲ ὀλίγοι*. This has relation, of course, to the enemy, and the reason is given immediately after. The numerous cavalry of the foe deterred the Greeks from pursuing to any distance.

## § 30-32.

*ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν*. "They were tired, indeed." In place of *ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν*, *δμως δέ*, the regular form of expression would have been, *καίπερ ἀπειρηκότες, δμως*. Compare *Thucyd.*, vi., 91: *Σικελιώται ἀπειρότεροι μὲν εἰσιν, δμως δ' ἂν καὶ νῦν ἐτι περιγένοιτο*.—*συνταξάμενοι*. "Having drawn themselves up in close order." They had become somewhat scattered in the pursuit.—*νάπος*. "A valley." Not to be confounded with the one already mentioned.—*προσπετράποντο διώκοντες*. "They turned back (from) pursuing."—*στάδιοι ὧς ἐξήκοντα*. Very nearly seven miles.

## CHAPTER VI.

## § 1-4.

*εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν*. "Were busy about their own affairs."—*δοιοὶ ἐδύναντο προσωτάτω*. "As far off as they could."—*ὧς ἤξοντα*. "As about to come."—*ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λείαν ἵεναι*. "There was leave to go in quest of private plunder."—*δημόσιον ἐδοῖεν εἶναι*. "It was adjudged to be public property."—*ἀγοραί*. "Markets," i. e., sellers with provisions.—*κατήγον*. "Put in."—*πολλίζει τὸ χωρίον*. "Is forming the place into a city." The expression *χωρίον πολλίζειν* is to colonize a place by building a city.—*ὃ τι δέοι ποιοῦντας φίλους εἶναι*. "What it behooved them to do in order to be friends." Literally, "what it behooved them doing to be friends."

## § 5-8.

*πλοῖον δ' οὐδέν*. "But no transport," i. e., not a single transport.—*τινὲς οἰχόμενοι*. Supply *ἐτύγχανον*.—*ἄλλοι ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος*. This is Dindorf's reading, who adds *ἄλλη* after *ἄλλοι*, following Schneider: it is not in the MSS.—*ὀκνοῦντες*. "Fearing."—*ἀποδοῦναι*. "To return."—*ἀπελαύνει*. "Drives off."—*περιτυχὼν δ' Ἀγασίας ἐφαιρείται*. "But Agasias, having met him, takes away the man," i. e., rescues him.—*λοχίτης*. "A private of his company."—*βάλλειν*. "To stone." Supply *λίθοις*.—*ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν προδότην*. "Calling him, again and again, the traitor." Observe the force of *ἀνά* in composition, and the emphatic usage of the article.—*τῶν τριηριτῶν*. "Of the galley-men."—*κατεκώλυνον*. "Endeavored to put a stop to these proceedings."—*ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴη πρῶγμα*. "That nothing was the matter."—*τὸ δόγμα αἴτιον εἴη τοῦ στρατεύματος, κ. τ. λ.* "That the decree of the army was the cause of these things having happened." This decree is mentioned under § 2.

## § 9-11.

*ἀνερεθιζόμενος*. "Instigated."—*ἄχθεσθεις, ὅτι ἐφοβήθη*. "Vexes that he had been frightened."—*ὧς πολεμίους*. "As being public enemies."—*ἤρχον δὲ τότε πάντων, κ. τ. λ.* The power of Sparta was at this time so formidable, that Xenophon, as we afterward see, dreaded the worst consequences from his resentment, and persuaded the army to appease it by the most respectful submission to his pleasure.—*οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως γενέσθαι*. "That it could not be otherwise."—*τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν*. "The man who began to throw," i. e., who com

menced the attack on Dexippus.—διὰ τέλους φίλος. "A constant friend." Literally, "a friend throughout." Hesychius explains it by διὰ παντός. Compare *Æsch.*, *Prom.* V., 273, and *Griffiths*, *ad loc.* —ἐξ οὗ καὶ. "In consequence of which also."—παρ' ὀλίγον ἐποιούντο τὸν Κλέανδρον. "Made Cleander a matter of little importance unto themselves," i. e., expressed very little concern about Cleander and his threat.—φαῦλον. "A trifling one."

## § 12-14.

ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχων τὴν γνώμην. "Having his mind thus disposed toward us."—εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος. Plural verb with a collective subject.—Βυζαντίου ἀποκλείσει. Cleander was, it will be remembered, the harmostes, or Spartan governor, of Byzantium. Compare chap. iv., § 18.—ἀπιστοῦντας. "Disobeying."—ἀνόμους. "Subject to no law."—οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ ἡμῶν. "This same report concerning us."—ἀπέχεσθαι. "To be held back," i. e., to be debarred from returning to it.—πειστέον. "We must obey." Supply ἐστὶν ἡμῖν.

## § 15, 16.

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπολύω. Observe the repetition of ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, in consequence of the intervening parenthesis.—καταδικάζω ἑμαυτοῦ. "I pass sentence against myself."—εἰ ἐγὼ ἐξάρχω. "If I am the beginner."—τῆς ἐσχάτης δίκης ἄξιος εἶναι. "That I am worthy of the last degree of punishment," i. e., the severest that can be inflicted, namely, death.—Κλεάνδρῳ κρίναι. "Unto Cleander, to try him."—καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι. In consequence of their successful retreat.—ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων, κ. τ. λ. On this apparently redundant usage of δέ after a participle, consult the remarks of *Buttmann*, *ad Demosth.*, *Mid.*, p. 149.

## § 17-19.

τῶν ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν. "Of my company's soldiers."—δεινόν. "A hard thing."—κρίναντι. "After having tried me."—σώζοισθέ τε ἄσφαλως. "And may you convey yourselves in perfect security." Literally "and may you save yourselves in security." Observe the employment of the optative to denote a wish.—ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. Supply and construe as follows: ἀνδρας ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, οἵτινες.—ἀν τι ἐγὼ παραλείπω. "In case I omit any thing."—ὁ ἀφαιρεθείς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου. "The man rescued by Agasias." A passage constructed somewhat similarly occurs in iv., 2, 18: ἐπ' ἀντίπαρον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ.

## § 20-22.

ἐκέλευσε. We have given this reading, with *Dindorf* and others,

on good MS. authority. The common text has κελεύουσι.—εἰτε πάντας αἰτιᾷ, κ. τ. λ. "If either you blame all, to try them yourself, and treat them in whatever manner you may wish." *Krüger*, unnecessarily, reads σε αὐτόν, as an instance of the repetition of the personal pronoun after a parenthetic clause.—τούτους ἀξιοῦσι. "They require these." Observe the change from the singular number, in ἐπεμψεν and ἐκέλευσε, to the plural in ἀξιοῦσι, which in the case of a collective noun need excite no surprise.—Δεξιππον ἄγοντος. Genitive absolute.—αἰρεθέντα. "As having been chosen."—ἐφ' ᾧ τε πλοῖα συλλέγειν. "For the purpose of collecting vessels." More literally, "upon condition of (our) collecting vessels (with it)," i. e., it was given with this express view, and no other.—καὶ ἀποδράντα Δεξιππον, κ. τ. λ. "And (I know) Dexippus as having absconded," &c.

## § 23-25.

καὶ κακοὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "And appear to be bad men through this fellow," i. e., in consequence of his running off with the vessel.—αὐτοὶ τε τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολώλαμεν. "And, as far as depended upon this one, we are ruined," i. e., this man was the cause, as far as it lay in his power, of the ruin of all our hopes for the time being.—ὥςπερ ἡμεῖς. "Even as we did." Supply ἠκούομεν.—τούτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην. "From this one, then, being such a person, I rescued (the man)."—εἰ δὲ σὺ ἦγες. "If, however, you had been leading him away." The imperfect in our idiom has here the force of a pluperfect.—νόμιζε ἀποκτείνων. "Make up your mind that you are putting to death." Observe that νομίζω with the participle is of rare occurrence; its more usual construction is with the infinitive.—βίαν χρῆναι πάσχειν αὐτόν. "That he ought to have suffered any violence."—τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν. "To have met with his deserts."

## § 26-28.

τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα. Agasias is meant.—πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. "Come to the trial."—εἰ καὶ οἶει με ἀδικοῦντά τι ἄγεσθαι. "If you even think that I was led away because doing something wrong."—τὰ λεγόμενα. Supply αὐτῷ.—ἵνα μὴ φθέγγοιτο μηδεὶς. "That no one might utter a syllable."—τὸ μέρος. "His share."—τοῖς λησταῖς. The plundering party mentioned in § 5.—τὰ χρήματα. "Their booty."

## § 29-32.

συνήγαγε. The common text has συνῆγε, but the aorist is here the more correct tense.—περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Agasias and the man whom he had rescued.—Δρακόντιον. Compare iv., 8, 25.—κατὰ



πάντα τρόπον. "By all means." Literally, "in every way."—τῷ ἀνδρὶ. The dual is here employed by way of variety.—σοι ὑφαίτο. "Put it in your power."—ἐμοχθησάτην. "They both labored."—ἀντι τούτων. "In return for these things."—ὥς κόσμιοί εἰσι. "How orderly they are," i. e., how observant of good discipline.

## § 33, 34.

παραγενόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα ἐαυτῶν. "That you, having come and taken command of them."—καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἄλλων. The common text has καὶ before τῶν ἄλλων, which we have omitted, with Dindorf and others, on good MS. authority.—ὅλος ἑκαστός ἐστι. "What sort of person each is."—τὴν ἀξίαν. "His deserts."—ἀλλὰ ναὶ τῷ σιῷ. "Well, by the two gods!" An affirmative oath, as indicated by ναὶ. The common text adds μὰ after ναὶ; but this, though more in accordance with the Attic dialect, is not required by the Doric. Observe that σιῷ is Doric for θεῷ, the accusative dual, the Dorians being accustomed to employ σ for θ, and also ι for ε. (Ahrens, p. 66, 121.) As regards the Spartan oath here employed, compare Aristophanes, *Lys.*, 81, *cum Schol.* The two gods meant are Castor and Pollux, and hence the scholiast remarks, on the *Pax* of Aristophanes, v., 214: Οὕτω τοὺς Διοσκούρους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐλεγον.—καὶ ἦν οἱ θεοὶ παραδιδῶσι. "And if the gods grant."—ἐξηγήσομαι. Supply ὑμᾶς.—καὶ πολλὰ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι, κ. τ. λ. "And much are these words (of yours) different from those which I heard concerning some of you, that you seek to draw off the army from the Lacedæmonians." Literally, "opposite than those," an unusual construction, the regular form of expression in place of which would have been ἀντίοι ἐκείνοις οὖς. Compare Kühner, § 779, *Obs.* 3.

## § 35, 36.

ξενίαν ξυνεβάλοντο. "They joined intimacy," i. e., contracted a bond of hospitality.—τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εὐτάκτως ποιοῦντας. "Doing in good order the thing commanded."—καὶ μᾶλλον. "Even more than ever."—οὐκ ἐτελέσθη τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν. "The sacrifices were not favorable for leading you away (home)." Literally, "were not brought to a close (so as) to lead you forth." Compare Xen., *de Repub. Laced.*, xiii., 5: ὅταν δὲ τελεσθῇ τὰ ἱερὰ, ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλέσας πάντας παραγγέλλει τὰ ποιητέα.—ὑμῖν γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, δέδοται, κ. τ. λ. "For to you, as it seems, is it given to carry home the men," i. e., the gods will grant this unto you. So that δέδοται is here equivalent to ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν δέδοται. Compare *Hist. Gr.*, vii., 1, 5.—ἐκεῖσε. "To yonder quarter." Byzantium is meant, and hence this word is

accompanied by a gesture.—διαθέμενοι. "Having disposed of." Observe that the middle voice διατίθεσθαι is here equivalent, as D'Orville remarks, to "venum exponere et vendere." (*ad Charit.*, p. 269.)—οὐδενί. "With nothing (in the shape of plunder)."—ὥστε ἔχοντές τι, κ. τ. λ. "They resolved, in order that they might come into the friendly territory having something." Compare vi., 1, 17.—ἐκταῖοι. "On the sixth day."—Καλχηδονίας. "Of the Calchedonian territory." This was the territory around the city of Calchedon, or Chalcedon, which place was situate in Bithynia, at the southern extremity of the Thracian Bosphorus, and nearly opposite to Byzantium. In writing the name of this city ancient authors have not been uniform, some giving Καλχηδών, others Χαλκηδών. The former, however, is much more frequent, and is confirmed by the existing coins, the epigraph of which is invariably ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟΝΙΩΝ, according to the Doric form. (*Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet.*, pt. i., vol. i., p. 410.) The Attics generally preferred the latter form, Χαλκηδών. (*Göttling, ad Aristot., Polit.*, p. 323.) The modern name of Calchedon is *Kadi Keuy*.

## BOOK VII.

### CHAPTER I.

#### § 1-4.

ἔξω τοῦ στόματος. Gyllius (*de Bosp. Thrac.*, i., 2, p. 23) thinks that we ought to read here *εἰσω* or *ἔσω*, but without any necessity, for, as Krüger remarks, the controlling idea is in *ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου*, which precedes.—*ὅσα δέοι*. Supply *ποιεῖν Φαρνάδαζον*.—*τῶν στρατιωτῶν*. This appears almost superfluous, and is omitted in some MSS.—*ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἡδὴ*. "That he would depart at once."—*συνδιαβάντα*. "After having (first) crossed over with the rest."—*οὕτως*. "Upon this." Equivalent to the Latin *hoc facto*.

#### § 5-7.

Σεύθης. An Odrysian prince, who had inherited a part of the great monarchy of Sitalcas, including some of its maritime regions. He had been expelled from his dominions, and was now striving to recover them with a body of troops which had been sent to his assistance by Medocus, who was now reigning over the more inland tribes still subject to the Odrysian Empire.—*Μηδοσάδην*. A Thracian.—*συνπροθυμεισθαι*. "To unite zealously with him in the endeavor."—*τελείτω*. "Let him pay."—*προσφέρεσθω*. "Let him address himself."—*ἀσφαλές*. "Not calculated to fail," i. e., likely to prove successful.—*ὡς ἀποπέμψων τε ἡμα, κ. τ. λ.* "As if intending both to send them away (home), and at the same time to take their number." Literally, "to make a numbering (of them)."—*δκνηρῶς*. "Reluctantly."

#### § 8-11.

*εἰ δὲ μή*. "For otherwise," i. e., but if you do not obey my advice.—*ὅτι οὐ ταχὺ ἐξέρπει τὸ στράτευμα*. "Because the army is creeping out slowly."—*οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοί*. "But the soldiers themselves (are the cause)." Supply *αἱτιοὶ εἰσι*—*ὡς πορευσόμενον*. "As intending to march."—*διαπραξόμεθα*. "We will settle."—*καὶ προσανειπεῖν*. "And to mention publicly."—*αὐτὸν ἀνιάσεται*. "Will have reason to blame himself," i. e., in case he should incur some heavy punishment.

#### § 12.

*πρωτοί*. Equivalent here to "*hi quidem primi*." (Krüg., *ad loc.*)

—*ἀρόην πάντες*. "Entirely all."—*καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβαλῶν*. "And to let fall the bar into (its socket)." The main instrument of security, in the case of an ancient city-gate, was the *μοχλός*, or bar, and the great object was to keep this firmly in its place. One end of this bar (which was of massy wood, plated with iron) was firmly fastened to a strong staple driven into one of the door-posts. It was then raised and drawn across the door, and let into the other post by a groove or socket, made to receive the end of it. Then, from the other side of the post, and exactly opposite to it, was drilled an orifice which extended to the body of the bar. Through this orifice was introduced the *βάλανος*, a peg or bolt, which extended to the end of the orifice, and also ran into the end of the bar, which had a hole drilled into it, for the purpose of receiving it. Thus the bar was secured in its place by this bolt, which, moreover, was so deeply let into the orifice, that it could not be drawn out by the fingers, but required a certain instrument called the *βαλανάγρα*, something like a pair of pincers, by which it was drawn out. (Bloomf., *ad Thucyd.*, ii., 4.)

#### § 13-15.

*Χερρόνησον*. Compare i., 1, 9.—*Κυνίσκος*. Zeune supposes this Cyniscus to have been a Spartan commander who was engaged at that time in war with the Thracians.—*διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους*. "Through the sacred mountain." This mountain is mentioned by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (ii., 1017), who remarks, *ἔστι καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν ὄρος Θράκης*. Demosthenes makes mention of a castle of this name, situate probably on the mountain (*de Hal.*, p. 85), and Philip is said to have seized upon this sacred mountain when he made himself master of the kingdom of Cersobleptes. (*Æschin.*, *De Fals. Leg.*, 25.) Bremi says it was a mountain extending from Thrace into the Chersonese. (*ad Æsch.*, l. c., vol. i., p. 187.)—*θέουσι δρόμῳ*. "Run at full speed."—*εἰσιόντες*. "About to enter." Present participle in a future sense.

#### § 16, 17.

*ἐκοπτόν τε τὰς πύλας*. Observe that *κόπτειν τὰς πύλας* is to knock or beat upon a gate to obtain entrance, whereas *φοβεῖν τὴν θύραν*, or *τὰς θύρας*, is to knock at a door inside when one is coming out, to give warning, according to the Greek custom, to those on the outside, as the Grecian doors opened outward.—*εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους*. "Among the enemy."—*κατασχίσειν*. "That they will cut down."—*παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τοῦ τείχους*. "Along the pier of the wall." Accord-



ing to the scholiast on Thucydides (i., 63) the *χηλή* was a projecting piece of rough stone-work built to protect the wall from the waves, and he says that it was called *χηλή* because it resembled an ox's hoof; *παρὰ τὸ εὐκέναι χηλὴ βοός*. "The bottom of the sea-wall in the ancient sea-port towns was strengthened by a sort of break-water of large stones, which at last left the line of the wall, and was continued as a mole to narrow the harbor at its entrance." (Arnold, *ad Thucyd.*, i., 63.)—*ὑπερβαίνουσι εἰς τὴν πόλιν*. "Get by escalade into the city." Literally, "pass over (i. e., the walls) into the city."—*τὰ πράγματα*. "The doings."—*ἀναπετανῶσι*. "Throw wide open."

## § 18-20.

*ἐαυτῶ*. The common text has *αὐτῶ*.—*ἐνδον ἐτύγχανον ὄντες*. "Happened to be within doors." Compare Krüger, "in ihren Wohnungen."—*καθεῖλκον*. The ancient ships, when not used, were generally drawn up on shore; hence *καθεῖλκιν*, "to draw down or launch."—*Καλχηδόνας*. The city of Calchedon, or Chalcedon, has already been referred to. (vi., 6, 38.)—*σχεῖν τοὺς ἀνδρας*. "To restrain the men."

## § 21-24.

*προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῶ πολλοί*. "Rush up to him in great numbers."—*νῦν*. This has reference to his previous wish for founding a city, as mentioned in v., 6, 15.—*ἀνδρι γενέσθαι*. "To become a distinguished man." Compare Krüger, "ein angesehener Mann."—*ἔχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις*, κ. τ. λ. Observe the effect of the asyndeton.—*οὐ τε ἡμᾶς δνήσας*. "You might both profit us."—*θέσθε τὰ ὅπλα*, κ. τ. λ. "Take your stations under arms in line as quickly as possible." Observe the address of Xenophon in bringing back the excited crowd to something like regular order.—*παρηγγύα ταῦτα*. "Gave this order."—*παρεγγυῖν*. "To pass on the word."—*εἰς ὀκτώ*. "Eight deep." Compare Krüger: "acht Mann hoch." The common text has *εἰς πεντήκοντα*, "fifty deep;" but this arrangement would only be required in a narrow and confined place, whereas the spot where they assembled on this occasion is described as *κάλλιστον ἐκτάσθαι*. It is more than probable, therefore, that a confusion has arisen in the MSS. from the similarity of the numeral letters (N' and H'). Consult Krüger, *de Authent.*, p. 48, and Schneider, *ad Opusc. Pol.*, vol. vi., p. 61.—*τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὅλον κάλλιστον*, κ. τ. λ. "But the place is such as is most beautiful (for an army) to marshal themselves in, being called the Thracian," &c., i. e., being

what we would term, in modern parlance, the Thracian square. Larcher thinks that this was a part of the city near the Thracian gates, and, in confirmation of this opinion, cites the following passage from Xenophon's Grecian History (i., 3, 20): *ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλουμένας*. (Compare Dio Cassius, lxxiv., 14.)—*ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκειτο τὰ ὅπλα*. Compare iv., 2, 13.

## § 25.

*ἦν δὲ τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζομεθα*, κ. τ. λ. "But if we gratify our resentment, and both punish the Lacedæmonians, who are present, for the deceit, and plunder the city, which is in no respect to blame, consider what consequences will result therefrom."—*πολέμιοι ἀποδεδειγμένοι*. "Declared enemies."—*ἑωρακότας*. Agreeing with *ἡμᾶς* understood before *εἰκάσειν*.—*νῦν ἤδη*. "But just now," i. e., in the Peloponnesian war.

## § 27.

*τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους*. The Peloponnesian war is meant.—*οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων*. Thucydides also states (ii., 13) that the Athenians, at the beginning of the war, had *τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας*. The reading of the common text, *τετρακοσίων*, is, therefore, wrong, and Zeune is also in error when he supposes that the words of Diodorus Siculus (xii., 40), namely, *τριήρεις τὰς παρούσας τριακοσίας*, refer merely to the triremes afloat, and do not include those in the dock-yards. (Porro, *ad loc.*)—*ἐν τῇ πόλει*. "In the Acropolis." The term *πόλις* is here employed, according to a peculiar Athenian usage, to denote the citadel or Acropolis, that is the old city. Compare Thucydides (ii., 15): *καλεῖται διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτην κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἐτι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις*. This same writer makes the amount in the Athenian treasury at the beginning of the war to have been 6000 talents. (Consult Böckh, *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, vol. ii., p. 194, Eng. trans., and vol. i., p. 474 of the German work.)—*ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνδύμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας*. "Both from the customs at home and from our territory abroad." With *ὑπερορίας* supply *γῆς*. Under the latter head are particularly meant the tributes, or *φόροι*, paid by the allies, and which formed by far the most productive source of revenue. At the commencement of the war they amounted to 600 talents (Thucyd., ii., 13), and after the peace of Nicias to more than 1200. (Böckh, *Pub. Econ.*, &c., vol. ii., p. 132.—On the whole subject of the Athenian revenue, consult the *Third Book*, generally, of Böckh's elaborate work.)

## § 28, 29.

Ἀχαιῶν. According to Thucydides (ii. 9), the Pellenians alone of the Achæans at first took part in the war, as allies to the Lacedæmonians; but afterward all the rest.—πάντων προσγεγενημένων. "Having become all joined unto them."—αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως. "The king himself up the country," i. e., in Upper Asia, as opposed to the sea-coast, where his satraps govern for him.—ὁμοῦ ὄντων. "Being combined."—μαινόμεθα . . . . ἀπολώμεθα. Observe the employment of the present to denote a continued action, in which the beginning only is specially considered, and the aorist a transient or instantaneous one. (Matthiæ, § 501.)—τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν. Observe that αὐτῶν is in apposition with the personal pronoun (ἡμῶν) implied in ἡμετέροις. So in Latin, *mea ipsius culpa, tua ipsius gratia*. (Matthiæ, § 466, 1.)—ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν, κ. τ. λ. "For they are all in the cities that will march against us, and (that will march against us) justly too." After δίκαιως supply στρατευσομέναις.—καὶ ταῦτα κρατοῦντες. "And that, too, being superior in force."—πρώτην. A specimen of oratorical exaggeration, since Trapezus, Sinope, and Heraclea were also Grecian cities. (Lion, *ad loc.*)—ἐξαλαπάξομεν. A poetic word.

## § 30.

μυρίας ἑμέ γε κατὰ γῆς, κ. τ. λ. "I, at least, may be ten thousand fathoms under ground." A poetic image. Compare *Hom.*, *Il.*, iv., 182, and *Virg.*, *Æn.*, iv., 24.—τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστηκόσι, κ. τ. λ. "To endeavor to obtain your just (demands) by yielding obedience unto those who stand at the head of the Greeks." The Lacedæmonians, of course, are meant.—ἀδικουμένους. "Though wronged."—μὴ στέρπεσθαι. "Not to deprive ourselves," i. e., by any rash conduct on our part.—ἀλλὰ δηλώσοντες. "Yet, at any rate, to show."—πειθόμενοι. Supply ὑμῖν.

## § 32, 33.

οἱ μὲν. Observe the asyndeton, and compare ii., 1, 6, οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο.—ἔτι δὲ καθήμενων τῶν στρατιωτῶν. "And the soldiers being yet seated," i. e., the assembly being still convened. Compare v., 10, 5.—Κοιρατάδης. The army was deceived for a day or two by the absurd pretensions of this adventurer, "a character which could not have appeared," remarks Thirlwall, "at an earlier period, and which in its ludicrous extravagance bears the stamp of the national calamities." (iv., p. 354.)—περιήει. "Went about."—στρατηγιῶν. "Wishing to be a general." Observe that στρατηγιῶν is a desiderative verb.—ἐπαγγελλόμενος. "Offering his services." Literally,

"announcing himself." This Cæratades had commanded some Boeotian forces under Clearchus, the Spartan harmost at Byzantium, when that place was besieged by the Athenians in B.C. 408. When Clearchus crossed over to Asia to obtain money from Pharnabazus, and to collect forces, he left the command to Helixus, a Megarian, and Cæratades, who were soon after compelled to surrender themselves as prisoners, when certain parties within the town had opened the gates to Alcibiades. They were sent to Athens, but, during the disembarkation at the Piræus, Cæratades contrived to escape in the crowd, and made his way in safety to Decelleia. We now find him, B.C. 400, in search of employment as a general. (*Smith, Dict. Biog.*, &c., s. v.)—τὸ Δέλτα. Consult notes on chapter v., § 1.

## § 34-37.

τὰ ἀπαγγελλόμενα. "The things brought back as a message."—τοῖς τέλεσι. Compare ii., 6, 4.—βουλεύσοιτο. "Would plan."—εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν. Compare i., 7, 1.—ἀλφ. From ἀλίσκομαι : 3 sing. 2 aor. ind.—καὶ ἔλαιων τρεῖς καὶ σκορόδων, κ. τ. λ. "And three (as large a load as they could) of olives, and one man as large a load as he could of garlic, and another of onions." After τρεῖς we may supply, mentally, φέροντες ὅσον μέγιστον ἐδύναντο φορτίον.—ὥς ἐπὶ δάσμεσιν. "As if for distribution."

## § 38-41.

οἱ διαπράξαι. "To obtain (permission) for him."—μάλα μόλις. "With very great difficulty."—στασιάζειν καὶ πονηροὺς εἶναι. "Were factious and quarrelsome."—μέλλοις. Krüger's conjecture for the common μέλλοι. Observe the change to the *recta oratio*, and the animation which it imparts to the close of the sentence.—ἀσπασάμενος. "Having embraced," i. e., having taken leave of.—οὐκ ἐκαλλίερει, κ. τ. λ. "Did not make favorable sacrifices, nor measure out any thing to the soldiers."—ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἐνέδει αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. "But as there was a deficiency unto him of many things, so that there should be a day's food to each of the soldiers."—καὶ ἀπειπών. "Having even renounced."

## CHAPTER II.

## § 1-4.

Φρυνίσκος. He held the office of a general, as we learn from § 29. But when he was chosen to fill this station Xenophon has neglected to inform us.—ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ. "Remained with



the army."—ἐστασίαζον. "Formed parties."—ἀγειν. Supply τοὺς στρατιωτάς.—εἰς Χερρόνησον. Supply βουλόμενος ἀγειν.—παντὰς ἀνπροεστάναι τοῦ στρατεύματος. "That he would stand at the head of the whole army."—τὰ δπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι, κ. τ. λ. "Selling their arms up and down the places."—ὡς εἶδοντο. "As they could," i. e., as opportunity offered.—εἰς τὰς πόλεις κατεμειγνύοντο. "Mingled themselves into (the population of) the cities," i. e., with the inhabitants, by intermarriages, &c.—διαφθειρόμενον. "Was getting broken up."

## § 5-7.

Κυζίκος. The city of Cyzicus was situate on an island of the same name off the northern coast of Mysia, and which was connected with the main land by bridges. This city, of so much celebrity in ancient history, is now represented by the ruins of Bäl Kiz, which have been minutely described by Hamilton. (*Researches*, vol. ii., p. 100, *seqq.*—*Ainsworth*, p. 227.)—Ἰσον οὐ παρῆν ἤδη. "Was all but already come." Literally, "was present as much as (was) not already," i. e., was expected every instant.—ἐπιστέλλει. "Enjoins upon."—ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος οὐδένα ἐπεπράκει. "Now Cleander had not sold one."—ἀναγκάζων. "Compelling (the inhabitants)."—Πάριον. Parium was a town upon the Propontis, between Cyzicus and the Hellespont. It was founded by the inhabitants of the island of Paros, in conjunction with the Milesians. Under the Romans it became *Colonia Julia Pariana*. The ruins are now called *Camariss*, according to Kruse; but, according to others, *Pario*.—κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα. "According to the terms agreed upon."—διεπράττετο. "Began to negotiate."

## § 8, 9.

συνέχειν αὐτό. "To keep it together."—Πέρινθον. Perinthus was a city of Thrace, on the coast of the Propontis, west of Byzantium. It was originally colonized by the Samians. It was an important place, and all the main roads to Byzantium from Italy and Greece met here. The name gradually changed to Heraclea, and with the writers of the fourth century this is the more usual appellation. There is a town occupying the same site at the present day, and called *Harakli*, or *Eregli*. (*Ainsworth*, p. 227.)—ὡς τάχιστα Ξενοφῶντα, κ. τ. λ. "To forward Xenophon as quickly as possible on horseback."—ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα. The army, as appears from § 28, was at this time in the neighborhood of Selybria.—διαπλεύσας. "Having sailed across."

## § 10, 11.

ἤκοντα πάλιν. The common text adds Ξενοφῶντα.—ὕπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. "Promising unto him (that) by mentioning which he thought he would persuade him."—ὅτι οὐδὲν οἷόν τε εἶη, κ. τ. λ. "That it was impossible for any one of these things to take place."—καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας. Referring to Medosades.—ἀποσπάσας. "Having drawn off (his own troops)." Supply τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ from ὀκτακοσίους which follows.—ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. Supply τόπω.

## § 12, 13.

ἐπραττε περὶ πλοίων. "Was employed in bargaining for ships."—ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἄρμωστής. The article is added here on Schaefer's conjecture. (*Melet. Crit.*, p. 73.)—τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀπέειπε, κ. τ. λ. "Both forbade the masters of the ships to transport them across." Observe, as before, that μή, after a verb implying a negative, increases the force of the negation, and compare *Herodotus*, viii., 116: ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.—καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ. Observe the effect produced by the sudden change to the *oratio recta*.—Ἀναξίβιος μὲν τολώνν. "Now Anaxibius, for the matter of that." Observe here the employment of τολώνν, at the commencement of an address, to make a transition, when a person takes up another quickly, and replies to him decidedly. (*Kühner*, § 790, 2.—*Hartung*, ii., p. 349.)—ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδε ἄρμωστής. From this it would appear that Aristarchus was harmost of Perinthus also. Compare chapter vi., § 24.—ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καταδύσω. "I will sink him in the sea."

## § 14, 15.

πρὸς τῷ τείχει. "Near the wall."—αὐτοῦ τι πείσεται. "Will suffer something on the spot."—τοὺς μὲν προπέμπεται. "Bids these go on before," i. e., to Perinthus. The reference is to the other commanders and lochagi. Observe the force of the middle in προπέμπεται; literally, "sends on before himself." The employment of τοὺς μὲν for τούτους μὲν is somewhat unusual. (*Matthiae*, § 286.)—παρεῖεν αὐτῷ. "Permitted him."—τρίηρεις ἔχοντος, κ. τ. λ. "He who intended to hinder them, having galleys." The reference is to Aristarchus.—κατακλεισθῆναι. "To be shut in there."

## § 16-19.

νῦν μὲν. "For the present, indeed."—ἐνθα. "Whereby."—ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Ξεῦθην ἔναι. "For going safely to Seuthes."—ἐπιτυγχάνει πυροὶ. "He falls in with watch-fires without guards." Com-

pare the explanation of H. Stephens, *Thes. L. G.*: "*circa quos nulli erant custodes.*"—μετακεχωρηκέναι ποί. "Had just then departed somewhither," i. e., and had left the watch-fires burning.—σημαινόντων. "Making signals."—κεκαυμένα εἰη τῷ Σεύθῃ, κ. τ. λ. "Had been kindled by Seuthes in front of his night-watches."—ὅπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὀρώντο, κ. τ. λ. We find the same thing done by Iphicrates, (*Xen., Hist., Gr., vi., 2, 29.*)—μήτε ὁπόσοι μήτε ὅπου εἰεν. This is Dindorf's reading. The common text has merely μήθ' ὅπου εἰεν, which is not only a solecism, but absurd in point of meaning.—καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ. "And directs (the guards) to tell Seuthes." Compare Krüger: "*custodes nuntiare jubet.*"—εἰ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, κ. τ. λ. "If it was the Athenian, the one from the army." Zeune is wrong in rendering ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος "*qui præest exercitui.*" The preposition ἀπὸ, on the contrary, embraces the idea of coming.

## § 20-22.

οὗτος εἶναι. "That it was that same one."—ἀναπηδήσαντες εἰδῶκον. "Having leaped up (on their horses), they hastened away," i. e., to give information to Seuthes. Observe here the peculiar meaning of εἰδῶκον, and compare, in further explanation of it, the remarks of Phavorinus, διώκειν ἐνίοτε τὸ ἀπλῶς κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλαύνειν. With ἀναπηδήσαντες supply ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις.—μᾶλα φυλαττόμενος. "Carefully guarded."—ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι. "Ready bridled."—τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐγκεχαλινωμένων ἐφυλάττετο. "But during the night he was on his guard, with (his horses) ready bridled." Observe that ἐγκεχαλινωμένων is the genitive absolute, τῶν ἵππων or αὐτῶν being understood. We have adopted here Bornemann's reading. Dindorf and others prefer the dative of the participle, according to Voigtlaender's conjecture. The common text omits the participle altogether.—Τήρης. Hutchinson thinks that Teres, the father of Sitalcas, is meant, who, according to Thucydides (ii., 29), laid the foundation of the powerful kingdom of the Odrysæ.—τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. The reference is to the native tribes in this quarter, who are subsequently styled Thyni.—μάλιστα νυκτός. "Especially at night."

## § 23-26.

κέρατα οἶνου προῖπινον. "They pledged one another in horns of wine."—πάντοσε. "To all quarters."—συμπροθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα. "Zealously to co-operate with you, in order that the army cross over." Supply ὥστε.—ὁ δ' ἔφη. "He said (that they were)."—ἀδελφῶ. A term frequently employed to indicate intimate friendship. Compare § 38.—καὶ τὰ παρὰ θαλάττῃ, κ. τ. λ. "And that the

places along the sea, of which you are master, will be (a present) from you to me."—ὁ δὲ συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα. "He thereupon confessed (that he had said) these things also." Literally, "agreed with him."—ἀφήγησαι. "Relate."

## § 27-30.

καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἔνεκα, κ. τ. λ. "And that there would be no need either for you or any one else to pay any thing on this account." Observe that σοί refers to Seuthes, and the speaker is supposed to indicate this by a gesture.—τί γὰρ ἔλεγον. "What, pray, did I tell you."—κατὰ Σηλυβρίαν. "To the neighborhood of Selybria," i. e., into the territory of Selybria. Compare Krüger: κατὰ, "*in die Gegend von.*" Selybria, or Selymbria, was a city of Thrace on the Propontis. The modern name is *Selivria*. The common text has Σηλυμβρίαν, but the best MSS. give the other form, which we have adopted.—οὐκ ἔφησθα οἷόν τε εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. "You said that it was not possible, but that, having come to Perinthus, you were to pass over into Asia."—πλὴν Νέωνος. For πλὴν παρὰ Νέωνος.—πιστοτέραν εἶναι τὴν πρῶξιν. "That the transaction be more trustworthy," i. e., more worthy of your reliance.—κάλεσαι. "Call in."—ἐκεῖ. "There," i. e., without.

## § 31, 32.

καὶ γὰρ διὰ συγγενεῖς εἰεν εἰδέναι. "For that he both knew that they were kinsmen (of his)." Valckenaer (*ad Herod., iv., 80*) thinks that this refers to the circumstance of Sadocus, the son of Sitalcas, having received the rights of citizenship from the Athenians (*Thucyd., ii., 29.*—*Schol. ad Aristoph., Acharn., 145*), and Lion concurs in the opinion. This, however, is confounding συγγένεια and πολιτεία. It is more than probable that we must look for the origin of this affinity, such as it was, in the old legends respecting Procne (the daughter of Pandion, king of Athens), who was wedded to Terens, king of Thrace. Consult Krüger, *de Authent.*, p. 33.—δ τι. "In what."—Μελανδίται. Stephanus Byzantinus makes Μελανδία to have been a region of Sithonia.—Τρανίψαι. Krüger writes the name Θρανίψαι. Larcher (*ad Herod., viii., p. 371*) conjectures Νιψαῖοι.—ἐνόσησεν. "Had declined." The verb νοσέω is often employed with reference to public disasters, especially such as arise from tumults and dissensions. (Krüger, *ad loc.*)—ἐκπεσών. "Having been driven out."—τῷ νῦν βασιλεῖ. Supply τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν.

## § 33, 34.

εἰς ἄλλοτρίαν τράπεζαν ἀποδλέπων. "Looking (for support) to a



stranger's table." Compare Krüger: "*Inde victum expectans.*"—ἐκαθεζόμεν ἐνδὶφριος αὐτῷ ἰκέτης. "And I sat on the same seat with him as a suppliant." The meaning of ἐνδὶφριος here is altogether uncertain. From the circumstance of the Thracians sitting at table and not reclining, and from the allusion to the table immediately before this, the word has been generally supposed to have a force somewhat similar to the term ὁμοτράπεζος, or table-companion. Compare Krüger, *ad loc.*, and Poppo, *Ind. Gr.*, s. v.—δοῦναι μοι. "(Entreating him) to give me."—τούτους ἔχων. "Having these under my command."—μοι παραγένοισθε. "Should join me."

## § 35.

ἀπαγγέλλωσιν. The common text has ἀπαγγέλλωσιν.—κυζικηνόν. Compare v., 6, 23.—διμοιρίαν. "Twice as much."—ζεύγη. "Cat tle," i. e., for cultivating the land.—ταῦτα περῶμενοι. Supply δια πρᾶττεσθαι. The allusion is to the causing of the whole army to come.—εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ. "Into your country."—ἐνδὶφριος. "Sitters on the same seat," i. e., table-companions. Compare § 33.—ὀνήσομαι Θρακίῃ νόμῳ. "I will purchase her, in accordance with Thracian custom," i. e., I will make her my wife. The Thracians, as Herodotus informs us (v., 6), purchased their wives by the payment of a large sum of money to the parents. Weiske refers to Aristotle (*Polit.*, ii., 5, 14), to show that the same custom prevailed in early times among the Greeks also.—Βισάνθην. Bisanthe was a city on the Propontis, northwest of Perinthus. Its later name was Rhædestus. It is now Rodosto, or Tejur-Daghi.

## CHAPTER III.

## § 1-3.

ἔγνοντο ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. "They were at the camp."—ἀπήγγειλαν. "Reported."—τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀριστάρχον, κ. τ. λ. "To let alone the way to Aristarchus," i. e., to omit going to him.—ἐνθα βουλόμεθα. Supply ἐκείσε before ἐνθα, and compare iv., 1, 2.—οὗτος αὐτός. "This man of his own authority." A more forcible reading than οὗτος ὁ αὐτός, "this same man." The latter, however, is preferred by Schneider, Bornemann, Dindorf, and Poppo.—ὥς περ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. "Even as (he has done) in Byzantium." Compare chapter ii., § 6.—ἐξαπατήσεται. Used here in a passive sense, as in Plato, *Phædr.*, 262, A.—λήψεσθαι. We have omitted μάλλον after λήψεσθαι, with Dindorf, on good MS. authority.

## § 4-6.

ἀν πρὸς ἐκείνον ἦτε. The pronoun ἐκεῖνος is often made to refer, as a mere pronoun of the third person, to an individual who has just been mentioned. (*Matthia*, § 471.)—τοῦτο βουλευσέσθε. "You will consult about this," i. e., whether to obey Aristarchus or go to Seuthes.—ἐῷσι. "Do they suffer us." The reference is to the Lacedæmonians.—εἰς τὰς κώμας. Compare chapter ii., § 1.—οἱ ἥττους. "Our inferiors," i. e., the inhabitants of the villages, who are not able to cope with us.—ἀκούοντας. The conjunction καὶ is prefixed in the common text; but, if the writer had wished to employ this, he would have inserted it before ἐκεῖ. (Krüger, *ad loc.*)—ὅ τι τις ὑμῶν δεῖται. "What any person asks of you." The indefinite τις refers here as well to Seuthes as to Aristarchus.—ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Compare iii., 2, 33.—τῷ ἡγουμένῳ. Compare ii., 2, 4.

## § 7-9.

ἐπειθὸν ἀποτρέπεσθαι. "Tried to persuade them to turn back."—προσελάσαι. "To ride up."—εἴποι αὐτῷ. "He (Seuthes) might say to him (Xenophon)."—ὅπου. For ἐκείσε ὅπου.—τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. "The propositions of the Lacedæmonian," i. e., Aristarchus. Observe that τῶν is here in the neuter. Had it been in the masculine, we would have had τῶν παρὰ τοῦ. (Krüger, *ad loc.*)—ὑπὸ σοῦ νομιούμεν ξενίζεσθαι. "We will think that we are liberally provided for by you."—ἀθρόας. "Lying together."—ἀπεχούσας ἡμῶν ὅσον, κ. τ. λ. "Distant from us (only as much ground) as, having passed over, you may dine with a good appetite."

## § 10-12.

δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοί. "Want you to serve in arms along with me."—τὰ νομιζόμενα. "The accustomed pay," namely, twice as much to the captain, and four times as much to the general. Compare chapter ii., § 36.—τὸν ἄξιον τιμήσω. "I will honor the meritorious one."—ἀξιῶσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν. "I shall claim to have myself."—διατιθέμενος. "By selling."—καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα. "And hide themselves."—μαστεύειν. "To seek out."—πόσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης, κ. τ. λ. This question is well put by Xenophon. The Greeks, tired out by long marches through inland countries, wished now to keep near the sea-coast, in order to be able to return by sea to their native land. (Weiske, *ad loc.*)

## § 13, 14.

ἐδίδοτο. "(Leave) was granted."—κατὰ ταῦτά. "In the same ter-

ror."—παντὸς ἀξία. "Worthy of all esteem." Supply λόγου.—χειμῶν γὰρ εἴη. "For (that) it was winter." Sometimes, as in the present instance, ὅτι is omitted before the optative in the oratio obliqua. (Matthiae, § 529, 3.)—ὠνούμενους ἔην. "To live by purchasing."—μετὰ Σεύθου. "In company with Seuthes."—ἀγαθῶν. Krüger conjectures ἐχθρῶν.—εὖρημα. "An unlooked-for piece of good fortune."—ἀντιλέγει. Equivalent to ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει.

## § 15-17.

κατὰ τὰς τάξεις. "According to their ranks."—ὡς παριόντες. "As going."—Μαρωνείτης. "A native of Maronea." Maronea was a city of Thrace, on the coast, between Abdera and Doriscus. Its ruins are still called Marogna.—Παριανούς. "Inhabitants of Parium." Compare chapter ii., § 16.—δῶρα ἄγοντες, κ. τ. λ. Compare the remark of Thucydides (ii., 97): "The Odrysians have established a custom, which is, indeed, prevalent also among the other Thracians, namely, to receive rather than to give; contrary to that which subsists at the court of Persia; it being there more discreditable not to give, when asked, than to ask and be denied. Nay, in proportion to their power, they the more acted upon this maxim; for without presents it was impossible to get any thing done."—ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. "Would be governor upon the sea-coast."—ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται. "It will turn out more for your advantage." Equivalent; in fact, to ἄμεινον ὑμῖν ἔξει τὰ πράγματα. Observe that διακείμαι gets its meaning in the present instance from its more literal one of "to be settled, fixed, or ordered."

## § 18-20.

ταπίδας βαρβαρικός. "Barbaric carpets." (Compare, as regards the accent, § 26.)—ὅτι νομίζοιτο. "That it was the custom."—δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ. "To make presents unto him."—τοιαῦτα προμνᾶτο. "In such a manner did he keep swing (for Seuthes)." Observe that προμνᾶτο is for προεμνᾶτο, from προμνάομαι.—σὺ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης εἰ. Compare Plato, *Apol.*, 29, E.: Ἀθηναῖος ὢν, πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης.—ἀξιώσεις λαμβάνειν. "You will claim to receive."—ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων. Zeune thinks that among these Alcibiades is particularly meant, and refers to Cornelius Nepos, *Vit. Alc.*, vii., 4; to which Krüger adds *Xen., Hist. Gr.*, ii., 1, 25, and *Plut., Vit. Alc.*, c. 36.—μεγαλοπρεπέστατα. "In the most splendid manner."—πίσει. "Will you be the object of."—ἠπόρει. "Was in great perplexity."—ἔχων. "Having any thing."—ὅσον ἐφόδιον. "As much means as were required for the journey." Supply ἀργύριον.

## § 21, 22.

οἱ κράτιστοι. "The most considerable." Compare i., 5, 6.—ἦν καθήμενοις. "Took place for them as they sat." Supply αὐτοῖς. The Thracians, as already remarked, were accustomed to sit, not recline, at their meals.—πᾶσιν. Not one for each guest, but several for the whole company. The common text adds after πᾶσιν the words οὗτοι δ' ὅσον εἴκοσι. But consult Schneider and Dindorf, *ad loc.*—κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων. "Full of pieces of meat heaped up." Observe that by a tripod is here meant a three-legged table with a flat top, not the tripod containing a depression in the center.—προς-πεπεροννημένοι. "Skewered." Compare *Luzerne* (vol. ii., p. 375): "Ces pains étoient enfilés avec les viandes, probablement au moyen d'une brochette."—μάλιστα δ' αἱ τράπεζαι, κ. τ. λ. "And the tables were always placed in preference by the guests." The τράπεζαι were four-footed tables, and are not to be confounded with the τρίποδες. The latter were of a large size, and from them the smaller τράπεζαι were filled, and then placed nearest the guests.—διέβριπτεν. "Threw them about."—ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι. "Only as much as to taste," i. e., only as much as served for a taste.

## § 23-25.

κατὰ ταῦτά. "In the same way."—φαγεῖν δεινός. "A terrible eater."—τὸ μὲν διαβρίπτειν εἰς χαίρειν. "Bade the distribution good-by," i. e., suffered it to pass unnoticed by him.—ὅσον τριχοίνικον ἄρτον. "As much as a three-chaenix loaf," i. e., a large loaf containing as much as three chaenices. As regards the χοῖνιξ, compare i., 5, 6.—περιέφερον. Referring to the attendants.—τὴν φωνήν. "The voice."—ἐλληνίζειν. "How to speak Greek."

## § 26-30.

προῦχάρει. "Was going on."—αἰρήσεις. "You will take him."—οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο. "Presented him in the same manner."—ταπίδα. The true accentuation is ταπίδα, not τάπιδα, as many give it, and the nominative is ταπίς, not τάπις, for then the accusative would be τάπιν.—τιμῆς ἐνεκα. "To do him honor."—καὶ ἐγώ. "I also," i. e., as well as the rest.—ὥς τιμώμενος. "As a person honored."—ἤδη γὰρ ὑποπεπωκὼς ἐτύγχανεν. "For he happened, by this time, to be rather tipsy." Observe the force of ὑπό in composition.—καὶ οὐδένα ἄκοντα, κ. τ. λ. "And not one (of them) unwilling, but all even more than myself wishing," &c.

## § 31, 32.

οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες. "Asking nothing else of you."—προϊέμενοι.



"Giving themselves up (to you)." This is the reading of some of the best MSS. The rest give *προσέμενοι*, which the common text adopts.—*πολλὴν χώραν τὴν μὲν ἀπολήψῃ, κ. τ. λ.* "You will retake much territory on the one hand, being your father's, while on the other you will acquire."—*ληΐζεσθαι.* "To obtain by plundering."—*συνεξέπιε, καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κέρας.* "Drank out of (the same horn) with him, and, after this, along with him, poured (the remaining contents of) the horn upon himself, i. e., he poured part upon his own person, and Xenophon, in like manner, poured part upon himself also. According to Suidas (*s. v. κατασκεδάζειν*), it appears to have been a Thracian custom for the parties at a carousal, when they had drunk enough, to pour the rest of the wine upon their garments. Compare, also, Plato, *Leg.*, i., 1, p. 31, *ed. Bip.* Hence the explanation of Poppo, which we have followed in our version: "*et una deinde cornu (reliquum poculi) in se effudit.*" Dindorf and Krüger object, however, to the presence of *σύν* here in composition, and read (the latter in his edition of 1845) *κατεσκεδάσατο*, but this is against the authority of the best MSS.—*μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασι τε, κ. τ. λ.* "After this persons entered playing on both horns, such as they make signals with, and on trumpets made of raw hide, blowing both regular tunes, and, as it were, with the magadis." The magadis was a three-cornered instrument like a harp, with twenty strings arranged in octaves. (Compare Böckh, *Comment. Metr. in Pind.*, p. 261, *seqq.*) There appears to be some allusion here, indeed, to the playing by octaves, and hence Halbkart renders the clause as follows: "*mit Trompeten den Takt und gleichsam die Oktave angeben*" (p. 297).

## § 33-36.

*ἀνέκραγέ τε πολεμικόν, κ. τ. λ.* "Both raised a warlike shout, and leaped away, as if guarding against a shot."—*γελωτοποιοί.* "Buffoons."—*ἐκέλευον παραγγεῖλαι, ὅπως, κ. τ. λ.* The construction with *ὅπως* is sometimes found after verbs of ordering, &c., although usually the infinitive follows. Compare Plato, *Repub.*, 415, B.—*τοῖς ἀρχουσι παραγγέλλει ὁ θεός, ὅπως μηδενὸς οὕτω φύλακες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται, μηδ' οὕτω σφόδρα φυλάξουσιν μηδὲν ὥς τοὺς ἐκγόνους.*—*οἱ τε γὰρ πολέμοι Θρᾷκες ὑμῖν, κ. τ. λ.* "For both those that are enemies to you are Thracians, and those that are friends to us," i. e., your enemies are Thracians, and you our friends are also Thracians, and there is a risk, therefore, of our confounding friend and foe in the darkness. Compare Bornemann, *ad loc.*—*αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκαλέσας.* "Having called back the generals by themselves." Ob-

serve that *αὐτοὺς* here has the force of *μόνους*.—*ὥστε μὴ ληφθῆναι.* "So as not to be taken," i. e., to prevent being taken.—*ἀναμένετε.* The reading of some of the best MSS. Some editions have *ἀναμενεῖτε*, the future employed as a softened imperative.

## § 37-39.

*εἰ δ' Ἑλληνικὸς νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει.* "Whether the Grecian custom be not better." Compare, as regards the negative required here by our idiom, iii., 2, 22.—*ἡγείται τοῦ στρατεύματος.* "That part of the army leads."—*καὶ ἥκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους.* "And they least straggle away unperceived from one another."—*περιπίπτουσιν.* "Fall foul of."—*σύνθημα δ' εἶπον Ἀθηναίαν, κ. τ. λ.* "And they agreed upon 'Minerva' as the word, on account of their affinity (to one another)," i. e., the Grecian commanders and Seuthes agreed together upon the word, and selected for that purpose the name of the goddess Minerva, as a token of the affinity existing between them, Minerva being the tutelary deity of Athens. (Krüger, *de Authent.*, p. 33.) Dindorf, following Schaefer (*ad Greg. Cor.*, p. 394), reads *Ἀθηναία*, in the nominative, taken materially, as the grammarians term it, or as a quotation. The accusative, however, is preferable, and has the sanction of good MSS. Porson also adopts it. The form itself, whether we adopt *Ἀθηναία* or *Ἀθηναίαν*, may at first view appear somewhat too poetic, but we find *Ἀθηναίαν* employed by Aristophanes (*Av.*, 829), and *Ἀθηναίῃ* ought to be restored to Plato (*Euthydem.*, p. 82, 12, *ed. Oxon.*), from Eustathius, *ad Od.*, iii., p. 1456, 50. (Porson, *ad loc.*) The common text has in the present passage *Ἀθηναῖοι*.

## § 40-43.

*τοὺς ἡγεμόνας.* "The guides."—*καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις.* "Even with a few men."—*ἀθρόοι πάντες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινόμεθα.* "We all appear in a body at the break of day."—*σκεψάμενός τι.* "After having made a reconnoissance." (Luzerne, *ad loc.*)—*πρόσω ἡγούμενα.* The common reading is *προηγούμενα*.—*ἀτρίβῃ.* "Untrodden."—*τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λήσομεν ἐπιπεσόντες.* "For we shall fall upon the men unawares."—*ἡγήσομαι τοῖς ἵπποις.* "Will lead the way with the cavalry."—*εἰς κώμας.* Villages occupied by the enemy are here meant.

## § 44-46.

*ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις.* "He was both already upon the heights."—*ἀφῆσω ἤδη καταθεῖν, κ. τ. λ.* "I will now send off the horse to run down into the plain."—*εἰάν τις ὑφίστηται.* "If any one withstand

(them).”—οἶδα, ἔφη, κ. τ. λ. “I know,” replied (Xenophon), “that you do not want me only,” i. e., you want the men also whom I command, and these will follow better if I lead on foot.—παριέναι. “To proceed in advance.”—ἐτρόχαζε. “Ran quickly.” The verb τροχάζω does not seem to have been pleasing to Attic ears when used off the stage. Hence we have in Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.*, p. 114 (*Antiatl.*), τροχάζειν οὐ φασι δεῖν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τρέχειν. Xenophon, indeed, employs it more than once, but his authority in this does not appear to be much regarded by the Atticists. His example, however, is followed by many of the later writers; as, *Theophrast.*, *Charact.*, xiv.; *Polyb.*, x., 20; *Plut.*, *Symp.*, ii., 5, 2. (*Lobeck*, ad *Phryg.*, p. 582, seq.)

## § 47, 48.

τάδε δὴ, ὡς Ξενοφῶν, κ. τ. λ. “The very things now, Xenophon, which you told us, (are taking place).” Supply ἐστὶ or γίγνεται. Zeune and Larcher refer this to § 38, where Xenophon speaks of the danger of troops being separated from one another. This, however, can not be correct, for there the allusion is to a march by night, whereas here operations are carried on in open day. It is more than probable that Xenophon here refers to something not mentioned before, in order to avoid a repetition on the present occasion. (*Halbkart*, ad loc.)—ἔχονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι. “The inhabitants are held prisoners.”—ἀλλὰ γὰρ. Observe that ἀλλὰ belongs in thought to δέδοικα.—συστάντες ἀθρόοι πον. “Having collected somewhere in a body.”—σὺν οἷς ἔχω. Attraction, for σὺν τοῖς οὖς ἔχω.—παρτείνειν τὴν φάλαγγα. “To stretch his line.”—συνηλίσθησαν. “Were collected together.”

## CHAPTER IV.

## § 1-3.

οἷα πείσονται. “(Considering) what they will suffer.” Supply λογιζομένοις, or something equivalent, before this clause, and compare i., 7, 4.—Ἡρακλείδην. The common text has Ἡρακλίδην, which is wrong, since Heraclides was still with the army.—ἀνὰ τὸ Θυνῶν πεδῖον. “Up and down the plain of the Thynians.” Compare, as regards the Thracian Thyni, chapter ii., § 22.—ἀπεκαίοντο. “Were frozen off.” Observe that ἀποκαίω, which properly means “to burn off,” is here applied to the analogous effects of intense cold. Compare the Latin, “*frigore adurere*.”

## § 4-6.

οὐ ἔνεκα οἱ Θράκες, κ. τ. λ. “Why the Thracians wear their fox-skin caps,” &c.—καὶ χειρὸς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν, κ. τ. λ. “And on horseback they have wide upper garments reaching down to their feet, but not cloaks.” The *χειρά* appears to have been a wide upper garment, girded about the loins, and hanging to the feet, used especially by the Arabians (*Herod.*, vii., 69) and the Thracians (*ib.*, 75). It was distinguished from the *χλαμύς*, as covering the feet of the rider. The *χειρά* can not be understood of *trowsers*, as, according to Herodotus, the wearer threw it around him.—ἀφίεις τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. “Letting go some of the captives.” Observe the genitive of part.—εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται καὶ πείσονται. “Unless they shall come down and obey,” i. e., come down to inhabit their dwellings and acknowledge his authority.—συνεπισπείσθαι. “To follow along with him against them.”—ἀφειδῶς. The common text has ἅπαντας.

## § 7-11.

Ἐπισθένης. Hutchinson thinks that this is the same with the Episthenes mentioned in i., 10, 7, as commander of the targeteers, and also in iv., 6, 1. He is refuted, however, by Schneider.—Ὀλύνθιος. Compare i., 2, 6.—τὸν τρόπον. “The character.”—ἀνατείνας. “Having stretched out.”—καὶ μέλλει χάριν εἶδέναι. “And is likely to esteem it a favor.”—μηδέτερον. Krüger gives *μηδὲ ἕτερον*, as a stronger form, but without any necessity.—διαμάχεσθαι. “To fight it out.”—ταῦτα μὲν εἰα. “Left this matter alone,” i. e., spared the boy's life.—τρέφονται. “Might support themselves.”—ὑποκαταβάς. “Having gone down a little way.”—ἐν τοῖς ὄρειοις Θραξί, κ. τ. λ. “Among those called the highland Thracians.”

## § 12, 13.

διετρίβοντο, καὶ. The conjunction here has in our idiom the force of “when.” Compare *Soph.*, *Œd. T.*, 717.—ἡδιόν τ' ἂν ἐξω ἀυλίζεσθαι ἔφη, κ. τ. λ. “And he said that they would more gladly be quartered in strong (but open) situations, than in sheltered ones, so as to perish,” i. e., than in the dwellings, where they ran a chance of being destroyed. Compare the explanation of Krüger: “in die Wohnungen, um darin umzukommen, d. h. die Verderben bringen könnten.” We have given στεγνοῖς, with the best editions, in place of the common στενοῖς.—σμπράξαι σφισι τὰς σπονδάς. “To aid them in effecting the truce.”—ἡγγῆατο. “Engaged.”—ἄρα. “In fact.”—κατασκοπῆς ἔνεκα. “For the sake of spying,” i. e., of reconnoitering the Grecian encampment.



## § 14-16.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα. Compare i, 2, 3.—ἄλλως. "In any other way," i. e., than by having such guides as these.—περιεσταύρωντο. "Were palisaded around."—τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἔβαλλον. "Threw with their clubs."—ὡς ἀποκόψοντες. "For the purpose of knocking off."—κατακαυθήσεσθαι. "Shall be burned to ashes."—Μακίστιος. "A Macistian." Macistus was an ancient town in the Triphylian district of Elis, somewhat to the northeast of Lepraeum. Its site is occupied by the modern Moskitza. We have given Μακίστιος as decidedly more correct than Μακέστιος, which latter, however, appears in all the editions. The true name of the place was Μάκιστος not Μάκεστος, although the latter, according to Stephanus Byzantinus, also occurs. Compare *Xen., Hist. Gr.*, iii., 2, 25; *Strabo*, vi., 1, p. 10, and x., 1, p. 324.—ἐτῶν ἡδὴ ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὦν. Schneider thinks that Xenophon mentions the age of Silanus because it properly required a grown-up person to inflate a trumpet fully. A better reason, however, is assigned by Halbkart (though opposed on rather weak grounds by Krüger), namely, that Xenophon wished to indicate the presence of mind possessed by so mere a youth, and which proved of so much service to the Greeks on this occasion.

## § 17-19.

ἐνεχομένων τοῖς σταυροῖς. "Holding fast in the stakes."—τῶν ἐξόδων. "The outlets."—τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν, κ. τ. λ. "Hurled their javelins into the light, out of the dark, at those running by a house on fire." Observe that we have here a blending of two constructions, namely, ἡκόντιζον τοὺς παρατρέχοντας, and ἡκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους.—σὺν ἑπτὰ ἱππεῦσι τοῖς πρώτοις. "With seven horse, the first (mustered)." Compare Krüger: "qui primi signo dato se expeditaverant, sive potius, qui primi sequebantur, cum reliqui adhuc remotiores essent."—καὶ ἐπεὶ περ ἦσθετο, κ. τ. λ. "And when he perceived (the affair), as long as he was on the march to their assistance, so long also did the horn sound for him."—ἐδεξιούτό τε. "He both shook hands with them."

## § 20-24.

αὐτὸν εἶσαι. "To permit him (to march)." Supply στρατεύεσθαι.—πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἡδὴ. The common text omits ἡδὴ.—τριπλασίαν δύναμιν. "A three-fold force," i. e., three times as large a force as when the Greeks first came. Compare the explanation of Krüger: "drei Mal so gross als vor Ankunft der Hellenen."—σπεύσασθαι. Porson's correction for the previous reading σπεύσεσθαι.—

ἱκανὴν δίκην. "Sufficient satisfaction." Compare Herodotus (I. 45), ἔχω παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην. Had the term δίκην meant punishment in the present passage of Xenophon, τούτους would have been added, or else οὗτοι would have been away.—οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτη, κ. τ. λ. "The inhabitants thereupon in this country all now submitted to him."

## CHAPTER V.

## § 1-3.

ὑπερβάλλουσι. "They pass over." Krüger very strangely makes this the dative of the participle, depending on παρῇν.—τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον. Gyllius (*de Bosporo Thracio*, p. 153) speaks of his traveling on foot from the Bosphorus to Salmydessus, and, in the middle of the route, seeing the spot which Xenophon here calls the Delta, but which other writers, according to him, denominate Delcon, or Delconis. (Pliny, iv., 18, says, "*Develton cum stagno, quod nunc Deultum vocatur.*") Gyllius makes the modern name *Dercon*, and speaks of the place as being a town ("*id oppidum est*"), and one day's journey on foot from Byzantium. He describes it, moreover, as shut in on three sides by a lake of fresh water. D'Anville also refers the Thracian Delta to the triangular point of *Derkon*. Rennell, on the other hand, makes it the triangular space between the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Bosphorus, and which has Byzantium at the lower extremity. (p. 268.)—ἀρχαίου τινός. "Some ancient king."—τὴν τιμὴν. "The price."—ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ τρία. "Three pair of mules."—τά τε ἄλλα βοϊκά. "And the rest of oxen."—καὶ αὐθις λαβεῖν. "Even to receive something the next opportunity."—δωροῦ. "Make a present."

## § 4, 5.

τῶν ζευγῶν. Krüger conjectures τῶν μὲν ἡμιονικῶν ζευγῶν.—ἔξε ληλυθότος ἡδὴ τοῦ μηνός. "Although the month was already elapsed."—ὅτι οὐ πλεῖον ἐμπολήσας. "That he had not sold any more," i. e., any more of the booty than merely sufficed for twenty days' pay Leunclavius erroneously renders this, "*pluris se manubias vendere non potuisse*:" the Greek for this would have been οὐ πλείονος ἐμπολήσας.—κῆδεσθαι Σεύθου. "To care for Scuthes," i. e., to be promoting his interests. Compare Luzerne: "*vous me paraissez ne pas prendre, comme vous le devriez, les intérêts de Scuthès.*"—καὶ πρὸς ἐνείσάμενος. "Having even borrowed an additional sum," i. e., &c.

sum sufficient to make up the full pay of the troops.—*εἰ μὴ ἄλλως ἐδύνω.* “If you could not do otherwise.”

## § 6-8.

*ὃ τι ἐδύνατο.* “In whatever he could.”—*ἐνεκάλουν.* “Blamed.”—*ἐντόνως.* “Strenuously.”—*καὶ τέως μὲν ἀεὶ ἐμμένητο.* “And until then he had continually mentioned.” Literally, “had always borne in mind.”—*Βισάνθην.* Compare vii., 2, 38.—*Γάνον.* “Ganus.” This was a city of Thrace on the Propontis, to the south of Bisanthe. According to Kruse, the modern name is *Kanos*, or *Ganos*.—*Νέον τεῖχος.* “Neontichus,” a town and harbor of Thrace, in the vicinity of Ganus, and between it and Selybria. (*Scylax, Peripl.*, p. 28, ed. Huds.)—*καὶ τοῦτο διαβεβλήκει.* “Had insinuated this also.”

## § 9-11.

*περὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω.* Weiske conjectures *ἀνωτέρω*, but probably without any necessity, since *ἔτι* may be rendered “still further.”—*λέγειν τε ἐκέλευεν αὐτούς.* “And both desired them to say (to him).”—*σφεῖς.* “They themselves.”—*τόν τε μισθὸν ὑπισχνεῖτο, κ. τ. λ.* “And promised that the full pay of two months should be in their hands within a few days.”—*οὐδ', ἂν μέλλῃ εἶναι.* “Not even if there may be going to be.”—*ἂν ἄνευ.* For a defence of this collocation, consult Schaefer, *Melet. Crit.*, p. 123.—*ἐλοιδορεῖ.* “Chid.”—*τὴν πανουργίαν.* “The knavery.”

## § 12, 13.

*διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων, κ. τ. λ.* “Through the Thracians called Melinophagi,” i. e., millet-eaters. The Melinophagi dwelt in the eastern part of the modern *Kutchuk Balkán*, in the *Sanjak of Visa*. (*Ainsworth*, p. 228.)—*Σαλμυδήσσον.* Salmydessus, or, as the later Greek and Latin writers give the name, Ἀλμυδήσσος (*Halmydessus*), was a city of Thrace, on the coast of the Euxine, below the promontory of Thynias. The name properly belonged to the entire range of coast from the Thynian promontory to the mouth of the Bosphorus. And it was this portion of the coast in particular that obtained for the Euxine its earlier name of *Azenos*, or inhospitable. The shore was rendered dangerous by shallows and marshes, and when wrecks occurred, the Thracian inhabitants poured down, plundered the vessels, and made slaves of the crews. The modern *Midiyah* answers to the ancient city. (*Mannert*, vol. vii., p. 149.)—*ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι.* “Strike, and are cast ashore.”—*τέναγος.* “A shoal.”—*στήλας ὀρισάμενοι.* “Having set up pillars for limits.”—*τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντα.* “The effects cast ashore on their own ground.”

*τέως δὲ ἔλεγον, πρὶν ὀρίσασθαι, κ. τ. λ.* “And they said that during the period before they established boundaries, they fell in great numbers,” &c., i. e., and they, the followers of Seuthes, said this to the Greeks respecting the natives near Salmydessus. Some MSS. read *τέως δὲ ἐλέγοντο* . . . . *ἀρπάζοντες πολλοί*, which Bornemann and Krüger adopt.

## § 14-16.

*κιβώτια.* “Chests.”—*βιβλοὶ γεγραμμέναι.* “Written books,” i. e., manuscripts, or simply books. This expression has occasioned the commentators considerable difficulty, many of them thinking that the traffic in books at this period was too limited, especially in this quarter, to warrant the language of the text. Some, therefore, omit *γεγραμμέναι*, and suppose that blank volumes alone are meant. (Consult Böckh, *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, vol. i., p. 67.) Others make *βιβλοὶ* mean here rolls of fine bark, not volumes; Zeune and Weiske think that paper merely is referred to; and Larcher even goes so far as to conjecture *βυβλία* πολλά, explaining *βυβλία* by “cordage,” “cables,” &c. Some of the best MSS., however, give *γεγραμμέναι*; nor is it at all surprising that trade in books should exist even in this quarter, since the Greek cities on the Euxine and Propontis would naturally be desirous of possessing the works of their distinguished countrymen at home.—*ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι.* “In wooden receptacles,” i. e., in wooden boxes. These, in case of shipwreck, would not sink, but float ashore. (Krüger, *ad loc.*)—*ταῦτα.* “These regions.”—*οἱ ἀεὶ πειθόμενοι.* “Those successively obeying,” i. e., those obeying for the time being.—*παγχαλέπως εἶχον.* “Were extremely angry.”—*οἰκείως δέκετο.* “Was familiarly disposed,” i. e., treated him familiarly.—*ἄσχολται.* “Occupations.”

## CHAPTER VI.

## § 1-3.

*Θίβρωνος.* The forms *Θίβρωνος* and *Θίβρων* are given by the better MSS. On the other hand, *Θίμβρωνος* and *Θίμβρων* are merely euphonic varieties.—*ὅτι κάλλιστον γέγνηται.* “That a very fine thing has happened.”—*χαριεῖ αὐτοῖς.* “You will be doing a favor unto them.” Observe that *χαριεῖ* is by Attic contraction for *χαρίσει*.—*παράγειν.* “To bring them to him,” i. e., the Lacedæmonians from Thibron.—*φίλος τε καὶ σύμμαχος.* Observe that *τε* here merely connects the present clause with what goes before, and has the



force of "and," not of "both." Compare *Thucydides* (ii., 4): ὁλοῦνθ' χρωμένων, λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμω βαλλόντων.—ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ. "On terms of hospitality." Compare vi., 1, 2.

## § 4-6.

τίς ἀνὴρ. "What kind of a man."—οὐ κακός. "No bad sort of person."—χειρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ. "It is worse for him," i. e., than it otherwise would be. Compare *Kruger*: "es steht für ihn schlechter als es sonst der Fall sein würde." Consult § 39.—ἀλλ' ἢ δημαγωγεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς ἀνδράς. "Does the man then strive to curry favor with the soldiers?" Observe that ἀλλ' ἢ is not for ἀλλὰ ἢ, but for ἄλλο ἢ (though the accent seems to refer it to ἀλλά), and may be regarded as equivalent to the Latin *an ergo*. (Consult *Elmsley*, ad *Eurip.*, *Heracle.*, 426, p. 82.)—ἀρ' οὖν, ἔφασαν, μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν, κ. τ. λ. "Is there, then," said they, "(any risk) that he will oppose us also concerning the leading away (of the army)?" i. e., you do not think that he will oppose us also, do you? In Greek, ἀρ' οὖν is employed when we expect an affirmative answer, but ἀρα μὴ when a negative one, and when, at the same time, we are somewhat apprehensive ourselves about the result. Thus, ἀρ' οὐκ ἐστιν ἀσθενής; "Is he not sick?" (*nonne aegrotat?*) The answer we expect to this is, "He is sick." But ἀρα μὴ ἐστιν ἀσθενής; on the other hand, is *numnam aegrotat?* "He is not, perhaps, sick?" or, "He is not sick, is he?" In an interrogation, the particle μὴ expresses anxiety, and hence prepares one for a negative answer, and μὴ is distinguished from ἀρα μὴ only in that the question is less pointed and emphatic. (*Kühner*, § 873, 4.)—τὸν μισθόν. "The pay (you spoke of)." Compare § 1.—ὀλίγον ἐκείνῳ προσσχόντες. "They having paid little attention to him." Supply τὸν νοῦν.—αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα. Compare ii., 1, 6.

## § 7-10.

τῷ Λάκωνι. Observe the change, for variety's sake, from the plural to the dual.—ἐν ἐπηκόῳ. Compare ii., 5, 38.—ξυνίει δὲ καὶ αὐτός, κ. τ. λ. "And he himself also understood most things in Greek."—ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν. The opposition to this lies in εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν.—καὶ πάλαι. "Even long ago."—πεπαύμεθα. Stephens gives πεπαύμεθα from some MSS., and he is followed by *Schneider*, *Bornemann*, and *Kruger*. *Dindorf* doubts the existence of the MSS. to which Stephens refers.—τοὺς ἡμετέρου πόνους ἔχει. "Has (the fruit of) our labors."—ὥστε δ' γε πρῶτος λέγων, κ. τ. λ. "So that I, the first speaker, at least."—ὧν ἡμῖς περιεῖλε. "(For the things) in which he has dragged us about." We ought probably to read here περιέλας.

Observe that ὧν is by attraction for ἧ.—ἀν' ὁκῶ ἔχειν. "Would think that I had."

## § 11-13.

πάντα προσδοκᾶν. "To expect any kind of fate." Compare *Kruger*: "jede Art von Schicksal," i. e., not to be surprised at any thing.—ἐν ᾧ. "In the very thing in which."—παρεσχημένος. "Of having shown."—ἀπετραπόμην. "I turned back."—ὡς ὠφελήσω. "With the intention of aiding you."—ἦγον δὲ δθεν. Observe that δθεν is for ἐκεῖσε δθεν. As regards the fact itself here stated, consult chapter ii., § 10, seq.—δπερ ἐλκός δῆπου ἦν. This refers to what follows.

## § 14-16.

οὖν Σεύθῃ λέναι. "That you were going with Seuthes," i. e., that you would go with him.—ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἤρξατο Σεύθης. "Since, however, Seuthes has begun."—διαφορώτατος. "The most at variance."—περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοῦτον διαφέρομαι. "(Of those things) about which I differ from him," i. e., am at variance with him. Observe that περὶ ὧν is for τούτων περὶ ὧν, not for περὶ ἐκείνων, περὶ ὧν. (*Kruger*, ad loc.)—ὅτι ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντα, κ. τ. λ. "That it is possible that I, even having your money from Seuthes, am practicing artifice." With ἔχοντα supply ἐμέ.—ὅτι, εἴπερ ἐμοὶ ἐτέλει τι Σεύθης, κ. τ. λ. "That, if Seuthes paid any thing to me, he did not surely pay it with this view, that he might both be deprived of what he gave me, and repay other moneys to you."—ἐπὶ τούτῳ. "On this principle."

## § 17-19.

ματαίαν ταύτην τὴν πρᾶξιν ποιῆσαι. "To make this transaction an unavailing one."—ἐὰν πράττητε αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. "If you exact from him the money."—ἀπαιτήσει με. "Will demand it back from me."—ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, κ. τ. λ. "If I do not confirm the transaction to him, on account of which I received gifts," i. e., if I do not fulfill my part of the pretended bargain.—πολλοῦ δεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν. "To want much of having your money," i. e., to be far enough from having it.—ἰδίᾳ. "On my own account."—καὶ ἀκούων σύννοιδέ μοι. "And hearing, knows with me," i. e., knows as well as I do.—μὴ τοίνυν ὑδὲ ὅσα, κ. τ. λ. "Nay, what is more, not even as much as some of the captains." The particle τοίνυν is frequently employed in Attic prose to continue a speech, and has then the force of "moreover," "what is more," &c.

## § 20-22.

ὅσῳ μᾶλλον συμφέροισι τούτῳ, κ. τ. λ. "That, by how much the more I endured with this man his poverty at that time."—καὶ γιγνώσκω

δὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην. "And know now his real sentiments," i. e., how ungrateful he is, and false to all his promises.—ἡσχυνόμην μέντοι. "I would have been ashamed indeed."—εἰ γὰρ πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακή. "If there is, at least, (such a thing as) being on our guard against friends."—οὔτε κατεδρακεύσαμεν τὰ τούτου. "Nor did we attend slothfully to his affairs."

## § 23, 24.

Ἰδεὶ τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν. "I ought to have taken pledges at that time."—ὥς μηδέ, εἰ ἐβούλετο, ἐδύνατο ἐξαπατᾶν. "So that, not even if he wished, would he have been able to deceive." The Eton MS. has ἐδύνατο ἂν ταῦτα ἐξαπατᾶν, which Schneider, Bornemann, and Krüger adopt, but which Dindorf and others reject. There is no need in such constructions of the presence of ἂν, as may be seen from the examples cited by Matthiae, § 508, Obs. 2.—ἀγνώμονες. "Devoid of ordinary intelligence."—ἐν ποίοις τίσι πράγμασι. "In what kind of circumstances."—ἀνῆγαγον. "Led you up the country."—πρόσχετε. For προσήετε, 2 plur. imperf. ind. of πρόσκειμι, "to go to," "to go," &c. The common text has εἰ προσήετε τῇ πόλει. Matthiae (§ 525, d.) conjectures εἰ προσήετε, which Dindorf adopts. Bornemann has προσήετε τὴν πόλιν, and Poppo the same, omitting the article.—μέσος χειμῶν. "Mid-winter."—τὰ ὄνια. "The saleable commodities."—ὅτων ὠνήσεσθε. We have given ὅτων with Dindorf, a form of rare occurrence, it is true, in prose, but far better than δρων, which, though a manifest solecism, is defended by Porson, from Abrasch. in Æsch., i., p. 186.

## § 25-27.

ἐπὶ Θράκης. "On the borders of Thrace."—ἐφορμούσαι. "Lying at anchor on the coast," i. e., blockading the coast.—ἐν πολέμῳ εἶναι. Supply ἀνάγκη ἦν from the previous clause.—ὀπλιτικόν. "A heavy-armed corps."—ὅτω δὲ διώκοντες. Observe that ὅτω refers to a τὶ implied in οὐκ ἦν.—ἐτι ἐγὼ συνεστηκός, κ. τ. λ. "Did I find any longer holding together among you."—μηδ' ὀντιναοῦν μισθὸν προσαιτήσας, κ. τ. λ. "I, having not even asked any thing additional whatsoever, in the shape of pay, had acquired Seuthes as an ally for you, possessing as he did both horsemen and targeteers, of which you were in want, would I have appeared to you to have consulted ill for your interests?" i. e., would not such an alliance, even if unaccompanied by pay, have been fraught with advantage to you? Krüger, without any necessity, suspects πρὸ ὑμῶν of being a mere interpretation of ὑμῖν, which last he makes to depend in construction on βεβουλεύσθαι.

## § 28, 29.

τούτων κοινωνήσαντες. "Having shared in these advantages," i. e., the advantages resulting from these species of troops. Compare Krüger: "des von diesen Truppengattungen zu ziehenden Nutzen theilhaftig geworden."—κατὰ σπουδὴν μᾶλλον. "More in haste," i. e., than they would have done if such species of troops had not been brought against them.—μᾶλλον μετέσχετε. "You shared more," i. e., you obtained a larger share than would otherwise have been the case.—τεως δέ. "Whereas up to that time."—κατ' ὀλίγους ἀποσκεδαννυμένους. "By being scattered in small parties."

## § 30-32.

ὁ συμπαρέχων, κ. τ. λ. Seuthes.—μὴ πάνυ πολλὸν μισθὸν, κ. τ. λ. "Did not pay you, in addition, any very great pay for your security," i. e., in addition to rendering your situation a more secure one, did not give you any very abundant pay.—τούτο δὴ τὸ σκέτλον πάθημα; "Is this, pray, the shocking suffering (of which you have to complain)?"—ζῶντα ἐμὲ ἀνεῖναι. "To send me away alive," i. e., to let me escape with life. One MS. of the best class, has εἶναι εἶναι, no bad reading.—οὐ διαχειμάσαντες. "(Do you not go away) after having passed the winter." Supply ἀπέρχασθε.—περιττόν. "Over and above."—ἐδαπανᾶτε. "You consumed."—καὶ οὐκ ἔσται. "Faring thus."—οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖνο σὼν ἔχετε. "Have you not that also safe?" i. e., is not the glory thus acquired your own, and not to be taken from you by any one?—ὧν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε. "On account of which you are angry with me." The genitive, among its other meanings, expresses the object, and also the cause of a feeling; in which case it is to be rendered by "on account of." (Matthiae, § 368.)

## § 33-35.

τὰ ὑμέτερα. Compare i., 3, 9.—ἀπῆα. We have followed here the early editions, and some of the best MSS. Others read ἀπῆρα, from ἀπαίρω, "to sail away."—ἀπεπορευόμεν. "Went away."—οὐ γὰρ ἂν. The conditional proposition is suppressed, εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίστευον, οὐκ ἂν, κ. τ. λ.—ἀποστροφὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ καλὴν, κ. τ. λ. "That I would establish as an honorable refuge both for myself and my children, if there should be (any unto me)," i. e., if I should ever have any. The true reading here is γένοιτο, not γένοιτο, as some have it, for παῖδες is to be supplied by the mind.—πραγματευόμενός τε οὐδὲ νῦν, κ. τ. λ. "And have not yet ceased even now striving to effect whatever good I am able for you."



## § 36.

ὅτι ἄνδρα κατακάνοντες ἐσεσθε. "That you will have put to death a man." In this periphrastic form of the future, it is much more usual for the participle of the perfect to be employed, than that of the aorist. (*Matthia*, § 498.) And, therefore, Dindorf and others read κατακεκάνοντες. But the perfect of *καίνω* is unknown, and, besides this, *κέκανα* as a perfect would violate analogy, which requires *κέκαγκα*, just as *φαίνω* makes *πέφαγκα*, and *μαίνω* makes *μεμίλαγκα*. The reading κατακεκάνοντες, therefore, can not possibly be correct. (Consult *Porro*, ad loc.)—καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει, κ. τ. λ. "Both in his share, and beside his share."—πάν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην, κ. τ. λ. "Having exerted myself strenuously for you in every thing as far as I was able." Observe the sudden change of person in ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην, where we would have expected ἐδύνάτο.

## § 37; 38.

καὶ γὰρ οὖν. Compare i., 9, 8.—ἀνεπιλήπτως. "Blamelessly," i. e., without exposing yourselves to any censure.—ὑμεῖς δέ. The nominative here stands absolutely. The writer was going to employ after it *καιρὸν νομίζετε εἶναι*, but as the sentence advances he changes the construction to *νῦν δὲ καιρὸς ὑμῖν*, κ. τ. λ.—οὐ μὴν ὅτε, κ. τ. λ. Supply οὕτως ἐδόκει ὑμῖν after *μήν*.—τούτοις. "Unto these," i. e., in their eyes.

## § 39-41.

ἔχω αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι, κ. τ. λ. "Can bear witness unto him," i. e., in his favor.—διὸ καὶ χεῖρον αὐτῷ εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. Compare § 4.—πρὸς ἡμῶν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. "With both us the Lacedæmonians and with him." More literally, "from both the Lacedæmonians."—Λουσιάτης. Compare iv., 2, 21.—τοῦτο ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν στρατηγῆσαι. "That you should be our generals first in this."—τὰ χρήματα ἃ ἡμεῖς ἐπονήσαμεν. "The effects which we earned by our exertions," i. e., the booty we obtained.—τὰ γινόμενα. "The proceeds."—ἐξόμεθα αὐτῷ. "We will lay hold of him."

## § 42-44.

μᾶλλον ἐξεπλάγη. "Was more alarmed (than before)," i. e., than he had been by what he had previously heard. (*Bornemann*, ad loc.)—ἄπιμεν. Present, as before, in a future sense.—ἐκ τῆς ἰούτων ἐπικρατείας. "Out of the power of these men."—καὶ ἐν ἀπορήτῳ ποιησάμενος. "And having made (the communication) as a secret."—ἐπέστελλον ταῦτα. "Sent this information."—ἐφ' οἷς Σεύθης λέγει.

"On the terms that Scuthes mentions."—ἀναιπεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι. "The god thereupon directs him in reply to depart." The verb ἀναιρέω, which is properly employed in speaking of the answer of an oracle, is here, by a very rare usage, applied to the indications afforded by the entrails of a victim. Compare iii., 1, 6.

## CHAPTER VII.

## § 1-3.

ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας. "Went into quarters in villages."—ἐμελλον. "They intended."—ἀνωθεν. "From the upper country."—προκαλεῖται. "Calls out." The common text has *προσκαλεῖται*.—προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν. "We warn you, therefore."—εἰ δὲ μή. "But if you do not," i. e., depart. Supply *ἄπιτε*.—οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν ὑμῖν. "We will not permit you (to go on in this way)." Supply *ταῦτα ποιεῖν*.

## § 4-6.

ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγοντι, κ. τ. λ. "Why, even to answer you saying such things is painful."—καλοντες. The common text has *κατακαίοντες*, but the simple verb is more usual in such cases. So the Latins say, "*agros urere*," not "*comburare*."—ἐλθοις. The common text has *ἦλθες*, and they who adopt this reading maintain that Medosades had only come once to the Greeks. But compare chapter i., § 5, and chapter ii., § 10.—οὐκ ἦτε. "Did not use to come." Observe that ἦτε is for *ἦετε*, 2 plur. imperf. ind. of *εἶμι*, "to go."—κρειττόνων. "Belonging to persons more powerful than yourselves."

## § 7-10.

νῦν δὲ ἐξελαύνετε. We have given *νῦν δὲ*, the conjectural emendation of Leunclavius, instead of the common reading *νῦν δέ*.—ἣν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐχόντων, κ. τ. λ. "Which you received from us, holding it as our own by force of arms." The common text has *ἐκόντων*, an inferior reading.—καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοῦς, κ. τ. λ. "And you think fit to send us away, not only not having bestowed gifts, and done us kindnesses, in return for the things in which you received benefits from us, but you do not even permit us," &c. Compare, as regards the force of *οὐχ ὅπως*, the explanation of Krüger: "*nicht nur nicht*."—τὸν βίον ἔχοντα. "(Saw you) supporting your existence." Supply *ἐώρα*, from *ὄρα*, which precedes.—ἐφη. "Continued he."—ὅπως, ὥς περ ἀπηχθανόμην αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. "In order that, as I was hated by them, when I brought it to you, so, also, now I might gratify them by restoring it."

## § 11-14.

κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι. "Feel myself sinking beneath the earth." Observe the peculiar force of the middle.—ἡ χώρα πορθομένη. "The country being ravaged," i. e., the ravaging of the country.—τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους. "The most suitable persons."—προερῶν ἀπερ αὐτῷ. "To warn them as he had done him."—ὑμᾶς ἂν ἀπολαβεῖν. "That you would obtain."—δεδέχται ὑμῶν. "Has entreated of you."—ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται. "Whenever the soldiers have their just demands."

## § 15-17.

εἰεῖν. "That they will say it."—καὶ ἄλλα, ὅποια, κ. τ. λ. "And (such) other things as they may be able to urge with the greatest effect." πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. "All the proper persons." Compare the remark of Sturz on the present passage: οἱ ἐπικαίριοι sunt electi legatorum comites, ut cum Seutha agant.—πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν. Supply the apodosis, λέγε δὴ.—ἡμεῖς πρὸς σὲ ἔχομεν. "We have something to say to you." After ἔχομεν supply λέγειν.—μᾶλα δὴ ὑφειμένως. "Very submissively, you may be sure." Observe the force of δὴ.—καὶ Σεύθης. "And Seuthes also (says)." Supply λέγει.—ἐρχομεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν. "We come even now," i. e., even after what you have said. Schneider errs in making the natural order here to be νῦν καὶ.—ἐνθενδε. "From here," i. e., from you. Equivalent to ἀπὸ ὑμῶν.

## § 18-20.

τούτοις ἐπιτρέψαι. "To leave it to these men."—εἴτε προσῆκεν. "Whether it were fit."—καὶ οἰεσθαι ἂν Σεύθην πείσαι. "And (said) that he thought they would persuade Seuthes." Supply ἔφη, which turks in ἐκέλευσεν.—πέμπειν. "(He desired them) to send." Supply ἐκέλευσε.—Ξενοφῶντα. This name, and Σεύθην, further on in the clause, have the article in the common text.

## § 21-23.

οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσω. "Not with the intention of demanding any thing of you."—μετὰ τοὺς θεούς. "After the gods," i. e., next to the gods.—ὥστε οὐχ οὐδὲν τέ σοι λανθάνειν. "So that it is not possible (for you) to escape notice."—μέγα μὲν εἶναι. "To be a thing of great importance."—εὖ ἀκούειν. "To be well spoken of."—ἄπιστον. "Unworthy of belief."

## § 24, 25.

ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀπίστων, κ. τ. λ. "For I see the words of those

that are unworthy of belief wandering about vain, and powerless, and dishonored." Observe that πλανωμένους is here, in fact, the same as "missing their way," "not reaching their proper point of destination."—τινὰς σωφρονίζειν. "To bring any persons to reason."—οὐχ ἥττον σωφρονίζουσας. "Are no less corrective."—τὰς ἤδη κολάσεις. "The ready chastisements."—ἦν τέ τω. Observe that τω is here for τινί.—οὐδὲν μείον διαπράττονται, κ. τ. λ. "They accomplish no less (by their promises) than others do by giving at the instant."—τι προτελέσας ἡμῖν. "What having previously paid us."—πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν, ἃ ἔλεγε. "Having been trusted that you would prove true in what you said."—συγκατεργάσασθαι σοι. "To aid you in conquering."—τριάκοντα. The common text has πεντήκοντα, but the true reading is τριάκοντα, as appears very clearly from the calculation made by Krüger (*de Authent.*, p. 49).

## § 26-28.

τὸ πιστεύεσθαι σε, τὸ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, κ. τ. λ. "(Namely), your being credited, the thing which even achieved for you your kingdom."—τούτων τῶν χρημάτων. The genitive of price.—πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ τότε, κ. τ. λ. "How important you then deemed it to accomplish those things, which having subjugated you now possess."—σοὶ καταπραχθῆναι. "Should be accomplished for you."—τὸ ταῦτα νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν. "The not maintaining these things at present."—ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ πλουτήσαι. "Than not to have been rich at all." Observe here the force of ἀρχὴν, literally, "at first," i. e., from the first throughout, or simply "at all."

## § 29, 30.

ἐπίστασαι μὲν. This is here expressed as if we had following it, ἐπίστασαι δὲ ὅτι ἐπιχειροῖεν ἂν. A similar construction occurs in Sophocles, *Philoct.*, 1056, πάρεστι μὲν Τεῦκρος . . . ἐγὼ τε.—φιλία τῇ σῇ. "Through friendship toward thee." Observe here the employment of the possessive pronoun in an objective sense, and compare *Matthia*, § 466, 2.—καὶ σωφρονεῖν τὰ πρὸς σέ. "And would conduct themselves (more) obediently in the things that concern your interests," i. e., would pay more attention to your interests. Supply μᾶλλον from the previous clause.—διακειμένους. "Disposed."—μένοντας ἂν. "Likely to remain."—αὐθις τ' ἂν ταχὺ ἐλθόντας. "And likely to come quickly again."—τούτων. "From these."—ἢ εἰ καταδοξάσειαν, κ. τ. λ. "Than if they should form this opinion against you, namely, both that others would not come to you, through distrust, in consequence of the things which have now happened, and that these are better affected to-



ward them than toward you?" By τούτους are meant the Greeks, and by αὐτοῖς the subjects of Seuthes, recently acquired by conquest.

## § 31, 32.

ὑπειξάν σοι. "They have submitted to you."—προστατῶν. "Of leaders."—καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος. "This also is a danger."—μὴ λάβωσ. προστάτας αὐτῶν. "Lest they take as their leaders."—ἀδικεῖσθαι. By having their just dues withheld.—ἀν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ νῦν ἀναπράξωσιν. "If they now exact the money (due to them) from you."—συναινέσωσιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. "Shall agree with them as to these things."—οἱ νῦν ὑπὸ σοι Θράκες γενόμενοι. "The Thracians who are now come under you."

## § 33.

προνοεῖσθαι. "To provide for."—ἀπολαβόντες ἃ ἐγκαλοῦσιν. "Having received from you what they claim."—σὺ τε ἄλλους πειρῶ, κ. τ. λ. "And you should endeavor, having other soldiers more numerous than these, to encamp over against them when in want of provisions," i. e., to march against them when rendered desperate by the pressure of want.—ἢ εἰ ταῦτά τε ὀφείλοιντο, κ. τ. λ. "Or if both this money were due, and it were necessary to hire others stronger in force than they."

## § 35, 36.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδῃ, κ. τ. λ. "But (on the other side of the question it may be alleged as follows) unto Heracles, namely, as he declared to me, this money appears to be very much." Observe that γὰρ is here explanatory, and answers to the Latin *nempe*.—πολύ γέ ἐστιν ἑλαττον νῦν σοι. "It is a much lighter thing now, at least, for you," i. e., since we have strengthened your hands and increased your resources by conquest.—οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμός ἐστιν ὁ ὀρίζων, κ. τ. λ. "For it is not number that defines the much and the little, but the ability of both him that pays and him that receives."—σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσδοτος, κ. τ. λ. In modern parlance this would be the same as saying that his present income was larger than his former capital.

## § 37-40.

ταῦτα ὡς φίλου ὄντος σου προευννοούμεν. "Have been considering these things for your interest as being a friend."—μὴ διαφθαρεῖν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ. "Might not be ruined in (the eyes of) the army," i. e., might not lose all claim to honor and distinction in their eyes.—βουλόμενος. "If wishing (so to do)."—ὅν θεοῖς. More commonly written with the article.—ἐπὶ τῶν στρατιώταις. "On account

of the soldiers," i. e., that I might induce them to aid you.—εἰς τὸ ἰδίον. "For my private benefit."—ἀποδιδόντος. "Though offering to pay."—αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἦν. "For it were disgraceful," i. e., would be. Observe here the omission of ἂν, and consult Kühner, § 858, 1. This mode of putting the actual in the place of the conditional realization is emphatic, and gives a notion of the certainty of the consequent, if the restriction contained in the apodosis had not intervened.—τὰ δ' ἐκείνων περιδεῖν, κ. τ. λ. "And that I should overlook theirs, being in a bad situation."

## § 41-43.

πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου. "Compared with the having money by whatever means."—ὄντων φίλων πολλῶν. "There being many who are his friends," i. e., he is rich in the numerous friends that he has.—καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττων, κ. τ. λ. "And when doing well, he has those who will rejoice with him."—εἰ δὲ τι σφαλῇ. "While, if he stumble in aught," i. e., experience any reverse of fortune.—ἀλλὰ γάρ. "But (I have said enough) for."—ἀλλὰ πάντως κατανόησον. "Yet at least consider by all means." Some MSS. give πάντας, others πάντων. Schaefer, however (*Melet. Crit.*, p. 130), conjectures πάντως, which is now adopted in the best editions.

## § 44-47.

ὡς σὲ περὶ πλείονος ποιούμεν. "That I esteemed you of more value." Compare i., 9, 7.—ὡς μᾶλλον μέλοι μοι. "That it was more a care unto me," i. e., that I cared more.—τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα. Depending in construction on ἔχειν.—ἐνιδόντας μοι. "Having seen in me."—δεῖν ἀποκεῖσθαι τούτῳ. "Ought to be laid up for that one."—πρὶν μὲν ὑπηρετῆσαι τί σοι ἐμέ. "Before I had done you any service."—ξενίαις. "Gifts of hospitality." Compare Suidas: ξένιον· δῶρον παρὰ ξένων διδόμενον.—καὶ ὅσα ἐσοίτο ὑπισχνούμενος, κ. τ. λ. "And did not satisfy yourself with promising how many (rewards) should be mine." Literally, "were not filled up." Compare Weiske: "*Nec satiatu es pollicendo (et demonstrando) quot (præmia) mihi futura essent.*"—νῦν οὕτω με ἄτιμον ὄντα, κ. τ. λ. "Have you now the heart to overlook me, being thus disgraced among the soldiers?"—ὅτι σοὶ δόξει. We would expect here ὅτι χρή. The writer commences, however, as if ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διδαχθέντα were to follow in the course of the sentence.—καὶ αὐτόν γέ σε οὐχὶ ἀνέξεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. "And that you, of yourself, will not endure to see those who freely bestowed their good offices upon you, loading you with reproaches." The phrase προλεσθαι εὐεργεσίαν τινί means, properly, to bestow kind offices upon another

without stopping to inquire whether there be any prospect of a return or not. Compare Stallbaum (*ad Plat., Gorg., 520, c*): "*Ultro beneficium deferre, non pacta mercede.*" In using the phrase, however, on the present occasion, Xenophon indulges somewhat in oratorical exaggeration. The Greeks had actually stipulated for pay (chap. ii., § 36), and could only be said *εὐεργεσίαν προέσθαι* so far forth as, after receiving part of their pay, they did not appropriate any portion of the plunder immediately unto themselves, trusting that Seuthes would pay the remainder on the close of the expedition. (Krüger, *ad loc.*)

## § 48-50.

*κατηράσατο τῷ αἰτίῳ, κ. τ. λ.* "Uttered imprecations against the author of the pay's not having been discharged long before." Observe the dative after a verb of swearing, and consult Kühner, § 589, 1.—*διενοήθην.* "Intended."—*δι' ἐμοῦ.* "Through me."—*καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν με διὰ σὲ ἀνομιόως ἔχοντα, κ. τ. λ.* "And not to neglect me, on your account, differently situated in the army at present, from what I was when we came to you." Literally, "having myself differently in the army both now and when we came to you."—*ἂν τε μένης.* "Ana if you remain."—*τὰ χωρία.* Compare chapter ii., § 38.

## § 51-54.

*ταῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως.* "That these should be so," i. e., that I should agree to this arrangement. Compare Krüger: "*darauf kann ich nicht eingehen.*"—*καὶ μὲν.* "And yet in very truth."—*ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινῶ.* "Well, I praise your foresight."—*ἀλλ' ἢ.* "Except." Literally, "other than." Observe that *ἀλλ' ἢ*, as before remarked, is for *ἄλλο ἢ.*—*τάλαντον.* Compare note on *δέκα τάλαντα*, i., 7, 18.—*ὁμήρους.* Compare chap. iv., § 14 and 21.—*μὴ ἐξικνῆται.* "Do not come up to," i. e., do not amount to.—*τίνος τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν;* "Whose talent shall I say that I have?" i. e., for whom shall I say that I received it? Xenophon pleasantly alludes to the very limited amount of money, a single talent, namely, which Seuthes promises to give, and he asks how he is to divide this among so large a number. Compare Halbkart: "*unter welche Griechen soll ich es (das Talent) vertheilen, da ihrer so viele sind?*"—*ἂρ' οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικινδυνόν ἐστιν, κ. τ. λ.* "Is it not better, since danger even threatens me, to guard against stones by departing at least (for my home)?" i. e., since, as you say, danger threatens me. Compare § 51. In the expression *φυλάττεσθαι πέτρους*, Xenophon alludes to the threat contained in chapter vi., § 10. We have given

here the reading of the best editions, and which alone appears to make good sense. The common text has *ἐπειδὴ μοι καὶ ἐπικινδυνόν ἐστιν ἀπιόντι, ἀμεινον, κ. τ. λ.*

## § 55-57.

*ἃ ὑπέσχετο.* "(The animals) which he had promised." Literally, "what things he had promised."—*τέως μὲν ἔλεγον.* "Up to this time were accustomed to say."—*δι' ὑμᾶς.* "Through your means."—*διάδοτε.* "Distribute (the proceeds)."—*λαφυροπώλας.* "Booty-sellers."—*καὶ πολλὴν ἔχον αἰτίαν.* "And got much blame."—*οὐ προσήει.* "Did not go near them," i. e., did not go near to Charminus and Polynicus, in order to avoid sharing with them the suspicion of mismanagement. Consult Krüger, *ad loc.*—*οὐ γὰρ πῶ ψῆφος αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ.* "For sentence of banishment had not yet been proposed against him at Athens." Observe here the peculiar form of expression *ἐπάγειν ψῆφόν τινι*, "to propose a vote or decree against any one," and, in the passive, *ψῆφος ἐπῆκτό τινι*, "a vote or decree against a man had been proposed." (Schömann, *de Comit. Athen.*, p. 121.) The literal meaning of the verb is "to bring on," which Hobbes explains by referring it to the bringing in of the balloting urn and ballots. (Consult Poppo, *ad Thucyd.*, i., 125.) As regards the sentence of banishment in Xenophon's case, consult the Life at the commencement of the volume.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## § 1.

*Λάμψακον.* Lampsacus was a city of Mysia, in Asia Minor situate on the Hellespont, where it begins to open into the Propontis, and northeast of Abydos. It was founded by the Phœceans. The modern Lamsaki answers to the ancient site.—*Φλιάσιος.* "A Phliasian," i. e., native of Phlius, a city of Sicyonia in the Peloponnesus.—*τοῦ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος.* "Who wrote the (work) entitled *dreams in the Lyceum.*" There is great doubt here as to the true reading, some of the MSS. giving *ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἐν οἰκίῳ*, and one *ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἐν οἰκίῳ*, while Toup (*Epist. Crit.*, p. 48) conjectures *ἐν ὥπια*. Zeune adopts Toup's emendation, by which the latter understands "*partes ædium anteriores,*" and Larcher "*la façade du Lycée,*" all of these scholars giving *γεγραφότος*, of course, the meaning "who painted." Hutchinson again, who gives the reading which we have followed, explains it, nevertheless, in a similar way with



Toup, Zeune, and Larcher, by a reference to painting: "*qui pinxit somnia in Lyceo*." Compare, also, *Letronne, sur la peinture murale*, p. 349. We have deemed it safer, however, to follow the common reading, and have therefore adopted the explanation of Brodæus, "*qui scripsit libros de somniis in Lyceo*." The Lyceum was a sacred enclosure at Athens, dedicated to Apollo, where the polemarch originally kept his court. It was decorated with fountains, plantations, and buildings, and became the usual place of exercise for the Athenian youth who devoted themselves to military pursuits. Nor was it less frequented by philosophers, and it was especially the favorite resort of Aristotle and his followers. (*Cramer's Anc Greece*, ii., p. 340.)

## § 2-4.

*ἐφ' ὁδίου*. "Traveling expenses."—*παρεστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην*. "He placed beside him this Euclides," i. e., during the celebration of the sacrifice.—*κὰν μέλλῃ ποτὲ ἐσεσθαι*. "Even though (money) be about to be (yours) at some time or other."—*σὺ σπανῶ*. Alluding to Xenophon's disinterestedness.—*Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλῆχιος*. "Meilichian Jove," i. e., Propitiatory Jove, or Jove the protector of those who invoked him with propitiatory offerings. This deity, in the cultus of the Attic gens Phytalidæ, stood in combination with Demeter, or Ceres; which circumstance of itself carries one, according to Müller, to a Jupiter Chthonius, or Hades. With this accords the circumstance, that in the Attic cultus of Meilichian Jove the victims sacrificed were swine, the animals devoted to the Earth-mother Demeter, and, moreover, as holocausts, just as was the practice in the service of infernal Jove. Hence we find Xenophon, in § 5, propitiating the god according to the rites of his country. (*Müller, Eumenides*, § 55, p. 147, *Eng. transl.*)—*ὥς περ οἶκοι, ἔφη, εἰδόμεν, κ. τ. λ.* From this it would appear that Euclides was residing at Athens at the same time with Xenophon, and was accustomed to officiate in his sacrifices. Hence the intimacy between them. (*Schneider, ad loc.*) Krüger conjectures that he may have been also a disciple of Socrates, and refers to the Phædon of Plato, near the commencement, where allusion is made to citizens of Phlius.—*ἂν δὲ δρὸν ἀπεδήμησεν*. "Since he left home."—*συνόλσειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον*. "That it will contribute for the better."

## § 5-8.

*Ὀφρύνιον*. Ophrynium was a place near Dardanus, which last was 70 stadia from Abydus.—*χοίρους*. Larcher thinks that these

were cakes made to resemble swine, not the actual creatures themselves. Halbkart is of the same opinion, and thinks that Xenophon was too poor to be able to offer up real swine.—*ἐκαλλιέρι*. "He found the entrails favorable."—*καὶ ξενοῦνται τε τῷ Ξενοφῶντι*. "And they are both hospitably entertained by Xenophon." The expression *ξενοῦσθαι τινα* properly means, "to enter into a compact of hospitality with another," or "to become a guest friend to another." As, however, this relation already existed between the parties, we must give the verb here a more general meaning. (*Krüger, ad loc.*) Compare § 8.—*λυσάμενοι*. "Having redeemed."—*τὴν τιμὴν*. "The price."—*Ἀντανδρον*. Antandrus was a city of Troas, on the northern side of the Gulf of Adramyttium.—*τῆς Λυδίας εἰς Θήβης πεδίου*. "To the plain of Thebe in Lydia." There is probably some corruption here in the text, and for *Λυδίας* we ought to read *Μυσίας*. Thebe, surnamed Hypoplacia, was in Mysia, and was situate at the foot of Mount Placos, whence the epithet commonly given to it. After being destroyed by Achilles, it did not rise from its ruins, but the name remained throughout antiquity attached to the surrounding plains, famed for their fertility. (*Cramer's Asia Minor*, i., p. 129.) Zeune endeavors to defend the ordinary reading by referring to Strabo (xiii., p. 586), who states, that after the Trojan war the plain of Thebe was occupied by Lydians. Strabo, however, refers to more remote times, and his authority, therefore, in the present case, is of little, if any value.—*Ἀδραμύτιον*. Adramyttium was situate on the coast of Mysia, at the head of an extensive bay facing the island of Lesbos. The modern name is *Adramyt*.—*Κερτῶνου*. The reading here is very doubtful. The best MSS. have *Κερτῶνου*, others, however, *Κερτονίου*. What place is meant is hard to say. Stephanus Byzantinus speaks of a Mysian town named *Κυτῶνιον*, between Lydia and Mysia (*πόλιν μεταξὺ Λυδίας καὶ Μυσίας*). Some conjecture *Καρίνης* in our text, since the position of Kertonum or Kertonium agrees very well with that of Carine. But the MSS. do not favor such an alteration. (*Cramer, Asia Minor*, i., p. 132.)

*Ἀταρνεία*. Atarneus was a town of Mysia, opposite Lesbos.—*Καῖκου πεδίου*. This was the plain watered by the River Caicus, the most considerable of the Mysian streams, and which discharged its waters into a bay, taking its name from the port of Elæa, about 30 stadia to the southeast of the town of Pitane. (*Cramer, Asia Minor*, i., p. 135.)—*Πέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι*. "They reach Pergamus." Pergamus was the most important city in Mysia, and the capital afterward of the kingdom of Pergamus. It was situate in the southern part of the country, in a plain watered by two small

rivers, the Selinus and Cetius, which afterward joined *αἰνῶνα*. The modern name is *Bergamah*, or *Bergmá*.

*Ξενοῦται Ξενοφῶν παρ' Ἑλλάδι, κ. τ. λ.* "Xenophon is hospitably entertained in the residence of Hellas, the wife of Gongylus the Eretrian." Literally, "with Hellas." Gongylus, of Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, was the agent by whose means Pausanias entered into communication with Xerxes, B.C. 477, when he aimed at subjugating Greece to the Persian sway, and making himself its sovereign. To the charge of this individual Pausanias intrusted Byzantium after its recapture, and it was Gongylus who went to Xerxes with the remarkable letter in which Pausanias offered to put the Persian king in possession of Sparta and all Greece, in return for marriage with his daughter. (*Thucyd.*, i., 129; *Diod. Sic.*, xi., 44; *Corn. Nep.*, *Paus.*, 2.) Xerxes, after the failure of this scheme, bestowed, according to the Persian custom, certain cities on Gongylus, to furnish him with the means of support, and it would seem from the present passage that Pergamus was one of these. (Compare *Xen.*, *Hist. Gr.*, iii., 1, 6.) Gongylus was dead when Xenophon visited this quarter.

## § 9-11.

*τοῦτον ἐφ' αὐτόν.* Observe that *αὐτόν* here refers to Xenophon, but that *καὶ αὐτόν*, further on, applies to Asidates.—*καθηγησόμενος.* "To point out the way."—*Βασίλας.* The reading of some of the best MSS. The common text has *Ἀγασίας*.—*ὅπως εὖ ποιήσαι αὐτούς.* By giving them, namely, a share of the expected plunder.—*βιασάμενοι.* "Having forced themselves upon him."—*ἀπήλυνον.* "Drove them back." Observe the force of the imperfect: they drove them back as often as they attempted to follow.—*ἵνα μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ αἶρος, κ. τ. λ.* "That they might not (have to) give them their share as of plunder, that was, of course, ready (to be seized)." Observe the force of *δὴ* in connection with *ἐτοίμων*.

## § 12-15.

*τὰ μὲν πέριξ.* Observe that *πέριξ*, especially with the genitive, is of rare occurrence in Attic prose.—*ἀπέδρα αὐτούς, κ. τ. λ.* "Escaped them, since they neglected (them) in order that they might take," &c.—*προμαχεῶνας.* "Battlements."—*ὃ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπ' ὀκτὼ πλίνθων, κ. τ. λ.* "And the wall was eight earthen bricks in breadth." (Consult *Schneider*, *ad loc.*)—*ἐπάταξεν ἐνδοθεν, κ. τ. λ.* "Some one from within struck the thigh of the nearest man with a very large spit, so as to pierce it through and through." Literally, "with an ox-piercing

spit," i. e., a spit large enough to spit a whole ox.—*πυρσενόντων.* "Making signals by torches."—*Κομανίας.* Comania appears to have been either a castle, or an obscure town not far from Pergamus. This is the only passage of an ancient writer in which it is mentioned.—*Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι ἱππεῖς.* Zeune thinks that the Hyrcanian horse here mentioned came from the Hyrcanius Campus in Lydia, a plain watered by the Hyllus or Phrygius. The mention, however, of Assyrian forces also disproves this opinion very effectually. The Hyrcanians here meant were natives of Hyrcania in Upper Asia, to the south of the eastern part of the Caspian Sea.—*Παρθενίου.* Parthenium was a town of Mysia near Pergamus.—*Ἀπολλωνίας.* Apollonia, also a town of Mysia, was to the east of Pergamus, on the way to Sardes. (*Strabo*, xiii., p. 625.)

## § 16-19.

*ὥρα ἦν σκοπεῖν.* "It was time to consider."—*ἐντὸς πλαισίου ποιησάμενοι.* This probably refers to the *ἀνδράποδα* merely.—*οὐ οὕτω.* "Not so much."—*φυγὴ εἴη.* "Might be (in appearance) a flight."—*ὥς μαχοῦμενοι.* "As if resolved to fight."—*βία τῆς μητρός.* "In despite of his mother." Though well disposed toward the Greeks, she was probably afraid lest the Persians might retaliate for this.—*Ἀλίσαρνης.* Alisarne was also a town near Pergamus. Pliny writes the name Halisarne. (v. 32.)—*Τευθρανίας.* Consult ii., 1, 3.—*ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων.* "That they might have their shields as a defense against the arrows." Consult, as regards the peculiar force of *πρὸ* in this passage, *Kühner*, § 619, 3.—*διασώζονται.* "They get safe through."—*δοσὸν θύματα.* "(In such quantity) as (to supply the) sacrifices." Weiske thinks that the allusion is to sacrifices for their safe return. Bornemann, however, refers it to § 21.

## § 20-24.

*ὅπως ὅτι μακροτάτην ἔλθοι τῆς Λυδίας.* "That he might go the longest way possible through Lydia." Supply *ὁδόν*.—*εἰς τὸ μὴ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς, κ. τ. λ.* "So that (the Persian) may not be alarmed by his being near, but be off his guard." Supply *τὸν Πέρσην* as the subject of *φοβεῖσθαι*. Some conjecture here *ὥστε* in place of *εἰς τὸ*, but compare *Xen.*, *Mem.*, iii., 6, 2: *εἰς τὸ ἐθελῆσαι ἀκούειν τοιαύδε λέξας*.—*ἐπ' αὐτόν.* "On the subject of marching against him." The full expression would be *ἐπὶ τῷ ἵνα* (or *περὶ τοῦ ἵνα*) *ἐπ' αὐτόν*.—*ἐξανλίζεται εἰς κώμας, κ. τ. λ.* "Goes out to lodge in villages lying close under the town of Parthenium." Literally, "having themselves."—



αὐτόν. Krüger thinks that *τέ* has here been dropped from the text—*τὸν θεόν*. Either Jupiter Meilichius, or else the deity generally. The latter is the more probable. (Weiske, *ad loc.*)—*ἐξαιρετα*. "Selected portions."

## § 25, 26.

*ἄρχοντες δὲ οἶδε, κ. τ. λ.* Krüger has very satisfactorily shown that this entire section is a mere interpolation. (*De Authent.*, p. 7, *seqq.*) The same opinion must be formed of the succeeding one. (*Poppo, ad loc.*)—*ἐπήλθομεν*. In the narrative, this is the only instance, throughout the entire work, where Xenophon employs the first person. This, of course, furnishes no weak argument against the authenticity of the whole section.—*Λυδίας . . . . Φρυγίας*. But Cyrus was satrap of these provinces before marching against his brother (i., 9, 7), and after his death Tissaphernes received them. We have here another argument against the authenticity of the text.—*Ἀραβίας*. As regards the Arabia here meant, consult i., 5, 1. It is utterly improbable, however, that this Arabia could form one satrapy with Phœnicia.—*Βέλεσις*. Syria and Assyria never were governed by the same satrap. Another argument against the text.—*Ἑσπεριῶν*. Weiske thinks that the western Armenians are meant. Teribazus certainly commanded the latter. (iv., 4, 4.)—*Χάλυδες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι*. Consult v., 5, 17.—*καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ αὐτόνομοι*. The common text has, before these words, *καὶ Κοῖται*, but as such a people are neither named in the present work, nor by any other ancient writer, we have rejected these words as spurious. Dindorf conjectures *Ταόχοι*.—*τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Θρακῶν Σεύθης*. It is ridiculous to name Seuthes here among the *ἄρχοντες τῆς βασιλείας χώρας*.—*ἀριθμός*. Consult ii., 3, 6, and with regard to the distance traveled by the Greeks both in going and returning, consult Life of Xenophon at the beginning of the present volume.

## APPENDICES.

## APPENDICES.

### No. I.

#### ON A FEW ASTRONOMICAL POINTS CONNECTED WITH THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

THE discrepancy which existed between the Arabian and Alexandrian geographers, in regard to the latitude of the northern parts of Asia Minor, led to long discussions among former commentators upon the Expedition of Cyrus, for which there is, happily, no longer occasion. The Arabians, it is well known, laid down Byzantium, and the northern parts of Asia Minor, in about  $45^{\circ}$  of north latitude, while Ptolemy placed them in about  $43^{\circ}$ . The Mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople has been astronomically fixed in modern times by Gauttier, as being in north latitude  $41^{\circ} 0' 12''$ , and  $28^{\circ} 59' 2''$  of east longitude. The whole coast of the Euxine is north of this parallel, but only at one point (Injeh Bárnú), "narrow cape," extends beyond the parallel of  $42^{\circ}$ ; Sinope being, according to Gauttier, in  $42^{\circ} 2' 30''$  north latitude. We have also the following further data upon this subject:

Haraklí . . . . .	$41^{\circ} 15' 30''$	N. Lat.	Ainsw. and Russell
Sinope . . . . .	$42^{\circ} 2' 30''$	—	Gauttier.
— . . . . .	$42^{\circ} 1' 45''$	—	W. J. Hamilton.
Kúmjas . . . . .	$41^{\circ} 28' 30''$	—	do.
Cape Yasún . . . . .	$41^{\circ} 7' 35''$	—	do.
Kérasún . . . . .	$40^{\circ} 52' 40''$	—	do.
Elehú . . . . .	$41^{\circ} 0' 40''$	—	do.
Trebizond . . . . .	$41^{\circ} 1' 0''$	—	Gauttier.
— . . . . .	$40^{\circ} 59' 0''$	—	W. J. Hamilton.

The positive width of the Asiatic peninsula can thus be easily determined, as we have for the southern coast the accurate observations of the hydrographer, Captain Beaufort, and of Lieutenant Murphy, the astronomer of the Euphrates expedition; and which show, that at its most southerly point of Cape Anamúr the coast does not reach the parallel of  $36^{\circ}$ , although within a little more than a minute of it.

The questions as to whether the position of Massalia (Messina), given by Hipparchus, after Pytheas, in lat.  $43^{\circ}$ , and stated by



Strabo in a general manner to lie under the same parallel as Byzantium, was the cause of misleading the Alexandrian geographer; and whether the Arabians on their side increased the amount of error by mistaking  $43^\circ$  for  $45^\circ$ , remain in the present day simply as curiosities in the progress of historical geography. The result was, that Ptolemy, and a great number of geographers after him, made the Asiatic peninsula two degrees and a half broader than it is, and the Arabians extended this to four degrees and a half.

The reason for Strabo's placing Byzantium too far to the north has also been found in his allowing 4900 stadia due north, from Rhodes to Byzantium, the first of these two places being upon the celebrated imaginary parallel, called the Diaphragm of Rhodes, on which Eratosthenes proposed to mark off the longitudinal measurements of the known world, and which corresponded to the parallel of  $26^\circ 21'$ . It is obvious that this distance, which applies itself only to a devious navigation of 490 G. miles, would carry Byzantium three degrees more to the northward than it really is.

The subject of the Diaphragm of Rhodes permits me to make here an interesting remark regarding the positioning of Thapsacus. It is well known that the Pillars of Hercules, the City of Rhodes, the Gulf of Issus, Thapsacus on the Euphrates, the passage of the Tigris at Nineveh, the Mespila of Xenophon, and the Atropatenian Ecbatana, were among the chief points upon this arbitrary parallel; and Major Rawlinson has lately expressed his belief, relying on the judgment of antiquity, that they would not be found to vary many minutes from the said parallel. Although actual observation has not coincided within so small an amount of error, still the approximation has been sufficiently close to lend an interest to the inquiry, and in an indirect manner even to throw additional light upon a question of comparative geography.

Gibraltar . . . . .	$36^\circ 6' 30''$	N. Lat.	Smith.
Rhodes (mole) . . . . .	$36 26 15$	—	Beaufort.
Iskenderûn (Gulf of Issus) . . . . .	$36 35 19$	—	Murphy.
Rakkah (near Thapsacus) . . . . .	$35 55 35$	—	do.
Môsul (near Nineveh) . . . . .	$36 21 0$	—	Ainsworth.
Takhti Suleimân (Ecbatana) . . . . .	$36 27 0$	—	Rawlinson.

The assumed Thapsacus, the ford of the Bedwins, is the point most removed from the parallel of Eratosthenes, but Deir, previously generally admitted as the Thapsacus of the ancients, is by Lieutenant Murphy's observations in north latitude  $35^\circ 20' 7''$ .

So late as in Spelman's time (note f., p. 167), we find Armenia

spoken of as lying between the parallels of  $40^\circ$  and  $43^\circ$  of north latitude, but it must be at once self-evident that no direct distances can ever be made to account for the distances traveled over by the Greeks in that country, and the adjacent country of the Taochians or Georgians.

The following are the chief points which have been used in the construction of the map, for the most important of which, the observations of the astronomer Murphy, I am, as before stated, obliged to the liberality of Colonel Chesney.

	N. Lat.	E. Long.	Observers.
Chonos . . . . .	$37^\circ 43' 0''$	—	W. J. Hamilton.
Deenair . . . . .	$38 3 0$	—	do.
'Ishâklî . . . . .	$38 17 45$	—	do.
Kóniyah . . . . .	$37 50 30$	—	do.
Tarsus . . . . .	$36 54 5$	—	Murphy.
— . . . . .	$36 46 30$	$34^\circ 46' 45''$	Gauttier.
Iskenderûn . . . . .	$36 35 19$	$36 7 45$	Murphy.
— . . . . .	$36 35 27$	$36 10 0$	Conn. des Tems
Port William (near Bîreh jik) }	$37 0 38$	$37 58 15$	Murphy.
Ba'lis . . . . .	$36 1 21$	$39 7 10$	do.
Rakkah . . . . .	$35 55 35$	$39 3 58$	do.
Deir . . . . .	$35 20 7$	$40 11 30$	do.
Werdi or Irzah . . . . .	$34 29 4$	$40 59 15$	do.
'Anâh . . . . .	$34 27 27$	$41 58 46$	do.
Haddisa . . . . .	$34 7 40$	$42 26 28$	do.
Jubbah . . . . .	$33 54 37$	$42 34 18$	do.
Hît . . . . .	$33 38 8$	$42 52 15$	do.
Felâjah . . . . .	$33 21 9$	$43 48 22$	do.
Hillah . . . . .	$32 28 35$	$44 48 40$	do.
Baghdâd . . . . .	$33 19 40$	$44 45 45$	Rich.
'Adhem . . . . .	$34 0 38$	—	Lynch.
Sidd Nimrûd . . . . .	$34 3 30$	—	do.
Môsul . . . . .	$36 19 30$	$43 10 0$	do.
— . . . . .	$36 21 0$	$43 12 45$	Jaubert.
— . . . . .	$36 21 0$	—	Ainsworth.
Sûlub . . . . .	$36 52 5$	—	do.
Tel Kôbbin . . . . .	$37 14 10$	—	do.
Fénik . . . . .	$37 27 35$	—	do.
Chelâk . . . . .	$37 41 5$	—	do.
Se'rt . . . . .	$38 2 40$	$41 34 7$	do.
Betlîs . . . . .	$38 23 54$	$42 4 45$	Glascott.

	N. Lat.	E. Long.	Observers.
Betlis . . . . .	38° 24' 5"		Ainsworth.
Mash . . . . .	38 46 30	41° 29' 30"	Glascott.
— . . . . .	38 45 40	—	Ainsworth.
'Arúz (Khanús district) }	39 17 40	—	do.
Khanús . . . . .	39 21 42	—	Glascott.
Bíngöl-su . . . . .	39 37 30	—	Ainsworth
Upland . . . . .	39 44 50	—	do.
Tsarskie (Taochir) .	41 27 57.7	—	Struve.
Tiflis . . . . .	41 41 4.0	44 50 39	do.
Gumri . . . . .	40 46 57.6	43 46 54	do.
Kars . . . . .	40 37 1.7	43 9 2	do.
Hasan Kal'eh . . . .	39 58 47.4	—	do.
Erz-Rám . . . . .	39 55 16.1	41 18 31	do.
(Vice-consulate) . .	39 55 20	41 18 30	Glascott.
Baibúrt . . . . .	40 15 36.5	40 8 48	Struve.
Gúmish Kháná . . . .	40 25 30	—	W. J. Hamilton.

Strabo makes the distance between Thapsacus and Babylon, following the course of the River Euphrates, 4800 stadia, or 480 G. miles. The distance, according to Xenophon, is equal to 633 G. miles, and it is by the river itself, as ascertained by the course of the steamer *Euphrates*, 657 G. miles. There is a considerable discrepancy here, which Forster has endeavored to do away with, by supposing that the distances on this part of the route, as given by Xenophon, were marked out by fancy, and impressed by fatigue and suffering; but as in other cases, the historian's statements are borne out by the experience of actual exploration, and the difference between his statement and that of the Amasean geographer depends upon the travelers in Strabo's time shortening the distance by following in part the great Palmyrean road, and the right bank of the river, by which they were enabled to make many abbreviations. The relations of the distances given by Xenophon, and those obtained by the Euphrates Expedition, are as follows:

By <i>Euphrates</i> Steamer.	Geo. Miles.	By Xenophon.	Geo. Miles.
Ford of 'Anézeh to the Khábúr	174	Thapsacus to Araxes	150
Khábúr to Irzah . . . . .	110	Araxes to Corsote . . . .	105
Irzah to Hít: . . . . .	194	Corsote to Pylæ . . . . .	270
Hít to Felújah . . . . .	84	Pylæ to Cunaxa . . . . .	72
Felújah to Babylon . . . .	94	Cunaxa to Babylon . . . .	36
	656		633

making a difference of about 24 G. miles in favor of the land-route over the river-route. And the comparisons thus instituted would produce results slightly different from what we have admitted; but we have endeavored to appreciate the amount of error in each portion of the journey, in obtaining our comparisons, and not in the gross amount, which would bring all the errors to culminate upon one point, when it is evident that they must be distributed throughout the whole. The coincidence of distance between the Araxes and Corsote, and the Khábúr and Irzah, is remarkable; and if we take the distances given from Corsote to Pylæ, they would place the gates at 8 miles north of Felújah, leaving 102 miles (8 to Felújah + 94 to Babylon) to Babylon, while, according to the distances given by Xenophon, it would be 108 miles from the Pylæ to Babylon, a difference of only 6 miles upon upward of 100, but which we have entirely done away with by putting the error to the account of the journey from Corsote to Pylæ, which at fourteen miles north of Felújah would be by river 264 miles from Corsote, instead of 270, as given by Xenophon.



## No. II.

## TABULAR VIEW OF THE DATES OF THE PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS

FROM MAJOR RENNELL.

Halts, Days.

	As they left Ephesus seven months before the battle, their departure may be reckoned to be about the . . .	7 Feb., B.C. 401.
	Left Sardis about . . .	6 March.
20.	Arrive at Celsæ . . .	20 ———
5.	——— Caystrus . . .	1 May.
20.	——— Tarsus . . .	6 June.
7.	——— Myriandrus . . .	6 July.
5.	Ford the Euphrates at Thapsacus . .	5 August.
	At the Pylæ . . .	1 September
	Battle of Cunaxa . . .	7 ———
26.	Arrive at the Truce villages . . .	10 ———
	At Sitace . . .	11 October.
3.	Massacre at the Zapatas . . .	29 ———
	Ascend the Carduchian Mountains . .	20 November.
	First snow in Armenia . . .	6 December.
	Crossed the Eastern Euphrates . . .	13 ———
8.	Arrive at the villages of refreshment .	18 ———
	——— the Harpasus River . . .	19 Jan., B.C. 400.
30.	——— Trebizond . . .	13 February.
45.	——— Cotyora . . .	13 April.
	——— Heraclea . . .	1 July.
	——— Chrysopolis . . .	7 August.
	Join Seuthes . . .	5 December.
	——— Thibron . . .	5 Mar., B.C. 399

## No. III.

## INDEX AND COMPARATIVE TABLE

TO THE

## EXPEDITION OF CYRUS,

AND THE

## RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

Places.	Identifications.	Marches.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Sardes or Sardis.	Sart.				Herodotus, i., c. 101. Polybius, v., c. 77. Strabo, xiii., p. 430. Cicero, de Senectute, c. 17. Livius, 37, c. 24. Horatius, i., Epist. 2. Ovidius, Metamorph., vi., 137. Plinius, v., c. 29. Cellarius, p. 125. Rennell's Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus, &c., p. 19. W. J. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, &c., vol. i., p. 144; vol. ii., p. 378. Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, p. 8, &c.
River Meander.	Mendêreh-sû.	3	22	66	Herodotus, vii., c. 26. Livius, 38, c. 13. Ovidius, Meta., viii., v. 162. Seneca, Hercule Furente, v. 683. Maximus Tyrius, Dissertat., 38. Cellarius, p. 83, 158. Rennell, p. 21. Hamilton (Op. cit.), vol. i., p. 113, 124, 496, 525; vol. ii., p. 161, 366. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 6, 13, &c.
Colossæ.	Chonos.	1	8	24	Herodotus, vii., c. 30. Strabo, lib. 12. Quintus Curtius, 3, c. 1. Plinius, 2, c. 103. Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians. Salmasius in Solin., p. 582. Carolus de S. Paulo Geo. Sac., p. 241. Curopalates (Excerpta ex Breviano Hist. J. Scylitzæ Curopalates, in G. Cedreni Compend. Historiarum, vol. ii., p. 834. Parisiis, 1647). Cellarius, p. 152. Rennell, p. 21. Arundel, Seven Churches of Asia Minor, p. 92. Hamilton, vol. i., p. 508; vol. ii., p. 58. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 13, 17, 18, &c.
Celsæ.	Deenair	3	20	60	Herodotus, vii., c. 26. Strabo, xii., p. 578. Livius, 38, c. 13. Plinius, v., c. 29. Tacitus, xii., c. 58. Arrianus, i., c. 29. Maximus Tyrius, Diss., 38. Salmasius in Solin., p. 587. Cellarius, p. 157. Rennell, p. 23. Leake, Tour in Asia Minor, p. 158. Cramer's Asia Minor, vol. ii., p. 50. Hamilton, vol. i., p. 499, 505; vol. ii., p. 366. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 18, 19, 20, 21.

Place.	Identifications.	Miles.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Keramôn Agora.	Market of the Ceramiana.				Livius, 37, c. 56. Plinius, v., 32. Rennell, p. 28. Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 203. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 26.
Plain of Caystrus.	Sürmeneh.	3	30	90	Rennell, p. 31. Leake (Op. cit.), p. 60. Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 203. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 26, 27.
Thymbrium.	'Ishâkî.	2	10	30	Plinius, v., c. 7. Rennell, p. 34. Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 201. Ainsworth, Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, &c., vol. ii., p. 63. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 29, 33.
Tyrisium.	'Arkût Khân.	2	10	30	Plinius, v., c. 27. Anna Comnena, xv., c. 7, 13. Rennell, p. 28. Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 200. Ainsworth, vol. ii., p. 64. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 29, 33, 37.
Iconium.	Kéniyah.	3	20	60	Strabo, Cicero, Epist. ad Attic. Plinius, &c., in Cellarius, p. 201. Ptolemaeus, v., c. 6. Acts of the Apostles, xiii., 51; xiv., 1. Historia Apostolorum, c. 14, p. 1. Rennell, p. 26, 34. Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 196, 200. Cramer (Op. cit.), vol. ii., p. 65. Ainsworth, vol. ii., p. 65. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 27, 35, 38.
Lower Taurus. Dana (Tyana).	Pass of 'Alân Bârkî. Kîz Hîsâr.	5 4	30 25	90 75	Rennell, p. 37. Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 322. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 40. Strabo, 12, p. 370. Ovidius, Metam., viii., v. 721. Ammianus Marcellinus, 23, c. 6, and c. 19. Flavius Vopiscus, c. 22 and 23. Sozomenus, 6, c. 12. Philostratus, Vita Apollon., 1, c. 6. Pseudo-Aristot., Mirab. Auscult., p. 163. Cellarius, p. 344. Rennell, p. 37. Hamilton, vol. ii., p. 200 and 300. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, p. 242 and 380. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 40, 43.
Wiclan Gates.	Gölêk Bôghâz.				Callisthenes in Polybii fragmentis, 12, c. 8. Strabo, xii., p. 370. Cicero, 5, ad Attic. Epist., 20. Plinius, v., c. 27. Arrianus, 2. Quintus Curtius, 3, c. 4. Cellarius, p. 262. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 71, et seq.; also, Notes on the Comparative Geography of the Cilician and Syrian Gates; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. viii., part ii. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 40, 52.
Tarsus.	Tarsûs.	4	25	75	Strabo, xiv., p. 463, &c. Cicero, 5, ad Attic. Epist., 20. Avienus (in Poetae Latini Minores of Wernsdorf), vers. 1031. Lucanus, iii. vers. 225. Plinius, 5, c. 27. Arrian, 2, p. 89. Acts of the Apostles, xxi., 39; xxii., 3, &c. Pomponius Mela, 1, c. 13. Solinus, c.

Place.	Identifications.	Miles.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Pharus (Psarus).	Selhân.	2	10	30	38. Dio Cassius, xlvii., p. 342. Quintus Curtius, 3, c. 5. Albertus Aquensis, 3, c. 14. Cellarius, p. 252. Rennell, p. 44. Ainsworth, vol. ii., p. 83. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 40, 45, 47, 49. Strabo, xii., p. 369. Livius, 33, c. 41. Plinius, 6, c. 3. Appianus Alexandrinus, Syriaca, p. 144, edit. Toll. Zonaras in Nicephoro Phoca, p. 161. Cedrenus, p. 540, edit. Basil. Cellarius, p. 244. Rennell, p. 48. Ainsworth, vol. i., p. 235; vol. ii., p. 87. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 45, 46, 51, 56.
Pyramus.	Jelhân.	1	5	15	Strabo, xiv., p. 464, 465. Plinius, v., c. 27. Arrianus, ii., p. 92. Quintus Curtius, 3, c. 4 and 7. Mela Pomponius, 1, c. 13. Procopius, de Edificiis, 5, c. 5. Jehân Numâ, p. 602. Otter, "Voyages," vol. i., p. 71. Rennell, p. 48. Ainsworth, vol. ii., p. 88. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 46, 52.
Issus.	On the Déli Châl.				Diod. Siculus, 17, c. 32. Strabo, xiv., p. 465. Plinius, v., c. 27. Plutarch, Vita Alexandri, p. 675. Ptolemy, 5, c. 15. Arrianus, xi., p. 94, 95. Quintus Curtius, 3, c. 8. Cellarius, p. 249. Rennell, p. 48. Ainsworth, vol. ii., p. 91. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 48, 53.
Gates of Cilicia and Syria.	Merkez.	1	5	15	Strabo, xiv., p. 465. Plinius, v., c. 27. Ptolemy, 5, c. 8. Arrian, ii., p. 95. Quintus Curtius, 3, c. 8. Cellarius, p. 248. Pocock's Travels, vol. ii., p. 176. Mecca Itinerary. Recueil de la Société de Géogr., tom. ii., p. 103. Ainsworth, vol. ii., p. 92. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 53, 57, 58.
Myriandrus.	Half way between 'Arstûs (Rhosus) and Iskenderân (Alexandria ad Isson).	1	5	15	Strabo, xiv., p. 465. Pân, 11, c. 108. Arrian, 11. Agathermes, 1, c. 4. Cellarius, p. 409. Volney's Travels, ii., 27. Drummond's Travels, p. 205. Rennell, p. 57. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 56, 60, 65.
River Chalus.	Châlîb or Kowelk.	4	20	60	Rauwolf's Travels, by J. Ray, part i., c. 8. Forster's Dissertation in Spelman's Xenophon, p. 206. D'Anville's L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 20. Rennell, p. 63, 300. General Statement of the Labors of the Euphrates Expedition, by Col. Chesney and W. F. Ainsworth. Parliamentary Papers, and Journ. of Royal Geogr. Soc., vol. vii., part ii. Ainsworth, vol. ii., p. 99; Researches in Assyria, &c., p. 295. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 63, 66. Cellarius, p. 19, 20. 'Abu'l-fedâ, Tabulae Syriae, p. 65, 130. Philo-
Daradax. (Dardes)	Ba'lis?	5	30	90	



Places.	Identifications.	Marches.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Thapsacus.	Ford of the 'Anezeh or Bedwins.	3	15	45	sophical Transactions, 1695. D'Anville (Op. cit.), p. 19, 20. Rennell, p. 67. Ainsworth's Researches, &c., p. 62, 64. Col. Chesney's E. Bab or Taldiff (same as Fountain of Fay) on River Dhahab. MSS Travels in the Track, &c., p. 65, 66, 69, 71, 78. 1 Kings, iv., 24. Strabo, xvi., p. 513. Plinius, 5, c. 24, 26. Arrianus, l., p. 116, and iii., p. 168. Cellarius, p. 437, 696. Bochart, Phaleg., 86. D'Anville, p. 17, 23, 51. Rennell, p. 61. Bell's Geography, vol. iv., p. 174. General Statement, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. vii., p. 425. Ainsworth, Researches, &c., p. 67. Fraser's Assyria, &c., p. 21, 181. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 69, 73.
Araxes (Habor) Khaboras).	Khabâr.	9	50	150	2 Kings, xvii., 6; xviii., 11. 1 Chron., v., 26. Isa., x., 9. Jer., xlv., 2. Ezek., i., 1. Strabo, 16, p. 514. Zosimus, 3, c. 12. Amm. Marcell., 23, c. 11. Procopius, Belli Persici, 11, c. 5; de Edificiis, 1, c. 6. Sextus Rufus, c. 22. Eutropius, 3, c. 2. Dion Cassius, edit. Reimar Hamb., c. 26. Isidore of Charax, Hudson Geograph. Minores, p. 4. Joannes Antiochenus (Malala) in Juliano, p. 17. Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, p. 62. Bochart, Phaleg., p. 289. Cellarius, p. 716-726. D'Anville, p. 42. General Statement, &c., p. 426. Ainsworth, Researches, &c., p. 73; Travels, &c., p. 261. Forbes's Visit to the Singar Hills; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. ix., p. 409. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 70, 74, 75, 79. Book of Ezra. D'Anville, p. 63. Bochart, Phaleg., p. 87. Rennell, p. 103. General Statement, &c., p. 427. Note of Rev. Mr. Renouard to ditto. Ainsworth, Researches, p. 77. Loss of the Tigris, with Notes, by H. Richardson, 2 cantos, 1840. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 78-81. D'Anville, p. 63. Rennell, p. 83. Ainsworth, Researches, &c., p. 112, 173. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 80, 81, 87, 88. Sifairah, ancient Sippahra. Eusebius, Præparat. Evangel., ix., c. 41. Cellarius, p. 718, 719. Bochart, Phaleg., 25. 'City of Books.' Note on a part of the River Tigris; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society (Capt. Lynch), vol. ix., p. 471. Fraser, p. 186. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 82, 88, 108, 117.
Corseto.	Irzah, Erzî, or Werdi.	5	35	105	
Pylæ.	4 miles N.W. of Sifairah.	13	90	270	

Places.	Identifications.	Marches.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Midnight Review. Trench.	36 miles S. of Pylæ. 32 miles S. of Feldjah. Nahr Melik, "Royal River."	3	12	36	Herodotus; Clio, cxlii. Polybius, v., 21, 25. Zosimus, iii., c. 24. Ptolemy, v., c. 17. Plinius, 6, c. 26. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24, c. 2 (Grut., c. 5); lib. 24, c. 5 (Vales., c. 2); lib. 24, c. 21 (Vales., c. 6). Lindenbrog, p. 286, 299. Atydenus apud Eusebium Præp. Evang., ix., c. 41. Cellarius, p. 741. D'Anville, p. 118. Bochart, Phaleg., p. 38, 39. General Statement, &c., p. 422. Ainsworth, Researches, &c., p. 119; ditto in Bulletin de la Société de Géograph. de Paris, tom. ix., No. 49. Fraser's Assyria, p. 32, 210. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 88, 90, 91, 107.
Station beyond Trench. Cunaxa.	4½ miles S. of the Nahr Melik. 'Imšy'ab, 36 miles N. of Babylon.	1	1½	4½	Travels in the Track, &c., p. 88
to Village and Tel. Return to Camp. By river to camp of Arisus. First Villages. Second Villages. Wall of Media.	Plain of Babylonia. On the Nahr Melik. Plain of Babylonia. Khald, or Sidd Nimrud.	1	2	6	Plutarch in Life of Artaxerxes Note to Spelm., Xen., p. 63. D'Anville, p. 69. Rennell, p. 93. Fraser, p. 18, 33, 182, 186. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 81, 87.
		1	2	6	Travels in the Track, &c., p. 97
		1	4	12	Travels in the Track, &c., p. 103.
		1	5	15	Travels in the Track, &c., p. 104.
		1	5	15	Travels in the Track, &c., p. 105
		3	12	36	D'Anville, Euphrate et Tigre, p. 99, 100. Ainsworth, Researches, &c., p. 113, 173. Ross, Notes of two Journeys from Baghdad to Al Hadhr. Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society vol. ix., p. 446. Lynch, Notes, &c., Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, ix., 473, 474. Fraser, p. 157. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 87, 88, 107, 108, 109, 116.
Sitace.	'Akbarâ.	2	8	24	Strabo, xv., p. 503; xvi., p. 512. Plin., 6, c. 26, 27. Cellarius, p. 773. Bochart, Phaleg., p. 270. D'Anville, p. 100. Rennell, p. 82. Ross, Notes, &c., Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. ix., p. 444 ('Akbarâ), p. 460 (Sherf at el Beidhâ). Ainsworth, Researches, &c., p. 174. Fraser, p. 158, 186. Travels in the Track, &c., 110, 111.
Oplis.	Eski Baghdâd, on the Katâr, or Nahr Wân. (?)	4	20	60	Herodotus, i., c. 189. Strabo, xvi., p. 509. Cellarius, p. 757. D'Anville, p. 98, 99. Rennell, p. 126. Lynch, Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. ix., p. 472, 475

Places.	Identifications.	Miles.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Villages of Parysada.	Neighborhood of Tel Kunus.	6	30	90	Ross, Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. ix., p. 448; vol. xi., p. 125, 129. Fraser, p. 156, 157. Rawlinson, Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. x., p. 93-97. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 115, 116. Lynch's Map of Tigris; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. ix., part iii. Tel Gelooe of Rich's Map, Travels, &c., vol. i. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 117. Strabo, xvi., p. 515. Cellarius, p. 737. Bochart, Phaleg., 210. D'Anville, p. 91. Lynch, Map of Tigris; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. ix., part iii. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 118, 119, 120. Plinius, 6, c. 26. Ammianus, 23, c. 20 (Vales., vi.). Bochart, Phaleg., p. 278. Ainsworth, Travels, vol. ii., p. 326. Fraser, p. 30, 241. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 118, 119.
Cosm.	Senn.	1	6	18	Lynch's Map (ut ante). Travels in the Track, &c., p. 135. Gen., x., 12. Bochart, Phaleg., p. 291. Cellarius, p. 767. Rich's Residence in Kurdistan, &c., vol. ii. General Statement, p. 437. Ainsworth, Researches, &c., p. 257; Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 144. Fraser, p. 168, 172, 190. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 137, 138.
Zapatas.	Zab 'Alâ.	4	14	42	Rich's Residence, &c., vol. ii. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 144. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 139.
Ford on the Zapatas.	Kêlêk Gôpâr.	5			Gen., x., 11. Book of Jonah. Nabum. Herodotus, i., c. 193. Diodorus Siculus, 2, c. 3; 17, c. 53. Strabo, 16. Plinius, vi., c. 13. Tacitus, 12, c. 13. Philostratus, 1, c. 13, 14. Ammianus, 23, c. 20 (Vales., vi.). and 18, c. 16 (Vales., vii.). Cellarius, 769. Bochart, Phaleg., p. 260. D'Anville, p. 88. Rennell, p. 147. Rich's Residence, &c., vol. ii. Ainsworth's Researches, p. 257; Travels, vol. ii., p. 137. Fraser, p. 163, 168, &c. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 139-141.
Villages.	25 stadia. Nimrud (Resen).		2½	10	Rev. Mr. Southgate, Narrative of a Tour, &c., vol. ii., p. 222. Rich's Residence, &c., vol. ii. Fraser, p. 177. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 137. Renouard, Note to Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. xi., p. 150. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 141.
Castle.	Yârumjah.	1	6	18	Strabo, p. 745 (Capital of the Sacopedes). Rennell, p. 151.
Mosula.	Mosul (Nineveh).				
Palace.	Zakhi.	5		60	

Places.	Identifications.	Miles.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
March on plain to village.	Tel Kobbin.	1		6	Ainsworth, Researches, p. 265; Travels, &c., ii., 339. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 143, 144.
March of 60 stadia at night.		1		6	Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 342. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 146.
March on plain.	Plain of the Khâbûr.	2		18	D'Anville, p. 87. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., p. 342. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 146.
Villages on the Tigris.	Field of the Romans of Procopius. Mânsûrtiyeh, &c., opposite Jezireh ibn 'Omâr.	1		8	Hieronymus, Chron., Anno xi., Constantii. Cellarius, p. 735. D'Anville, p. 86. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 345. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 148.
Army turns eastward. Return by night to foot of mountain.	Vale of Mar Yubannah. Entrance to Pass of Fénik.				Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 346. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 149.
Villages of Karduchians.	Fénik [Phonica].	1		7	Ammianus Marcellinus, xx., c. xv., &c., c. xviii. D'Anville, p. 85. Rich's Narr., i., Appendix, p. 375. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 347. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 155, 156.
Pass where slaves were dismissed.	Pass of Zâwiyah.	1		8	Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 350. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 157.
March through defiles to encampment before Pass of Tigris.	Pass of Kônâkti to between Fînduk and Kûwarro.	1		7	Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 352. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 157.
Valley at foot of eminence.	Valley with rivulet commanded by a now ruinous fort.	1		3	Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 355, 356. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 160, 161, et seqq.
First Hill. Second Hill. Third Hill.	On approach to above by hills to the right or eastward.				
Villages.	Villages in Pass south of Kêlêk.			5	Col. Sheil, Notes, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. viii., part i. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 354. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 164.
Villages above the Centrites.	Villages near the junction of the Buhtân Châl and the Tigris.	1		10	Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 355. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 165, 166.
Descent to Bank of Centrites.	Pass of Jânimintiyah.				Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii., p. 356. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 169.
4 stadia to Ford of Centrites.	Buhtân Châl.				D'Anville, p. 85. Rennell, p. 201. Col. Sheil, Notes, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. viii., part i. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., p. 339. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 169.
Palace of Satrap.	Se'rt.	1	5	15	D'Anville, p. 84. Rennell, p. 201. Bell's Geogr., iv., 160. Col. Sheil



Places.	Identifications.	Marches.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
To above head of Tigris.	'AM Tāgh (Niphates).	2	10	30	Notes, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. viii, part i. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. i, p. 357. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 171. Strabo, xi, p. 359, 364. Virgil, Georg., iii, v. 30. Plinius, vi, c. 27. Pomp. Mela, iii, c. 8. Lucanus, iii, v. 245. Cellarius, p. 379. D'Anville, p. 78, 84. Brant, Notes of a Journ., &c.; Journal of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. x, part iii. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii, p. 359. Trav. in the Track, &c., p. 171. Plinius (Otene), vi, c. 13. Bochart, Phaleg, p. 91 (Land of Hul). Cellarius, p. 385. D'Anville, p. 75. Rennell, p. 207. Bell's Geogr., iv, p. 140. Brant, Notes &c.; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. x, part iii. Ainsworth Travels, ii, 376, 378. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 172. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 173. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 173. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 175. Bell's Geogr., vol. iv, p. 152. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 176.
River Teleboas.	Kará-sú, in district of Másh, ancient Motene, or Moxous.	3	15	45	Diodorus Siculus, 14, c. 29 (Chaoi in Chaonitis). Rennell, p. 6. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii, p. 386. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 177. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 179.
Palace. Remove to villages. Pass in Mountains. Ford of Euphrates.	Pérak, or Lis. Ditto. Offset of Nimród Tāgh. Malasgherd on Murád-sú (Mauro-castrum).	3	15	45	
Villages, Palace 3 miles off.	Klennas Kal'eh-si.	3	15	45	
Abandoned by their guide. River Phasi.	Uplands of Armenia. Pasin Chai, tributary to the 'Arás, or Araxes, anc. Phisun.	7	35	105	Herodotus, I, c. 202. Strabo, xi, p. 363. Plutarch, Life of Pompey (c. 34), p. 634. Plinius, 6, c. 9. Appianus (Mithridates), p. 401. Cellarius, p. 376. D'Anville, Geograph. Anc., vol. ii, p. 100. Rennell, p. 227. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 179.
Passage of Mountains.	Kapán Tāgh (Coraxius, or Coraxicus).	2	10	30	Plinius, vi, c. 9. Cellarius, p. 381. Bell's Geogr. vol. iv, p. 143. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 181.
Fort of Tachians.	Tzalka, or Tzarskie Kolodzi.	5	30	90	D'Anville, Geogr. Anc., tom. ii, p. 101. Forster's Dissertation, &c., p. 237. Struve, Astronomical Positions, &c. Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. viii, part iii. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 182.
Country of the Chalybes.					Herodotus, i, c. 28. Apollonius, 11, vers. 375. Scholiastes in ditto, v. 1003. Strabo, xii, p. 378. Virgilus, Georg., i, v. 58. Valer. Flaccus, 5, v. 141. Plinius, 6, c. 4. Pomp. Mela, i, c. 19. Cellarius, p. 334. Bochart, Phaleg, 206. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 183.

Places.	Identifications.	Marches.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
River Harpasus.	'Arpá Chai.	7	50	150	Rennell, p. 225. Bell's Geogr., iv, p. 143. W. J. Hamilton, Travels, &c., vol. i, p. 197. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 184. Cellarius, p. 884. Rennell, p. 243. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 185.
Villages in country of Scythians, or Scythianians. City of Gymnias.	Village head of Kárs River. Erá-Rám.	4	20	60	Rennell, p. 236. W. J. Hamilton, i, p. 177. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii, p. 391. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 185-6. Strabo, xi, p. 378. Plinius, vi, c. 9. Cellarius, p. 369, 381. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii, p. 395. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 186. Herod., ii, c. 104. Apollon., 2, v. 22. Avienus, v. 944. Strabo, xii, p. 378 (Sanni). Arrian, Perip., p. 11. Cellarius, p. 335, 369. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 189. Plinius, vi, c. 4 (Absarus). Cellarius, p. 365. W. J. Hamilton vol. i, p. 172, &c. Ainsworth Travels, &c., vol. ii, p. 395. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 189. Strabo, xii, p. 378. Plinius, vi, c. 4. Cellarius, p. 360. Bell's Geogr., vol. iv, p. 134. Hamilton, vol. i, p. 165. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii, p. 396. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 190.
Mountain of Colchians.	Kóhát Tāgh.				Diodorus Siculus, xiv, c. 31. Strabo, p. 378. Tacitus, Histor., 3, c. 47. Plinius, vi, c. 4. Eustathius ad Dionys., v. 688. Cellarius, p. 326. Rennell, p. 254. Kinneir's Travels, p. 335. Bell's Geogr., vol. iv, p. 116. Hamilton, vol. i, p. 160, 241. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. ii, p. 397. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 191.
Trebizond (Trapezus).	Tarábuzán.	2	7	21	Strabo, xii, p. 548. Plinius, 6, c. 4. Arrianus, Periplus, p. 17. Cramer's Asia Minor, vol. i, p. 281. W. J. Hamilton, i, 250. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 199. Apollonius, 2, v. 379. Mela Pomponius, i, c. 19. Nicolaus Damascenus, Excerpt. Vales., p. 517. Cellarius, p. 334, 366. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 201. Apoll., 2, v. 375. Strabo, xii, p. 378. Plin., vi, c. 4. Avienus, v. 944. Cell., p. 262, 334. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 203.
Kerasunt (Cerasus).	Kérasún Dereh-sú.	3	12	36	Diod. Sic., xiv, c. 32. Plinius, vi, c. 4. Cellarius, p. 324. W. J. Hamilton, vol. i, p. 267 (Urdá), vol. i, p. 268 (Persheimbah). Travels in the Track, &c., p. 203. Apollonius, 2, v. 948. Polybius, iv, c. 57. Diod. Sic., xiv, c. 32.
Country of the Mosynæcians.		8			
Country of the Tibarenians.					
Cotyora.	Persheimbah.			45	
Enopa.	Sináb.				

Places.	Identifications.	Miles.	Paces.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Heraclea.	Harakli.				Strabo, xii, p. 276. Cicero, pro lege Manil., c. 8. Plinius, 6, c. 2. Justin, 38, c. 5. Cellarius, p. 315. W. J. Hamilton, vol. 1, p. 307. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 211. Pausanias Eliac., 1, c. 26. Plin., v., cap. ult. Pompon. Mela, 1, c. 19. Cellarius, p. 296. Rennell, Geogr. of West Asia, ii, 115. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., i, 38. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 213. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 216.
Calpe.	Kirpé or Kéfken.				
Chrysopolis.	'Uskûdâr (Scutari).				Strabo, vii, p. 221. Zosimus, 2, c. 30. Ammianus, 22, c. 12. Socrates, Hist. Eccles., 1, c. 4. Cellarius, p. 290, 308. Ainsworth, Travels, &c., vol. 1, p. 13. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 222. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 226.
Byzantium.	Stâmbûl (Constantinople).				
Selembria.	Silivri.				Travels in the Track, &c., p. 227.
Perinthus.	Harakli.				Rennell, p. 268. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 227.
Sabmydesus.	Midiyeh.				Rennell, p. 267. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 228.
Lampeacus.	Lâmâkî.				Diod. Siculus, xi, c. 57. Strabo, xiii, p. 404. Ovid, Trist., 1, Eleg. xi. Trav. in the Track, &c., p. 229.
Troas.	Valley of the Mendêreh Chal.				Topographical Survey of the Plain of Troy, by Capt. Graves, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geogr. Society, vol. xii, p. 28. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 230.
Mount Ida.	Kârâjah Tâgh.				Cellarius, p. 38. Bell's Geogr., vol. iv, p. 125. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 230.
Antandrus.	Antandro?				Strabo, xiii, p. 417. Cellarius, p. 43. Trav. in the Track, &c., p. 230.
Thebes Campus.					Homer, Iliad, B. v., 691. Strabo, xiii, p. 404. Cellarius, p. 42. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 230.
Adramyttium.	Adramytti.				Herod., vii, c. 42. Strabo, xiii, p. 417. Livius, 37, c. 19. Plinius, v., c. 30. Cellarius, p. 42. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 230.
Certonum.	Rulus at Kelles Lûmân.				Cellarius, p. 58. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 230.
Aterne.					Atarneus of Strabo, and Atarneus of Pliny, as quoted by Cellarius, p. 46. Trav. in the Track, &c., p. 230.
Caicus.	Krimakli-sî.				Strabo, xiii, p. 423, 424. Virgil, Georg., iv, v. 370. Ovidius, Meta., ii, v. 243; Meta., xv, v. 277. Plin., v., c. 30. Cellarius, p. 47. Bell's Geogr., vol. iv, p. 124. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 230.
Pergamus.	Bergmâ (Bergamos).				Strabo, xiii, p. 429. Livius, 29, c. 11; 35, c. 13. Tacitus, Annal., 3, c. 63. Plinius, 5, c. 30; 35, c. 2. Cellarius, p. 41. Bell's Geogr., vol. iv, p. 124. Travels in the Track, &c., p. 230, 231.

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